Boston Public Library
3 9999 10589 523 7

PER. RM

№ AP2.N7

V.130

1880

THE TRVSTEES OF THE PVBLIC LIBRARY OF THE CITY OF BOSTON
OMNIVM LVX CIVIVM
1852 1878

Published Monthly. Volume 130. Number 1.

SIXTY-FIFTH YEAR.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITED BY ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

January, 1880.

I. The Interoceanic Canal.....Count FERDINAND DE LESSEPS.

II. The Woman Question again.....FRANCIS PARKMAN.

III. Romanism and the Irish Race in the United States. Part II. JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE.

IV. Sainte-Beuve.....HENRY JAMES, Jr.

V. The Metaphysics of Science.....Prof. ALEXANDER WINCHELL.

VI. The Permanence of Political Forces. Part II..CUTHBERT MILLS.

VII. Recent Poetry..... RICHARD HENRY STODDARD.

EDWIN ARNOLD'S The Light of Asia.
ROBERT D. JOYCE'S Blanid.
The Poetical Works of Bayard Taylor.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,
549 AND 551 BROADWAY.

LONDON: SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON, SEARLE & RIVINGTON.—PARIS: THE GALIGNANI LIBRARY.—BERLIN: A. ASHER & CO.—GENEVA: J. CHERBULIEZ.—ROME: LOESCHER & CO.—MELBOURNE: W. ROBERTSON.—YOKOHAMA AND SHANGHAI: KELLY & WALSH.

TERMS.—Five Dollars a year. Single number, Fifty Cents.

red at the Post-Office at New York, and admitted for transmission through the mails as second-class

Volume 129 of the North American Review,

NOW READY, COMPLETE.

CONTENTS.

JULY.

Our Success at Paris in 1878. Richard C. McCormick.
The Revolution in Russia. A Russian Nihilist.
The Public Schools of England. Part II. Thomas Hughes.
The True Story of the Wallowa Campaign. General O. O. Howard.
The Psychology of Spiritism. George M. Beard.
The Education of Freedmen. Part II. Harriet Beecher Stowe.
Recent Essays. Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

AUGUST.

The Work and Mission of my Life. Part I. Richard Wagner.
The Diary of a Public Man.
Garrison. Wendell Phillips.
The Power of Dissolution. Edward A. Freeman.
The Founder of the Khedivate. The late John L. Stephens.
The Future of Resumption. An Old Financier.
Recent Works on Ancient History and Philology. John Fiske.

SEPTEMBER.

The Genius of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Anthony Trollope.
The Standard of Value. Professor Simon Newcomb.
The Work and Mission of my Life. Part II. Richard Wagner.
The Diary of a Public Man. Part II.
Confession of an Agnostic. An Agnostic.
Intrigues at the Paris Canal Congress. A. G. Menocal.
Three Important Publications. Mayo W. Hazeltine.

OCTOBER.

The Woman Question. Francis Parkman.
Science and Humanity. Frederic Harrison.
Louis Napoleon and the Southern Confederacy. Owen F. Aldis.
The Railway Problem. Robert Garrett.
The Diary of a Public Man. Part III.
Spencer's Evolution Philosophy. Professor E. L. Youmans.
Recent History and Biography. A. K. Fiske.

NOVEMBER.

The Other Side of the Woman Question. Julia Ward Howe, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Wendell Phillips.
Malthusianism, Darwinism, and Pessimism. Professor Francis Bowen.
A Page of Political Correspondence: Stanton to Buchanan.
The Diary of a Public Man. Part IV.
Tariff Reactions. Professor Arthur L. Perry.
Some Recent Works of Fiction. Edward Eggleston.

DECEMBER.

Romanism and the Irish Race in the United States. Part I. James Anthony Froude.
Young Men in Politics. George S. Boutwell.
The Religion of To-day.
Is Political Economy a Science? Professor Bonamy Price.
English and American Physique. George M. Beard, M. D.
The Permanence of Political Forces. Part I. Cuthbert Mills.
Recent Literature. John R. G. Hassard.

Price, unbound, $2.50; bound in cloth, $3.00; in half morocco, $4.00.

Sent by mail on receipt of price.

Address THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, New York.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITED BY ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

VOL. CXXX.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY.
1880.

8540
17

NOV 10 1964

Per. Dept
*AP2
.N7
vol. 130

B. H.
285.804

Jan. 13, 1880

COPYRIGHT BY
ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.
1880.

CONTENTS OF VOL. CXXX.

PAGE

THE INTEROCEANIC CANAL. By Count FERDINAND DE LESSEPS, Member of the Institute of France 1

THE WOMAN QUESTION AGAIN. By FRANCIS PARKMAN . 16

ROMANISM AND THE IRISH RACE IN THE UNITED STATES. Part II. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE 31

SAINTE-BEUVE. By HENRY JAMES, Jr. 51

THE METAPHYSICS OF SCIENCE. By ALEXANDER WINCHELL, LL. D. 69

THE PERMANENCE OF POLITICAL FORCES. Part II. By CUTHBERT MILLS 85

RECENT POETRY: Edwin Arnold's The Light of Asia; Robert D. Joyce's Blanid; The Poetical Works of Bayard Taylor. By RICHARD HENRY STODDARD . 92

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND MODERN SOCIETY. By his Eminence HENRY EDWARD Cardinal MANNING, Archbishop of Westminster 101

THE THIRD TERM. By TIMOTHY O. HOWE 116

M. DE LESSEPS AND HIS CANAL. By DANIEL AMMEN, Rear-Admiral, U. S. Navy 130

NOW AND THEN IN AMERICA. By GEORGE AUGUSTUS SALA 147

PAGE

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION. By JAMES C. WELLING, LL. D., President of Columbian University . . 163

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS. I. Sacred Books of China and India. II. Machiavelli and his Times. III. The Home of the Eddas. By MAYO W. HAZELTINE . . . 186

THE THIRD TERM: Reasons against it. By Judge J. S. BLACK 197

THE THIRD TERM: Reasons for it. By E. W. STOUGHTON 224

THE COMMUNISM OF A DISCRIMINATING INCOME-TAX. By DAVID A. WELLS 236

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM. By the Rev. HENRY W. BELLOWS, D. D. 247

OUR POLITICAL DANGERS. By Professor SIMON NEWCOMB 261

MR. FROUDE'S HISTORICAL METHOD. By the Right Rev. J. L. SPALDING, D. D., Bishop of Peoria 280

RECENT BIOGRAPHY. I. The Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart. II. The Letters of Charles Dickens. III. Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat. By EUGENE L. DIDIER 300

MCCLELLAN'S LAST SERVICE TO THE REPUBLIC. Part I. By GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS 309

RELATIONS OF CANADA WITH THE UNITED STATES. By the Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS, K. C. M. G., C. B. . . 338

THE FAILURE OF THE SOUTHERN PULPIT. By the Rev. DAVID SWING 356

GENERAL GRANT AND A THIRD TERM. By GEORGE S. BOUTWELL 370

PAGE

The Irish Land Question. By Charles Stewart Parnell, M.P. 388

Recent Works on Trade and Finance. I. Reciprocity, Bi-metallism, and Land-Tenure Reform. II. Free Trade and English Commerce. III. The Financial History of the United States, from 1774 to 1789. By Edward Cary 407

General Grant and Strong Government. By Judge J. S. Black 417

The Religion of All Sensible Men. By Leslie Stephen 438

McClellan's Last Service to the Republic. Part II. By George Ticknor Curtis 462

Ralph Waldo Emerson. By F. H. Underwood . . 479

The Monroe Doctrine and the Isthmian Canal . . 499

Recent History and Biography. I. History of the Norman Conquest. II. The Life of Gladstone. III. Lamartine and his Friends. By Axel Gustafson . . 512

Popular Fallacies about Russia. By E. W. Stoughton . 523

Divorces in New England. By Nathan Allen, M.D., LL.D. 547

McClellan's Last Service to the Republic. Part III. By George Ticknor Curtis 565

Has the Southern Pulpit failed? By the Rev. F. A. Shoup, D.D. 585

Caste at West Point. By Professor Peter S. Michie 604

Some Interesting Publications. I. Italy and her Invaders. II. Romances of the Middle Ages. III. Chaldean Legends of Genesis. IV. Explorations in Cambodia. By Mayo W. Hazeltine 614

THE

NORTH AMERICAN

REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1880.

No. 278.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

8540

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,
549 & 551 BROADWAY.
1880.

COPYRIGHT BY
ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.
1879.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1880.

Art.		Page
I.	The Interoceanic Canal. By Count Ferdinand de Lesseps, Member of the Institute of France . .	1
II.	The Woman Question again. By Francis Parkman	16
III.	Romanism and the Irish Race in the United States. Part II. By James Anthony Froude . . .	31
IV.	Sainte-Beuve. By Henry James, Jr. . . .	51
V.	The Metaphysics of Science. By Alexander Winchell, LL. D.	69
VI.	The Permanence of Political Forces. Part II. By Cuthbert Mills	85
VII.	Recent Poetry: Edwin Arnold's The Light of Asia; Robert D. Joyce's Blanid; The Poetical Works of Bayard Taylor. By Richard Henry Stoddard .	92

THE Editor disclaims responsibility for the opinions of contributors, whether their articles are signed or anonymous.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCLXXVIII.

JANUARY, 1880.

THE INTEROCEANIC CANAL.

I.

This is a question which, for a long time past, has justly occupied the attention of the commercial world. In proportion as the intercourse between nations has been enlarged, as commerce has taken on an incessantly increasing development, no longer confined, as it once was, to certain localities, but spread over the whole surface of the globe, the necessity has been more and more felt of rapid and easy ways of communication. Attention has, therefore, been directed to the American Isthmus, across which the construction of a canal would make it possible to avoid the long and difficult navigation around Cape Horn, which is such an obstacle to the commercial progress of the Pacific coasts of North and South America, and diverts from them the productions of Europe and of the Atlantic American States. The want of a maritime highway across the Isthmus has been more sensibly felt since the immense development of California, a development already beginning to be shared by other countries which border upon the Pacific Ocean, and which would be much more pronounced if there were a canal which would place them in easy communication with Europe and with the Eastern States of the great American Republic.

The Government of the United States, realizing the full importance of such a canal, has accordingly taken active measures to set on foot exploring expeditions, under the direction of its most distinguished navigators and engineers, with a view to examining

the different parts of the Isthmus; and it has expended no less than five million dollars in this service. These expeditions have been very well conducted, and their results are embodied in a series of remarkable reports, which were submitted by the President of the United States, on the 13th of March, 1872, to a commission of examination composed of Brigadier-General A. A. Humphreys, C. P. Patterson, Director of the Hydrographic Service, and Commodore D. Ammen, Chief of the Bureau of Navigation. I may observe, in passing, that it is much to be regretted that this exclusively American commission, appointed for the purpose of recapitulating the labors of these exploring expeditions, and of comparing the various plans proposed, sat with closed doors, and kept the proceedings of its meetings secret, as well as the reports of the five adjunct commissioners * sent, under its orders, to Nicaragua, for the purpose of reëxamining that region. The minutes of these conferences were not even communicated to the Congress of Paris by Admiral Ammen. The public as well as the Congress has been permitted to know only the conclusions of the American commission.

The Congress of Paris proceeded in quite a different way: its meetings were held in the most public manner, and all the discussions of its commissions and sub-commissions were published *in extenso* in a magnificent volume of six hundred pages, which all the world may read; it has thus vindicated its independence and the exclusively scientific purpose of its labors. Its decisions do not fear the light, and the great public, the final arbiter, will appreciate the value of the discussions of a Congress which called together an *élite* of engineers, of statisticians, and of learned men of every sort; which invited before it the authors of all the several plans, discussing their labors at great length, and especially the very remarkable ones of Americans, which elicited the admiration of all the members. It is only necessary to read over the report of the conferences, that monument of science which the delegates of all nations helped to erect during the fortnight devoted to the study of the Interoceanic Canal, to see with what impartiality, with what attention, with what fitness for the work, the various projects were examined; and the care which was taken to compare them, and the important position occupied by the American representatives. Those gentlemen were received with the greatest cordiality and treated

* These commissioners were Major W. MacFarland and Captain H. Herrer, United States Engineers; Professor H. Mitchell, hydrographer; General Jacob Ammen; and D. S. Walton, civil engineer.

with the highest distinction, and the Congress accorded to them the fullest opportunity for presenting the results of their investigations and their plans, which, moreover, received an attentive and conscientious examination.

If the researches of the United States explorers, in many respects so well worthy of consideration, did not furnish a practical solution of the question, it is because, in the United States, the new conditions which have been created by the great fact of steam-navigation have not been sufficiently considered: in this instance the country which has always been the advance leader in reform has forgotten its own traditions. In the examination made of different projects in the United States, the only plan thought of has been to make use of inland waters for constructing a maritime canal, and they have entirely neglected to study the methods by which they would secure a constant level of sea-water for the purposes of navigation in a channel cut from one ocean to the other. At the present day, however, when large steam-vessels are in use, the longest of which reaches a hundred and forty metres, it is impossible that such a canal should follow the course of rivers which have very sharp angles; it is therefore necessary to make the lines of such a canal nearly straight, or at least with curves having a radius of not less than two thousand metres. Hence it would be impossible, in the waters of Central America, to build a canal with lines sufficiently straight for the reception of these great steam-vessels, whose dimensions, on the other hand, could not be seriously restricted. In former times navigation was carried on in sailing-vessels, and it is well known that the Americans, whose steam marine is not as yet greatly developed, have heretofore endeavored to discover a passage across the Isthmus suitable for sailing-vessels. It was with this view that they directed attention to the Nicaragua Canal, which seemed to be the point best adapted to navigation by sailing-vessels, from the fact that there is in the interior of that country an inexhaustible reservoir in the Lake of Nicaragua; so that their first conception was based upon the old methods of navigation. But in our time the Suez Canal has contributed its experience. When I began my investigation of that enterprise, the average tonnage of vessels going from India to Europe was five hundred tons. We have now vessels of five thousand tons, which carry upward of two thousand persons.

It is obvious, therefore, that, as navigation has itself changed, and as sailing-vessels have come to occupy a very subordinate posi-

tion in the higher ocean marine, a canal suited to the maritime conditions of the present day is an absolute necessity. The experience of the Suez Canal proves that the plan adopted in its construction was the true one. The old-fashioned sailing-vessels can not carry great cargoes of merchandise. It is for this reason that vessels have been lengthened. Formerly the length of a vessel was four or five times its width; and they had vessels thirty or forty metres long. At the present day vessels are made with a length as much as thirteen times their width, without detriment to their speed, but, on the contrary, increasing it. It becomes necessary, therefore, to make canals in keeping with these dimensions of vessels, and in such manner as to allow them to proceed rapidly—especially when we consider that a vessel of four or five thousand tons now costs fifteen hundred, two thousand, or twenty-five hundred francs a day, and consequently can not afford to submit to unnecessary delay in its voyage. The easiest and the shortest point of navigable transit is therefore indispensable. The Nicaragua Canal does not fulfill these conditions. Although the route of it is not across the widest, still it traverses nearly the widest portion of the Isthmus; it is two hundred and ninety-five kilometres long, with twenty-one locks. However suitable it might have been when only sailing-vessels were employed to endeavor to avail of inland waters for the construction of a maritime canal, we must at the present day, when the use of steam has led to the lengthening of vessels to an extent before unprecedented, conform to the exigencies of that species of navigation. Twenty years ago nobody supposed that there would ever be vessels one hundred and forty metres long; nevertheless, the engineers who constructed the Suez Canal foresaw the importance of curves of large radius, and it is by means of these that the largest ships are enabled to traverse it with ease.

I have received letters from England asking me whether a vessel of one hundred and fifty metres could pass through; I have replied that it could certainly do so. Does the reader picture to himself the distance which is covered by one hundred and fifty metres? If he were traveling along a road, he would find that from one hectometre to another is almost out of sight. Steam-vessels built in this manner can carry merchandise much more cheaply than sailing-vessels. We see steam-vessels loaded with grain, or with ordinary merchandise, passing through the canal and coming from India or Australia, which are perfectly well able to pay the charges of transit;

the insurance on such vessels is, moreover, much reduced from ordinary rates. But it is quite clear that steam-vessels one hundred and forty metres long, and which expend two thousand francs a day, can not submit to delay ; when they enter the Suez Canal, they are able to proceed the moment they have taken out their papers. It follows from what I have said, that it is quite out of the question, at the present day, to build a canal with locks.

These are the ideas, or, I should rather say, the facts, to which I gave expression in one of the commissions of the International Geographical Congress assembled at Paris in 1879, when the subject of the American canal was under consideration. Being earnestly solicited to give my opinion, I on that occasion formally declared that, so far as I was myself concerned, I would never give my adhesion, by reason of my experience in connection with the Suez Canal, to a project which contemplated the passage of vessels from one ocean to another by means of inland waters—that is to say, through the instrumentality of locks. The passage through a single lock occupies at least an hour. At Bordeaux, for example, a magnificent floating dock for large packet-boats has just been completed. It has one lock, admirably constructed at the Creusot iron-works. A single person can operate the gates at the entrance and at the outlet ; the gates are opened by a depth of water of eight or eight and a half metres ; it is a vast improvement ; and yet, great as it is, the Congo, of the Transatlantic Line, occupied an hour and a half in passing through it. Here was an hour and a half lost, without counting the time which was required to slacken the speed of the vessel. It would require only a few such vessels in a canal to put a stop to practical navigation through it.

When the Congress of 1879 separated, in pursuance of a wish which had been expressed there, the Geographical Societies appointed a commission, whose duty it should be to continue the investigation of the several projects, and to set on foot new explorations in such parts of the Isthmus as have been thus far imperfectly explored. I was appointed president of this commission. A company was afterward formed, under the presidency of General Türr, for the generous purpose of defraying the expenses of these explorations. In that company I have taken no part whatever.

Following out my purpose of inviting the authors of all the various plans to meet and confer with me, and to receive my counsels—as I had had a certain measure of experience—encouraging them at the same time to go in this or that direction, I in this way

persuaded Messrs. Wyse and Reclus, distinguished officers of the French Navy, accompanied by M. de Célier, Chief-Engineer of Roads and Bridges in France, and by various other explorers or engineers who attached themselves to the expedition, to undertake a careful exploration of that part of the Isthmus described by Humboldt as having formerly been the point of separation between the two American Continents. It was supposed that Atrato on the Atlantic seaboard and Tuyra on the coast of the Pacific might be reunited; inasmuch as the Andes and the Cordilleras offered there two parallel and disconnected chains, it being that part of Colombia known as the Isthmus of Darien. Two great rivers empty themselves there—the one into the Pacific ocean, the other into the Atlantic; and it was believed that there was a point where these two streams were only a few leagues apart, and where, according to the testimony of Indians, at the season of high tides in the Pacific, the waters actually met; it was even asserted that, by carrying a boat upon the shoulders for a single hour, one could pass from one ocean to the other. After the most searching observations, made at the cost of incredible labor and fatigue, it was conclusively established by M. Célier and his companions that the construction of a canal by this route was impossible.

As the plan of a canal without locks could not be realized at this place, I decided that some other locality must be sought for. It was then that M. Wyse and M. Reclus, availing themselves of the resources provided by the Society of Explorations, presided over by General Türr, and accompanied by the staff already mentioned, as well as by M. Werburghe, a very distinguished young traveler, who went with them at his own expense, set out on their expedition. They returned with the outline plan of a canal from the Gulf of Limon to Panama, without locks, crossing the Cordilleras either with a tunnel or a surface-cutting.

These explorations furnished all that was wanting to an exact knowledge of the American Isthmus throughout its entire length. From the combined labor of Americans and of Frenchmen it was now possible, with entire certainty, to solve the question of an Interoceanic Canal. The time had arrived for realizing the wish expressed in 1875, namely, to convene an International Congress to which all the investigations made and all the plans proposed should be submitted. Accordingly, in the early part of 1879, in concert with M. Henry Bionne, secretary of the commission nominated by the Geographical Societies, I sent an invitation to all the

chambers of commerce and scientific societies, without making any appeal to governments ; and on our sole invitation everybody came. In the month of May last, a large number of engineers, of statisticians, and of *savants*, met together in Paris, and formed themselves into a Congress. Coming as they did from all countries, unknown for the most part to each other, having no common bond of union, representing often discordant opinions, how could these delegates have been animated by any other concern than for the general interest? What influences, moreover, could have been brought to bear to elicit a decision contrary to their conscientious judgment, from men of such eminence, and whose well-known position, honorable character, and perfect independence placed them beyond the reach of suspicion?

It was, therefore, with the most perfect impartiality and the highest claims to consideration that the Congress of 1879 rendered its decision, after having listened as long and as often as they requested to the American delegates ; among others, to Admiral Ammen and Messrs. Menocal and Selfridge, who had the opportunity to present, in the fullest detail, their several investigations before a sympathetic audience. It should be stated that, in order to preserve entire freedom of decision on the part of the Congress, the authors of all the plans presented had been excluded from it ; the only exceptions made being in favor of two Americans, Messrs. Selfridge and Menocal. Knowing this, can any one assert that the Nicaragua project was not sufficiently examined? To convince himself to the contrary, he has only to open the reports of the several conferences, where he will discover what a large place it occupied in the discussions. If the Congress, composed as it was of men of high authority, rejected the Nicaragua scheme by an immense majority, it was because it failed entirely to satisfy the new conditions of navigation, with its two hundred and ninety-five kilometres of length, its twenty-one locks, its obstructed San Juan River, its harbors blocked with sand or to be created wholly anew, its curves of short radius, going down even to six hundred and seventy metres, which would not allow room for the evolutions of a large vessel.

An obstacle which would tend greatly to augment the difficulty of keeping the Nicaragua Canal in repair is the frequent recurrence of earthquakes in that volcanic region. Does the reader consider what difficulties would be occasioned by earthquakes, where it would be necessary to construct locks which would be rendered incapable of use whenever the slopes of the canal should be destroyed?

I do not hesitate to assert, after my experience in connection with the Suez Canal, that the Nicaragua Canal could never be anything else than a channel for inferior navigation; and that, in spite of the enormous expenses necessary in its construction, it could never accommodate the large vessels which now perform the commerce of the world. Besides, why should not the United States build the canal themselves if they consider it a useful work? They would, in this way, encourage the development of the State of Nicaragua, in which they appear to be particularly interested. For my own part, I should be well satisfied with such a course, for every new highway is a step forward; and, moreover, one appropriate to the minor navigation would do no injury to the canal of Panama, which is destined to perform a wholly different office—that of giving accommodation to the higher navigation.

At Panama there are no earthquakes. To be assured of this, it is only necessary to look at the geological charts, and, among others, at the celebrated atlas of Berghaus.* Neither are there any locks, and I trust no serious physical obstacles, only seventy-three kilometres of length, two excellent harbors at the extremities, already much frequented, and a railway the whole distance, which will greatly facilitate the labors of construction. If at Panama it is necessary to trench and cut through eighty-seven metres in the mountain, Nicaragua on its part offers a solid mass thicker still if less elevated, and besides this numerous ridges to be removed.

Moreover, is it to be supposed that the accomplished American engineers who selected the line of Colon-Panama for the construction of the railway, did so at haphazard? Was it not, on the contrary, because they recognized at the outset that this was one of the least elevated points on the Isthmus, and therefore the best adapted for their purpose? The location in question was selected with great sagacity. It gives me much pleasure, in this connection, to render the homage which is due to the eminent engineer Totten, who, comprehending the full importance of the Panama Canal, both to the commerce and to the marine of the United States, has signified his willingness to give me his valuable assistance, and to meet me at Panama in order to take part in the International Commission which I purpose to convene there at the end of the present year, and which will include among skillful engineers the celebrated constructor of the maritime canal at Amsterdam. I refer

* Berghaus, "Physikalischer Atlas," Dresden.

to the Dutch Engineer-in-Chief, M. Dirks, well known for his experience on all questions relating to canals.

II.

When the Congress of 1879, acting with the most conscientious fidelity, and after the most searching examination—for not a few of the eminent men who composed it spent their nights as well as their days in the labor of investigation—decided that a canal without locks, such as I have advocated, was the only one practicable, then it was that, acting on the impulse of the moment, and without consulting anybody, I acceded to a demand which had been made upon me in the general session, to take the direction of the enterprise. I did this, perhaps, without much reflection, but reflection has only served to convince me that I was right.

The parties who held the concession for the canal came to me, and said, "We have the concession, but we can do nothing without you." I replied to them: "Gentlemen, I am very sorry, for I can not take upon myself to organize such an enterprise in connection with other persons who might pledge my credit in its behalf. I do not doubt that you are thoroughly honorable men; but, when I engage in such an undertaking as this, I can not share the responsibility of it with anybody. I have my own ideas, which are not those of all the world; I must therefore retain my full liberty of action. I began my diplomatic career in Egypt, being accredited to Mehemet Ali, the regenerator of that country. He one day said to me, 'My dear Lesseps, you are very young, and I give you this counsel, which you will find useful in your future career: Remember, when you have anything important to accomplish, that if there are two of you, there is one too many.'"

I accordingly said to those gentlemen: "I do not doubt your loyalty, but, so far as it relates to shaping the enterprise, I desire to be alone; when capital comes to be enlisted in it, the owners of that capital will administer it themselves through their proper representatives. Tell me what you wish. You have incurred certain expenses; others have joined you in the expectation of making money. State your claims, and I will have them examined by my legal advisers, upon whose counsels I have relied in all the business of the Suez Canal. Whatever they decide that I ought to give, I will give you." On the basis of these assurances I entered into a formal contract with them, and I remain master of the situation. It is in this way that I have assumed the responsibility of the en-

terprise ; no one else has any responsibility for it whatever. Such is the present situation.

Since then we have sent engineers to the Isthmus with apparatus for sounding, and with everything else necessary for making the investigations which are being prosecuted, and the labors of which I propose to complete by means of the International Commission already mentioned. The hour is come for the realization of what has, for a long time, been only a dream—the opening of the Isthmus. The decision of the Congress, which has performed one of the most useful of public services, can not fail to be speedily carried into execution ; for who is there to oppose the opening of the Panama Canal, a work so important, as I have above demonstrated it to be, to the commerce of the world ? Certainly not the United States, that great nation which, with its practical good sense, understands better than any other the importance and usefulness for all mankind, and especially for itself, of this new maritime highway across the Isthmus, in binding together the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and in giving a new impulse to its national prosperity.

Certain American interests, it is true, have taken umbrage. The railways already projected, or in process of construction, and which are intended to unite the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, have had a momentary alarm ; but reflection has led them to see how foolish and chimerical their fears have been. These lines barely suffice for transportation such as it exists to-day ; what will that transportation be when, under the influence of the canal, the intervening sections of country shall become more populous and developed, and afford to the transcontinental railways which serve them greater opportunities of long carriage ? It should be remembered that just in proportion as the avenues of communication increase, so far from injuring each other, they give rise to new industries, and to an enlarged commercial activity ; and that they thus create a new current of business capable of affording to them the necessary support. The United States have only to cast their eyes over the vast network of railways which they already possess, in order to verify the truth of this economic principle. It is, moreover, to be remembered that railways and canals are supported by the carriage of different species of merchandise ; products of great value and small bulk voluntarily selecting the more rapid channel of the railway, while other products choose the maritime highway.

The important bearing which the Interoceanic Canal has on the commerce of the United States has very naturally attracted the pub-

lic attention of that country to two points worthy of consideration: 1. The nationality of the canal; and, 2. The share which the great American Republic should have in its administration. These questions, which might be very difficult to solve if governments were concerned in the project, become very simple from the fact that the maritime canal is to be the private property of all nationalities, and that no nation could attempt to lay hands on it without injuriously affecting the rights of others, and no administration would consent to this being done. Is there not in this fact the strongest guarantee of the neutrality of the transit? It is for precisely the same reason that the Suez Canal, lying between nations which have deluged Europe with blood in recent years, has always been respected—to such a degree even that, at certain moments, the vessels of war of belligerent nations have found themselves side by side within its precincts, just as if they had been in absolutely neutral waters.

As to the second point, the answer is easy: In a general company, such as that of the Interoceanic Canal, all decisions rest with the general assembly of shareholders, who cause them to be executed by agents of their own appointment. Now, in the Interoceanic Canal Company, as the capital subscribed must be administered by those chosen to represent it, it will be the right of the United States to have such a share in the administration as is proportioned to the number of shares subscribed by them; they will, therefore, have nobody but themselves to blame if their share is insufficient. It is only because the French law is more severe in enforcing the responsibility of directors, thereby more perfectly protecting the rights of shareholders, among whom the United States should be included, that it has been proposed to organize the company under the French law.

I can not conclude this paper without saying a few words concerning the Monroe doctrine—though it can be in no manner applicable to a private enterprise, such as a canal, railway, or other similar undertaking. What, then, is the Monroe doctrine? In 1823 the Holy Alliance was formed for the purpose of repressing the movements of nations in the direction of free institutions; and when, at the Congress of Laybach, France engaged to send a hundred thousand men to Spain to restore the absolute sovereignty of Ferdinand VII., the English Minister Canning entered into an engagement with President Monroe to proclaim the independence of the old Spanish colonies in America, and to prevent any attempt hostile to that independence by European powers. Hence, the

Monroe doctrine, so far from being opposed to our enterprise, is directly favorable to it; inasmuch as it is the Republic of the United States of Colombia which has granted the concession for the Panama Canal, and the decree of the President of the United States of Colombia, of the 3d of September, 1879, as well as the letter of the Governor of Panama, which informed me of that decree,* very plainly signify that the nations of that part of America are heartily enlisted in the undertaking.

As for myself, I devote myself all the more willingly to this enterprise of an American canal, brother and complement of that of Suez, because of a sympathetic drawing which I feel toward America, the eldest daughter, perhaps, of ancient Egypt; for that continent which we call the "New World" was visited, according to the opinion of certain learned men, by fleets of Solomon and of Hiram, at that period of history when we were clothed in the skins of beasts and our ancestors lived in the age of stone. Christopher Columbus, who discovered America for us, and the Spaniards who succeeded him, discovered the traces of an ancient civilization. Everything reminds us of that extinct civilization with which the early navigators were, doubtless, acquainted: the monuments of Yucatan, a stone covered with Tyrian inscriptions lately found in the upper Amazon, and which the learned Emperor of Brazil, our illustrious colleague of the Institute, has caused to be deposited in the museum at Rio de Janeiro. In this manner has the narrative of the Bible been verified, which recounts that the fleets of Solomon and of Hiram set sail from the harbor of Joppa (Jaffa), and, after three years, returned laden with the merchandise of Ophir, of Paruim, and of Tarshish. Some historians have maintained that the Egyptians and the Tyrians went in search of gold along the eastern coasts of Africa, below the entrance to the Red Sea, where the Tyrians had also fleets which Solomon had caused to be built. But the Bible is quite explicit on this point; it gives the departure and the duration of the voyages—three years. It declares that, on sailing from Joppa, they went to Ophir and Paruim, and, following the coast of Africa, visited the Cape de Verd Islands and the islands of Madeira, which the ancients called the Fortunate Islands. The Carthaginians were acquainted with them; the Tyrians knew them in this connection, that they prevented other nations from passing through the Pillars of Hercules, in order not to be deprived of their

* See note at the end of the article.

commerce with other parts of the world. All this seems to me highly interesting. I should be glad if this question might be investigated, as it has not been hitherto; the Spanish conquerors had not the time, and science, moreover, had not reached the point at which it is now arrived. I have always wondered that no investigation has been made respecting that passage of Plato in which, in the dialogues of Timæus, he describes his voyage to Egypt. This Timæus, the interlocutor of the dialogue, presents himself before a high priest of the temple of Saïs, a great city of Lower Egypt, and demands of him what he thinks of his nation, Greece.

"You are children, you Greeks," he replied; "you have forgotten the history of your fathers, who taught us to handle the bow and the arrow, and to defend ourselves from the Atlantides, who came upon the great shores of the sea." Atlantis was composed of two great islands, and between these two great islands and the Pillars of Hercules there were smaller islands. There is nothing more striking. I have nowhere observed that this passage of Plato has been made the subject of later studies.

The Egyptians, and especially the Tyrians, and the fleets of Solomon, after having rounded the coasts of Africa, could easily have reached the coasts of Brazil, over a tranquil sea. In searching for the mouth of a river, they no doubt discovered the Amazon, and ascended the course of it. What is remarkable is, that Paruim is, in the language of the country, the plural of Paru, which is one of the two higher affluents of the Amazon. There is reason to believe that in the Spanish archives evidence would be found to demonstrate that, when the Spaniards arrived in this country, they discovered the decadence of a very ancient civilization.

Civilization lives again on the American Continent in our day; at its head marches the intelligent people of the United States. The nations of Central America and of South America are struggling to elevate themselves, and to follow in the footsteps of the great Republic of the North; and the canal can not fail to assist the development of these American countries.

I invite the coöperation, in the accomplishment of this great enterprise, of all men of noble purpose, all those who strive after the works of peace and of progress, in which the United States are especially preëminent.

In closing this paper, I turn back and am reminded that a new work is in preparation. How many people, and those among the most eminent, formerly treated the Suez Canal as an impracticable

enterprise! To create a harbor in the Gulf of Pelusium; to cross the morasses of the Lake of Menzaleh, and to mount the threshold of El-Guisr; to dig through the sands of the desert; to establish workshops at a distance of twenty-five leagues from any village, in a country without inhabitants, without water, without roads; to fill the basin of the Bitter Lakes; to prevent the sands from encroaching on the canal—what a dream of madness it all was!

All this, nevertheless, has been accomplished, and I know at the cost of what efforts it has been done. I do not hesitate to declare that the Panama Canal will be easier to begin, to finish, and to maintain, than the canal of Suez.

FERD. DE LESSEPS.

PARIS, *November*, 1879.

NOTE.

The following is the text of the decree of the President of the United States of Colombia, and of the letter of the Governor of Panama communicating the same, which are referred to by M. de Lesseps on page 12 of the foregoing article:

"The President of the United States of Colombia, considering—

"1. That, according to official information received by the Executive Department, the concession granted by the Government for the opening of a canal has been assigned to a general company for the construction of an Interoceanic Canal, presided over by M. Ferdinand de Lesseps;

"2. That this pioneer of progress, already celebrated in the scientific world by his labors in the construction of the Suez Canal, will arrive at the Isthmus of Panama at the beginning of the next year, accompanied by engineers and contractors to inaugurate this enterprise:

"3. That Colombia, favored by the selection which the International Scientific Congress has made of a section of her territory for the construction of the canal, ought to demonstrate by explicit acts the high importance which she attaches to the execution of this work, and the satisfaction with which she welcomes its promoters, decrees:

"ARTICLE 1. A Minister Secretary of State, designated by special decree, shall proceed to the Isthmus in season to preside, in the name of the Government of Colombia, at a formal reception which shall be given to M. de Lesseps and his associates, as soon as they shall have landed.

"ART. 2. The Secretary of State for the Interior and for Foreign Relations shall address an invitation to each of the Governments of the United States, in order that they may each send official commissioners to take part, in conjunction with the national Secretary of State, in the formalities of the reception.

"ART. 3. The Secretary of State shall arrange that the Government of the State of Panama shall take part with the Minister who shall be designated

in the preparations to be made, pursuant to the wishes of the Executive power, for the reception of M. de Lesseps and his companions.

"ART. 4. By a separate decree there shall be opened an extraordinary credit in the budget of expenditures, to meet the outlays rendered necessary by the execution of the present decree.

"Given at Bogotá, the 3d of September, 1879.

(Signed) JULIAN TRUJILLO.

"The Secretary of State for the Interior and for Foreign Relations,

(Signed) LUIS CARLOS RICO."

Extracts from a letter of Don GERALDO ORTEGAS, Governor of the State of Panama, to M. F. DE LESSEPS, accompanying the transmission of the above decree (September 29, 1879):

"Thus it appears that your presence is ardently desired in our country; and you will triumph over all the obstacles which have been raised up against you. . . .

"On a day which is not far distant, the Isthmus and Colombia are proposing to receive you with joy and enthusiasm; not with triumphal arches, such as admiration or fear dedicate to victorious warriors, but with grateful hearts which know how to bless the true benefactor of the human race. . . .

"When the happy moment shall arrive, you will find coöperation and affection on the part of the Government and of all the inhabitants of this hospitable and generous country."

THE WOMAN QUESTION AGAIN.

FIVE chiefs of the woman-suffrage movement have joined forces to answer the article on "The Woman Question" in the "North American" for October. Their answer evades most of the points presented by us, repeats a series of well-known fallacies, and rests on a general base of argument which we had affirmed to be unsound and which the critics do not try to vindicate. We shall not follow them in detail, for the task of refuting their special errors is as needless as it would be easy. We will only classify some of their principal failings, and then touch in particular on such of the rest as may suggest a moral or serve as a text for observations on the subject in hand.

They condemn all our reasons at once by saying that they are not original, which is perfectly true. What we wrote is nothing but an expression of the convictions, more or less distinctly shaped, of the great majority of sensible and thoughtful persons of both sexes. It is the fact that it is the voice of a vast multitude which has roused this coalition against it. The critics on their part stand only for themselves and the small following that they represent. Their reasons have all been familiar to many of us for a generation or more. We looked with interest through all the thirty-two pages of their fivefold philippic to find some fresh thought to enlarge or correct, as the case might be, our own ideas; but we could see nothing but the same well-remembered faces. The company, it is true, had changed positions. Some, once conspicuous in the front, now kept in the background; such, for instance, as the fair form of the "Purification of Politics by Woman," whom we missed altogether till we descried her at last in a modest corner.

On the other hand, there were some promotions in the group. Advocates of woman suffrage have never been backward in praising the private virtues of their sex; but on this occasion they have

given them unusual prominence. In this, though their object is apparent, we can not too cordially agree with them; for we hold that these so-called private virtues, which in fact exercise an indirect but most powerful public influence, can not be extolled too highly. We denied, however, that these virtues could be transported into political life without losing their beneficent influence, and we maintained that, in the scramble of American politics, the worst and not the best side of women's character would be thrown to the front. It was for our critics to show the contrary, and this they have entirely failed to do. They expatiate on the admirable qualities of women as mothers, teachers, hospital nurses, dispensers of charity, guides to taste, elevators and purifiers of society, and holders of a mighty power under and behind the superficial world; but they neglect to show, what is alone to the purpose, that women under indiscriminate suffrage would be a useful or at least a harmless element in politics.

One of them complains that we say nothing of Miss Florence Nightingale and other excellent women of our own times, but draw our examples from the days of Montespan and Pompadour. We were giving examples of vicious female politicians; but we did not mention either Montespan, Pompadour, or any other mistresses of sovereigns, because such instances would have been unjust. We might with great advantage have called attention to Miss Nightingale and her fellow workers, for cases like theirs are on our side. They were in no sense political women. It was in private life, without seats in Parliament, and without votes to give seats to others, that they exercised their great and beneficent influence.

Another of the critics, a gentleman of undoubted eloquence, pleads our cause in the following glowing tribute to the social power of women: "Take *society*, the only field where the sexes have ever met on terms of equality, the arena where character is formed and studied, the cradle and the realm of public opinion, the crucible of ideas, the world's university, at once a school and a theatre, the spur and the crown of ambition, the tribunal which unmasks pretension and stamps real merit, the power that gives government leave to be, and outruns the lazy Church in fixing the moral sense of the age. Who shall fitly describe the lofty place of this element in the history of the last three centuries? And yet this is the realm of woman—the throne which like a conqueror she first founded and then filled." Then why dethrone her and drag her down to the dirty ropes and wheels of the political machine? The gentleman

himself has answered the question, for he says: "None so simple as to dream that we are increasing the influence of woman. That is already omnipotent. *We would rather lessen it.*" Therefore, he continues, "we do not only claim her right to vote, *but exact it of her as a duty.*"

We may notice, by the way, that the critics differ strangely as to the reasons for demanding the ballot and the sort of improvement it is to bring about. While one thinks that women are "omnipotent," and wants to lessen their power by requiring them to vote, others cry with emotion that they are slaves, whose shackles the ballot must strike off. One will have it that they are all-powerful sovereigns, and another likens them to the most helpless and degraded of the human race.

Another trait of our critics is the skill with which they muster enemies into their service. Dr. Johnson is quoted in support of ideas which he would have spurned with wrath and scorn. Franklin is called to testify in behalf of what he would have regarded as absurdity. But the boldest invocation is to St. Paul, whose authority is cited in favor of "equal freedom for either sex." We beg our critics to ponder the following text, in which the Apostle to the Gentiles sets forth his views: "Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence." More than this he utters to the like effect, insomuch that certain friends of woman suffrage, more consistent than our critics, have been moved to reject and denounce not only St. Paul, but Christianity itself.

Several of the five colleagues have found it convenient to quote us as saying what we did not say, and then denounce us for saying it. Sometimes the words ascribed to us are inclosed in quotation-marks, and sometimes their alleged meaning only is given. As one critic says that she has rehearsed our arguments "breathlessly," we assume that breathlessness is answerable for these mistakes. Therefore we will stop to notice but one instance, and that, too, one in which we are quoted with entire verbal correctness. This is the quotation: "Many women will sell themselves; many more would sell their votes. Three fourths of them, when not urged by some pressing need or contagious passion, would be moved not by principles but by personal predilections." As we used these words they mean one thing; as our critic uses them they mean another. We applied them to coarse and ignorant masses of women, such as are found in large cities. She makes us seem to apply them to the

flower of her sex; and for so doing she holds us up to reprobation. Yet, though their sense is perverted, they are, as we have said, our very words. For this we are the more grateful, because our attention has been called to a recent number of a radical journal, of which the critic in question is an editress, and in which appeared a notice of our article bearing her initials and containing the following passage:

"Mr. Parkman says if women had political rights '*three fourths of them would sell their charms*' to influence votes, '*and those who have no charms of their own will easily be able to use those of young girls.*'"

The words italicized by us are inclosed in quotation-marks by the editress of the journal, and affirmed to be ours. She then comments bitterly upon them. The question is, where she got them. On examination the passage in quotation-marks proves to be made up as follows: First, four words taken from page 319 of the "North American"; secondly, four words which we never used; thirdly, nine words taken with variations from page 317; and, lastly, ten words which we never used; and these fragments are so combined as to express views repugnant to decency and common sense. Now nothing is more effective in discussion than to hold up the opposing party as both vicious and absurd; and herein we may congratulate our critic on an encouraging measure of success, for the foundling she has laid at our door has been widely exhibited through the popular press. Yet the advantages of her method are not unmixed, as it is less suggestive than could be wished of the "Purification of Politics by Woman."

We have given categories of some of our critics' weaknesses. Special cases remain in abundance; and we will call attention to a few that may be worth noting. They say that, as a result of the total separation of feminine qualities and power from the sphere of government, the nations of the earth have been engaged in almost ceaseless wars. But this total separation has not existed. There have been queens and other feminine rulers of every degree of power, and some of the most atrocious of wars have been their work, from the days of Semiramis downward. Considering their opportunities, political women have achieved their full share of bloodshed and misery.

The critics lay much stress on the case of Wyoming as supporting their views; but the evidence here is contradictory, and that which seems most in their favor comes from successful candidates

who owed their election to female votes. Even if we accept it, it proves little or nothing in the embryonic condition of that thinly peopled Territory. That woman suffrage, even in Wyoming, is not a success, is argued by the fact that it has been found necessary to drop women from service on juries. Neither can any safe inference be drawn from the action of the English law permitting such women as hold property which there is no man to represent to vote in municipal elections. An eminent member of Parliament lately told us that he had formerly made speeches in favor of a limited woman suffrage, but had ceased to do so because of the conduct, indecent in more senses than one, of the female remonstrants against the Contagious Diseases Act.

Again, one of the chief arguments of the critics is, that government without the consent of the governed is opposed to inalienable right. But most women, including those of the best capacity and worth, fully consent that their fathers, husbands, brothers, or friends shall be their political representatives; and no exhortation or teasing has induced them to withhold their consent. Nor is this surprising; for a woman is generally represented in a far truer and more intimate sense by her male relative than is this relative by the candidate to whom he gives his vote, commonly without knowing him, and often with dissent from many of his views.

Nothing is more certain than that women will have the suffrage if they ever want it; for when they want it, men will give it to them regardless of consequences. A more than readiness on the part of men to conform to the wishes of the other sex is a national trait in America, though whether it would survive the advent of the female politician is matter for reflection. We venture to remind those who demand woman suffrage as a right, that, even if it were so, the great majority of intelligent women could judge for themselves whether to exercise it, better than the few who assume to teach them their duty.

Here a question suggests itself. A small number of women have spent their time for several decades in ceaseless demands for suffrage, but they have lost their best argument in failing to show that they are prepared to use the franchise when they have got it. A single sound and useful contribution to one side or the other of any question of current politics—the tariff, specie payments, the silver bill, civil-service reform, railroad monopoly, capital and labor, or a half score of other matters—would have done more for their cause than years of empty agitation. Some of them have taken a

share in party politics. At the moment we write a female orator is reported to be "stumping" the State of New York in behalf of the candidate who represents what is most corrupt in machine politics; but stump-speaking needs nothing but assurance, fluency, and good lungs. What we want on the part of these reformers is, some little evidence of an inclination to study questions of government, and ability to form rational opinions upon them.

Once more, the critics say that no reason can be given why women should not take a direct part in politics, except that they have never done so. There are other reasons and strong ones in abundance. But this particular one is nevertheless good. All usages, laws, and institutions have risen and perished, and risen and perished again. Their history is the history of mutability itself. But, from the earliest records of mankind down to this moment, in every race and every form or degree of civilization or barbarism, the relative position of the sexes has been essentially the same, with exceptions so feeble, rare, and transient, that they only prove the rule. Such permanence in the foundation of society, while all that rests upon it has passed from change to change, is proof in itself that this foundation lies deep in the essential nature of things. It is idle to prate of the old time that has passed away and the new time that is coming. The "new time" can no more stir the basis of human nature than it can stop the movement of the earth.

The cause of this permanence is obvious. Women have great special tasks assigned them in the work of life, and men have not. To these tasks their whole nature, moral and physical, is adjusted. There is scarcely a distinctive quality of women that has not a direct or indirect bearing upon them. Everything else in their existence is subordinated to the indispensable functions of continuing and rearing the human race; and, during the best years of life, this work, fully discharged, leaves little room for any other. Rightly considered, it is a work no less dignified than essential. It is the root and stem of national existence, while the occupations of men are but the leaves and branches. On women of the intelligent and instructed classes depends the future of the nation. If they are sound in body and mind, impart this soundness to a numerous offspring, and rear them to a sense of responsibility and duty, there are no national evils that we can not overcome. If they fail to do this their part, then the masses of the coarse and unintelligent, always of rapid increase, will overwhelm us and our institutions. When these indispensable duties are fully discharged, then the suf-

frage agitators may ask with better grace, if not with more reason, that they may begin to share the political work of men. Yet an element of revolt against these absolute conditions of human existence is one of the motive powers of the so-called woman's-rights movement. Such revolt, in whatever quarter and from whatever source it arises, carries with it the germ of its own destruction. In the struggle for existence, those who are false to the great law of increase will be overborne by those who are true to it, whether native or foreign, of high or low degree. The race of the offenders will fade and perish, and others will take their places.

Nothing is more obvious than that many of the suffrage agitators are impatient of purely feminine work, and eager to imitate men; and even those who are most forward to disclaim this imitation are apt to give practical contradiction to their words. Some of the enthusiasts among them regard the object of their longing, the ballot, as the destined agent of a sort of miracle in nature. The most pronounced case of this sort that we know is that of two maiden ladies who insist that, after a few years of voting, women will be as large and strong as men, and like them in other respects.

A disposition to ignore differences of sex is so common that few persons can fail to observe it. Sometimes it takes curious forms. A few days ago, a distinguished and much-respected gentleman told us the following: Being on the examining board of a school in a country town, he asked the pupils what was meant by gender in nouns and pronouns. As they could not answer, he looked to the teacher for explanation, whereupon she said, with flushed cheeks and some sharpness, "Nothing is taught about gender in *this* school!"

We might continue indefinitely to comment on the positions of our critics; but what is of more importance is to note some of the reasons that cause a certain number of excellent women to feel doubts as to whether they ought not to desire the suffrage. But, first, we beg to observe, that the fact of the capacities of women being different from those of men is no argument that they are less. As we would not have men do the work of women, so neither would we have women do the work of men; though, as we once said before, there is much work that both can do—since their different domains are not separated by a narrow line, but by a broad belt. When we say that women are not suited to the sphere of government or of war, we limit them no more than we limit men when we say that they are unfit for many beneficent and noble employments

for which women are admirably suited. To say that the capacities of women are universal when those of men notoriously are not, is to say that women are the superiors of men.

Many women of sense and intelligence are influenced by the fact that the woman-suffrage movement boasts itself a movement of progress, and by a wish to be on the liberal or progressive side. But the boast is unfounded. Progress, to be genuine, must be in accord with natural law. If it is not, it ends in failure and in retrogression. To give women a thorough and wholesome training both of body and mind; to prepare such of them as have strength and opportunity for various occupations different from what they usually exercise, and above all for the practice of medicine, in which we believe that they may render valuable service; to rear them in more serious views of life and its responsibilities—are all in the way of normal and healthy development: but to plunge them into politics, where they are not needed and for which they are unfit, would be scarcely more a movement of progress than to force them to bear arms and fight.

Others are influenced by the idea that to take a direct part in political affairs would have a steadying and sobering effect on women, as they suppose that it has had on men. But, if we except ancient democracies and mediæval communes, both of which were notoriously unsteady and turbulent, men in general, or "the people," took no part in politics till comparatively recent times, and there are nations even now where they continue to take none. Yet men were fully as steady and sober without politics as with them. Indeed, they are seldom less steady and sober than when under the influence of party politics. What really steadies them is the weight of responsibility and care involved in providing for the wants of a family. Similar effects may sometimes be seen in the exceptional women on whom like responsibilities are thrown by the death, illness, or misconduct of husbands, or by any other cause.

In the better kind of women there is a form of self-sacrifice which, between the course that is agreeable and the course that is repugnant, disposes them to think that they ought to choose the latter. They have a feeling that because it is unpleasant it must be right. Many a woman is moved by this feeling who would be unmoved by temptation in the shape of ease or pleasure. Simply because her nature revolts from politics, she can not entirely rid herself of an idea that it is her duty to take part in them. The inherited spirit of Puritanism may sometimes have a part in this illusion,

but it is chiefly due to the spirit of self-sacrifice beguiling conscience and judgment.

Most of the matters with which government properly concerns itself, such as finance, agriculture, manufactures, tariffs, transportation, and war, are matters with which women in general can never be familiar, and in dealing with which feminine qualities have no particular place; but there are some other subjects, also within the sphere of government, of which this can not be said. Chief among them are women's prisons, reform-schools, and above all education. In this last many women are engaged, and all who have charge of children are directly interested in it. It is a subject on which they are rightfully and reasonably entitled to be heard, and it is very desirable that women of character and judgment should be heard. Therefore a recent law of Massachusetts empowers women to vote for members of school committees. Some of those who favored this measure certainly did so with a single eye to its ostensible object; but those most forward to urge it were, as some of them openly avow, impelled by the hope that it would be an "entering wedge" of female political suffrage. Their tactics were to get the law passed, and then to tell other women that because it was passed it was their duty to vote under it. Greatly as it is to be wished that women of sense and character should share in the conduct of schools, we do not believe that this is the way to accomplish the object. As soon as women at large can be induced to use the new right, ignorance and folly will rush in precisely where there is most need of shutting them out; and sectarianism and Rome will reap their harvest at the expense of the pure interests of education. In short, those who favor this law without ulterior objects have sown a choking crop of tares with their wheat. We believe that the less women vote under it, and the sooner it is repealed, the better for everybody but the would-be female politicians. Such women as ought to influence education can do so, if they will, powerfully and without danger, by combined action from without. An American school committee would not disregard the suggestions of a body of women of recognized character, knowledge, and good intentions; and, even if they did, public opinion and the respectable male vote would be exerted to bring them to reason. In the present state of American politics men themselves can often influence public action better from without than from within.

There is another motive, strongest with the best women, that may incline some of them to wish for a direct part in government.

It arises from that unhappy condition of a part of their sex which forms the most deplorable and most difficult problem with which humanity has to deal. But to introduce the social evil into party politics in a country governed by indiscriminate suffrage of both men and women, would be a calamity worse than the civil war. It would be to open sewers and cesspools, and poison the air with moral typhoid. Other questions of sex, as marriage, divorce, and "free love," would rush in with it. All that is foulest in the depths of society and the darkest lurking-places of the human heart would be stirred to infectious activity. Of this we have already seen premonitions. The evil is one against which any but the most careful and deliberate legislation would be worse than useless. It increases or diminishes with changing social conditions, which laws can not control. It is not a subject to be dragged into popular assemblies or popular newspapers. Only the wisest and best of both sexes are fit to deal with it, and neither can deal with it alone. It is too complex, and presents alternatives too perplexing and too grave, not to require the most calm as well as most earnest deliberation. The hope of good lies in organized discussion in private, carefully maturing measures to be presented in a definite form, sustained by a weight of character free from every suspicion.

In reading our five critics, a few considerations present themselves which deserve a moment's attention. We have observed already that they rarely try to answer the reasons we have given against woman suffrage. In fact, they pass our chief positions by, silent and on tiptoe, as if they were lairs of lynxes, catamounts, wolverenes, or tiger-cats. Nevertheless, there is one brief remark of ours on which they pounce in concert, with cries of joyous triumph. We observed that the right to vote should not be separated from the ability to fight; whereupon rises a general acclaim of reprobation, and our views are denounced as obsolete, mediæval, and otherwise reprehensible. One critic feels that we are led astray by "that imaginary relation between two circumstances which leads the incautious thinker to link them together as cause and effect." Another gives us some really curious statistics, tending to show that the professional classes have less bodily strength than the laboring classes, and that clergymen, in particular, are weak in the arm of flesh. Interesting as these statistics are, they have very little to do with the matter in hand; and the remarks which follow on the hospital-work of women, and the

dangers of child-bearing, have nothing to do with it whatever. It is singular that not one of our critics appears to see in the least the bearings of the proposition they denounce; whence it may fairly be inferred that they have given no attention to the practical basis of government. They may answer with perfect justice that they do not care for what is practical; yet it might have been well to look more closely at the positions of the opponent, if only that they might condemn him with knowledge of cause.

The human race consists of two equal parts, the combatant and the non-combatant, and these parts are separated by the line of sex. It is true that some men are permanently disabled from fighting, and others may be disabled in one year or one month, and fit to bear arms in the next; but the general fact remains, that men are the fighting half of humanity, and women are not. Fundamental laws are made in reference to aggregates of persons, and not to individual exceptions; and it would be absurd to exact a surgeon's certificate of military competency from every voter at the polls. It is enough that he belongs to a body which, as a whole, can and will fight. The question remains, What has this to do with voting? It has a great deal to do with it, and above all in a government purely popular.

Since history began no government ever sustained itself long unless it could command the physical force of the nation; and this, whether the form of government was despotism, constitutional monarchy, or democracy. The despot controls the army which compels the people to obey; the king and parliament control the force of the kingdom, and malcontents dare not rise in insurrection till they think they have drawn away an equal or greater share of it. Finally, the majority in a democratic republic feels secure that its enactments will take effect, because the defeated minority, even if it does not respect law, will respect a force greater than its own. But suppose the majority to consist chiefly of women. Then legality would be on one side and power on the other. The majority would have the law, and the minority the courage and strength. Hence, in times of political excitement, when passions were roused and great interests were at stake, the majority, that is, the legal authority, would need the help of a standing army. Without such support the possession of the suffrage by the non-combatant half of the nation would greatly increase the chances of civil discord. Once in our history a minority rose against the majority, in the belief that it could outfight it. This would happen often if the

minority, as in the supposed case of woman suffrage, had not only the belief but the certainty that it could master the majority. It may not be creditable to human nature that if we would have a stable government it is necessary to keep the balance of power on the side of law; but the business of government is to shape itself to the actual and not the ideal or millennial condition of mankind.

There is another reason why the giving of the suffrage to women would tend to civil discord. In the politics of the future, the predominant if not the engrossing questions will be to all appearance those of finance and the relations of labor and capital. From the nature of their occupations, as well as other causes, women in general are ignorant of these matters, and not well fitted to deal with them. They require an experience, a careful attention, a deliberation and coolness of judgment, and a freedom from passion, so rare that at the best their political treatment is full of difficulty and danger. If these qualities are rare in men, they are still more so in women, and feminine instinct will not in the present case supply their place. The peculiar danger of these questions is, that they raise class animosities, and tend to set the poor against the rich and the rich against the poor. They become questions of social antagonism. Now, most of us have had occasion to observe how strong the social rivalries and animosities of women are. They far exceed those of men. If, in the strife between labor and capital, which, without great self-restraint on both sides, is likely to be a fierce one, women should be called to an active part, the effect would be like throwing pitch and resin into the fire. The wives and daughters of the poor would bring into the contest a wrathful jealousy and hate against the wives and daughters of the rich, far more vehement than the corresponding passions in their husbands and brothers.

Another bad effect of extending suffrage to women would be to reduce each ballot to half its present value. The value of each is according to the influence it carries with it; and the voter who feels his share of influence cut down one half is apt to feel his interest in the discharge of political duties diminished in similar proportion. A closely limited male suffrage brings nearly every voter to the polls; under a universal male suffrage many fail to come, and their carelessness would redouble if the suffrage were diluted again by admitting all the women; or, so to speak, if political stocks were watered till they were worth just one half to each stockholder. Then the office-seekers and their tools would be as busy as

ever ; while disinterested citizens would feel it hardly worth while to contribute their diminished mite to the result of an election. More than ever, politics would become a game of the mean and the grasping. One of our critics thinks that, because we admit that our present political condition is bad, we ought to call upon women, high and low, to try their hands in it. But the fact that it is bad is no reason for making it worse.

This last remark will pass, no doubt, as an effect of that "distrustful solicitude" which one of our critics contrasts with the "more manly hopefulness" that "trusts all the virtue of the community to take care of all the vice of the community," the moral being that indiscriminate suffrage should be given to women without looking too closely to consequences. But has the virtue of communities always taken care of their vice? Has not the world been filled with triumphant wrong ; and have republics and democracies never fallen into anarchy and despotism? What makes and saves nations is not the blind and fatuitous security which our friend calls "manly hopefulness," an imbecile confidence that walks with eyes turned to the clouds till it finds itself sprawling in the mire. That faith is manly which can see as well as dare, not that which dares because it can not see. It is by such manhood that liberties are won—by watching, forecast, and conflict, through year after year and age after age ; and by watching, forecast, and striving, they must be preserved. There is no more dangerous weakness in American nature than that sickly notion that we have only to believe, and let things take their course. The virtue of the community can take care of its vice if it will ; but it can not do so by hope alone, repeating in silver tones that all is well, as it sails into the darkness of the future without compass, or chart, or an eye to the peril before it. This is not manliness, it is childish folly. The virtue that would conquer must stand in arms, always vigilant, always bold, yet never rash. It can not sit with hands folded, lulled by such high-sounding nonsense as our friend quotes in his closing lines.

Our critics have failed to see, or seeing have chosen to ignore, that their chief reasons and ours are built upon foundations totally different. We have affirmed that their foundation is unsound. It was for them to prove the contrary. Instead of doing so, they have only repeated what they and their fellow suffragists think they can never say too often about principles, rights, and the Declaration of Independence. In short, they have neither defended their own base

of argument nor attacked ours. Their favorite method is a simple one. Out of certain utterances of past times they evolve ideas which the authors of those utterances never meant to convey; then blow these ideas to their utmost inflation, call them principles, and demand that they shall be universally embodied in practice whether for good or evil.

The real issue is this: Is the object of government the good of the governed, or is it not? A late writer on woman suffrage says that it is not. According to her, the object of government is to give his or her rights to everybody. Our critics do not venture either on this flat denial or this brave assertion, but only hover about them with longing looks. Virtually, they maintain that the object of government is the realization of certain ideas or theories. They believe in principles, and so do we; they believe in rights, and so do we. But, as the sublime may pass into the ridiculous, so the best principles may be transported into regions of folly or diabolism. There are minds so constituted that they can never stop till they have run every virtue into its correlative weakness or vice. Government should be guided by principles; but they should be sane and not crazy, sober and not drunk. They should walk on solid ground, and not roam the clouds hanging to a bag of gas.

Rights may be real or unreal. Principles may be true or false; but even the best and truest can not safely be pushed too far, or in the wrong direction. The principle of truth itself may be carried into absurdity. The saying is old that truth should not be spoken at all times; and those whom a sick conscience worries into habitual violation of the maxim are imbeciles and nuisances. Religion may pass into morbid enthusiasm or wild fanaticism, and turn from a blessing to a curse. So the best of political principles must be kept within bounds of reason, or they will work mischief. That greatest and most difficult of sciences, the science of government, dealing with interests so delicate, complicated, and antagonistic, becomes a perilous guide when it deserts the ways of temperance.

Our critics' idea of government is not practical, but utterly unpractical. It is not American, but French. It is that government of abstractions and generalities which, as we once said before, found its realization in the French Revolution, and its apostle in the depraved and half-crazy man of genius, Jean Jacques Rousseau. The French had an excuse for their frenzy in the crushing oppression they had just flung off and in their inexperience of freedom. We

have no excuse. Since the nation began we have been free, and our liberty is in danger from nothing but its own excesses. Since France learned to subject the ideas of Rousseau to the principles of stable freedom embodied in the parliamentary government of England and in our own republicanism, she has emerged from alternate tumult and despotism to enter the paths of hope and progress.

The government of abstractions has been called, sometimes the *a priori*, and sometimes the sentimental method. We object to this last term, unless it is carefully defined. Sentiments, like principles, enter into the life of nations as well as that of individuals; and they are vital to both. But they should be healthy, and not morbid; rational, and not extravagant. It is not common sense alone that makes the greatness of states; neither is it sentiments and principles alone. It is these last joined with reason, reflection, and moderation. Through this union it is that one small island has become the mighty mother of nations; and it is because we ourselves, her greatest offspring, have chosen the paths of Hampden, Washington, and Franklin, and not those of Rousseau, that we have passed safe through every danger, and become the wonder and despair of despotism.

Out of the wholesome fruits of the earth, and the staff of life itself, the perverse chemistry of man distills delirious vapors, which, being condensed and bottled, exalt his brain with glorious phantasies, and then leave him in the mud. So it is with the unhappy suffragists. From the sober words of our ancestors they extract the means of mental inebriety. Because the fathers of the republic gave certain reasons to emphasize their creed that America should not be taxed because America was not represented in the British Parliament, they cry out that we must fling open the floodgates to vaster tides of ignorance and folly, strengthen the evil of our system and weaken the good, feed old abuses, hatch new ones, and expose all our large cities—we speak with deliberate conviction—to the risk of anarchy.

We have replied to our critics, but must decline further debate. We do not like to be on terms of adverse discussion with women or with men who represent them, and we willingly leave them the last word if they want it. Whatever we may have to say on the subject in future will not be said in the way of controversy.

FRANCIS PARKMAN.

ROMANISM AND THE IRISH RACE IN THE UNITED STATES.

PART II.

THE Catholic states of Europe refused toleration to Protestants. England, after a sharp experience of Papal intolerance, retaliated on the Catholics, chained them up with penal laws, and so left them. The great Laplace, speaking on the subject to an Englishman not long before he died, said: "You have got the Catholics down in your country; take care you do not let them get up again." Could England have thought only of herself, she might have taken the advice, and have left her laws unrepealed. Had she done so, there would have been no Catholic revival. Peers would not have gone over to the Church of Rome, if they would have forfeited their seats in the House of Lords. Their eldest sons would have thought twice before taking a step which would have given their estates to their younger brothers. Even the clergy and the fine ladies would have hesitated, if conversion, instead of being a mere migration from one fashionable community to another, had brought penal consequences with it. It was Ireland which forced forward Catholic emancipation. We had to choose between emancipation and rebellion. We took the former as the lesser evil of the two. We dressed it up in fine phrases, as if we regarded it as a tardy act of justice. We professed unnecessary penitence for our fathers' bigotry, and the Roman Catholics, as members for the Irish constituencies, became a power in the state. Their bishops, who in the days of oppression had been modestly grateful when the laws against them were allowed to sleep, sprang into power and political consequence with their army of Irish voters behind them. The chains were broken, and it remained to see how they would act.

Emancipation was the work of the English Liberals, and as such it was violently resisted by the old-fashioned Tories and clergy. The Tractarian or Anglo-Catholic movement in the English Church began, it is curious to observe, in the indignation of the Oxford divines at the Emancipation Act itself, which they regarded as the triumph of Latitudinarianism. The two parties were working to a common end when they thought themselves most opposed to one another. Without the revival of Catholic sentiment among Protestants, the Irish members would have been a harmless addition to the House of Commons. Without the constitutional importance which the Catholics obtained by the removal of their disabilities, Cardinal Manning would, perhaps, never have been converted; and Cardinal Newman would have carried with him into obscurity but a few nameless personal admirers. Latitudinarians and High Churchmen have brought about a result between them, which each least expected; and O'Connell's Irish *tail* and the Oxford theologians together have created the singular phenomenon of English polemical Ultramontanism.

There is an agreeable absurdity in the combination. Cardinal Newman must wonder at himself when he receives a deputation of leading Irish Catholics, as he recalls the feelings with which he remembers that he once regarded them; but it is another illustration of the fatality which has attended all our efforts to reconcile the Irish to their connection with us. Every step which we take widens the rift which divides us. Every blunder returns upon ourselves in some unforeseen and dangerous form. It is proverbially foolish to cry over spilled milk; and, if England had clearly abandoned her old traditionary policy toward Ireland, it would perhaps be well to bury the recollection of it. There has been one common principle, however, which has governed English dealing with that unlucky island from the first. It has not been abandoned; there is no thought of abandoning it; and this, it is at least possible, may lie at the root of our failures. We have insisted that Ireland shall share the same institutions which we have found to answer for ourselves; we have concluded that whatever is good for us must be good wherever it is applied; we have steadily fought from the beginning against the real facts of the case; and, if we may judge by the sameness of the result, we are doing the same thing at the present moment.

Before the Conquest, the Church of Ireland was independent of the Holy See. The Irish prelates admitted the primacy of the

Pope, but the Pope was only *primus inter pares*. The Irish people paid no Peter's pence to him, and his bulls carried no authority among them. Henry II. bought his pardon for the murder of Thomas à Becket by forcing Ireland into the general European system. Whether the effect has been to bring England and Ireland together, history can tell.

As with religion so with social organization. The Irish were ruled by their own kings and chiefs, the natural heads of the septs and clans, under laws which suited their habits. On the Conquest the invaders necessarily took the government upon themselves. But they substituted the Norman feudal system for the Irish tribal system, and the feudal system would not work in Ireland. The feudal lords had no mercenary army to enforce submission with. They could maintain themselves only through the loyalty of their Irish retainers. To secure that loyalty they were forced to humor Irish prejudice and to adopt Irish customs, and thus their rule lost its English character. They became, to all practical purposes, chiefs like the native chiefs; and, instead of Anglicizing the Celts, they grew into Celts themselves of a stronger and harder type. The main effect which was produced by the Fitzgeralds, the Fitzurses, the Eustaces, and the great barons of the Pale, was to rivet the links which bound Ireland to Rome. The old cathedrals and abbeys, to which the Celtic peasantry in later ages have been so passionately attached, were almost entirely the work of the Norman nobles, who were Roman to the heart.

In England the Roman yoke became gradually intolerable. Under Henry VIII. the English Parliament broke with it, and Ireland was required to break with it also. Religion was changed next. The Irish peasantry might possibly have become Calvinist: Calvinism suited the Celtic nature. It was born in France; it was bred in Switzerland; it was adopted by Scotland; the Highlanders accepted it at last; and the Welsh, if they are not Calvinists, are Protestants of an extremely emotional type. The Celtic nature requires something which is intense, real, and passionate. If any phase of the Reformed faith could have taken root in Ireland, it would have been of the kind which suited Wales or Scotland. But Calvinism would not do for England. England required something which was neither Catholic nor Protestant, but a hybrid which was both and neither; and what she chose for herself she insisted that Ireland should share with her. The Irish rebelled again and again; whole provinces were depopulated; the churches fell to

ruins; the miserable people perished in hundreds of thousands. To no purpose. The Anglican Church was to be the Church of Ireland—that, and nothing else. Nor was this the worst. Ireland was not only to submit, but she was to seem to submit of her own will. The English princes did not like to act as despots. They were constitutional sovereigns, who ruled with the consent of the representatives of their subjects. As England had a Parliament to legislate for her, so Ireland must have a Parliament. She must not only have laws imposed upon her which she hated, but she herself must seem to approve of them by her own peers and burgesses, if only to keep up appearances before the world.

Of all English institutions a Parliament was the least suitable to Ireland; the last which, if left independent, Ireland would have established or maintained for herself. It could exist only on condition of being tied fast with Poynings Acts, and choked with constitutional gags. But the strait-waistcoat was fixed upon her if only for the sake of uniformity, and it was hoped that she would move easily under it in time. She did not move easily under it. No sooner was England herself in difficulties in 1641, than another bloody and desperate insurrection broke out in Ireland. Patrician and peasant, Norman noble and Irish chief, combined in one supreme effort to drive the English out. They fought desperately, and for seven years they had the country to themselves. Then Oliver Cromwell came among them, and all was over. The people were crushed; the land was confiscated and distributed among the Puritan regiments; Popery was proscribed; the Anglican Via Media, with its Liturgy and bishops, was abolished, and Puritan ministers were sent in their places. The Parliament was ended, and a few Irish constituencies were allowed to send representatives to London. Oliver's hand was hard, but there was no hypocrisy about him. Clear action was for once taken on the real facts of the situation. The Irish were a conquered people, and were treated as a conquered people.

Nature always responds favorably to complete sincerity. While Cromwell lived the Puritan colony in Ireland throve. The Celts ceased to struggle with the inevitable. Two generations of the iron hand, and the Irish would, in all likelihood, have followed the example of the Highlanders. Popery would have disappeared for ever, and, the irreconcilable element once removed, the two nations would at last have become one.

It was not to be. The Restoration came, and all was once more

confusion. The Irish Parliament was set up again; the bishops were set up again. Cromwell's soldiers were to be forced into conformity, and to escape they sold their estates and went away. The Stuart sympathizers were Catholics, so Romanism was again to be tolerated. The old owners demanded back their lands. Part of them they got; the whole they hoped to get. The reaction in England was checked by the Revolution of 1688. The Irish Catholics made another fight for it, to be once more beaten; and then, if ever, the English had a final chance of redeeming their accumulated errors. Instead of doing so, they repeated every one of their errors in a grosser form. They did no one thing that they ought to have done; they left nothing undone which they ought not to have done. They had now resolved to have done with Romanism at home, and they stifled it down with penal laws. They extended their penal laws to Ireland, but they allowed them to be executed only far enough to exasperate, while the creed which they were designed to extinguish intensified its hold. Persecution may succeed if it is thoroughgoing. It is the wildest of follies if the hand is lifted only to show that it can not or will not strike. Ireland was poor and miserable. The English ought to have shown that the English connection meant at least material prosperity. They deliberately determined, on the contrary, to keep Ireland poor and miserable as the readiest means of preventing it from being troublesome. They destroyed Irish trade and shipping by navigation laws. They extinguished Irish manufactures by differential duties. They laid disabilities even on its wretched agriculture, for fear that Irish importations might injure the English farmer. The best hope of really uniting the two countries was to make Ireland Protestant in the real sense of the word, and to encourage Protestants of all kinds to settle there. The hierarchy of the Establishment hated Protestant Dissenters worse than it hated Catholics. The Anglo-Irish prelates and gentry disliked Presbyterians because they were republicans, and disbelieved in Episcopacy. England did not care to protect them, because a vigorous Protestant Presbyterian element in the country might make it less easy to maintain a legislation thus destructive to industry. Therefore the Presbyterians of the north were driven in thousands to America, where they revenged themselves in the battles of the Revolution. The Irish Parliament ought to have been suppressed, and Cromwell's Union should have been revived. But the English members were unwilling to admit Irish representatives among them who might be noisy over their grievances. The

Irish Parliament, therefore, went on as before, consisting only of Protestants, and representing only Protestants—the very worst conceivable institution for the government of a conquered people. It oppressed the poor peasantry as it pleased. It was prevented from being troublesome to England by systematic corruption.

But, of all the fatal gifts which we bestowed on our unhappy possession, was the English system of owning land. Land, properly speaking, can not be owned by any man. It belongs to all the human race. Laws have to be made to secure the profits of their industry to those who cultivate it, but, the private property of this or that person which he is entitled to deal with as he pleases, land never ought to be and never strictly is. In Ireland, as in all primitive civilizations, the soil was divided among the tribes. Each tribe collectively owned its own district. Under the feudal system the proprietor was the crown as representing the nation; while the subordinate tenures were held with duties attached to them, and were liable on non-fulfillment to forfeiture. In England the burden of defense was on the land. Every gentleman according to his estate was bound to bring so many men into the field, properly armed and accoutred. When a standing army was substituted for the old levies, the country squires served as unpaid magistrates on the commission of the peace. The country-squire system was in fact a development of the feudal system, and, as we gave the feudal system to Ireland, so we tried long and earnestly to give them our land-owners. The intention, doubtless, was as good as possible in both cases, but we had taken no trouble to understand Ireland, and we failed as completely as before. The duties attached to landed property died away or were forgotten; the ownership only remained. The people, retaining their tribal traditions, believed that they had rights upon the land on which they lived. The owner believed that there were no rights but his own. In England the rights of landlords have similarly survived their duties, but they have been modified by custom and public opinion. In Ireland the proprietor was an alien, with the fortunes of the residents upon his estates in his hands and at his mercy. He was divided from them in creed and language; he despised them as of an inferior race, and he acknowledged no interest in common with them. Had he been allowed to trample on them and make them his slaves, he would have cared for them, perhaps, as he cared for his horses. But their persons were free while their farms and houses were his, and thus his only object was to wring out of them the last penny which they could pay,

leaving them and their children to a life scarcely raised above the level of their own pigs.

Even under these hard conditions the country made some progress. The Presbyterian colony in the north survived its ill usage. It was weakened but not extirpated. There was a brave spirit in many of the gentry which bore them up against their difficulties. The Celt was broken down and submissive. Some degree of English law and English order was established. It is curious to observe that in the middle of the last century—the very time on which modern Liberals look back with greatest shame—Voltaire describes Ireland as well governed and as beginning to be prosperous. England, unhappily, was determined that Ireland should not be prosperous. She persisted in her injustice till she drove the Protestant colonists to make common cause with the Celts against her. As the Norman-Irish barons before the Reformation, so the country gentlemen of a hundred years ago, became as hostile to England as the Celts themselves. The tyranny which forced America into revolt was forcing Ireland also along the same course, and the Parliament in College Green became the center of the national resistance and resentment. Both races, Protestant and Catholic, combined to demand justice, and England, embarrassed by a war with France and the war with America, was compelled to yield. The laws which had ruined the trade of Ireland were repealed. The laws against the Catholics were relaxed also. Then it was hoped that all would go well. But it was too late. Concessions made ungraciously never conciliate, and encourage only larger demands. The Irish Celts hated England. They had always hated her. They were now ceasing to fear her, and believed once more that they could shake off the yoke. The alliance between Irish Protestant and Irish Catholic was a passing illusion. Again there was a rebellion; again it was bloodily repressed, and the Irish Parliament was brought to an end.

Once more it was proved that Ireland could not free herself, and that for good or evil she must remain attached to England. Then at last it might have been expected that England would have reflected seriously as to the causes of her long failures, and have endeavored to amend them. Every plan had been tried but one—cruelty and gentleness, tolerance and intolerance, Church-of-England-ism and Parliament. One course only had been left untried, a firm and just government. Since the country could not be free from the English connection, England was bound in honor and duty to see

that at least justice was administered there alike to high and low, and this had never been done or tried to be done save for a few years under the Protectorate of Cromwell. To this, after the Act of Union, English statesmen ought to have addressed themselves. But again it was precisely this which was left unattempted. They saw that they had been wrong in the past. They wished to do better for the future. But justice was troublesome. It could not be done without offending prejudices, without sacrificing Parliamentary support, and invading perhaps the sacred rights of property. Ireland could not be provided with a just government, but the Catholic disabilities could be taken away. The Irish people could be given votes. They should have a share in the extended liberties which the English people had obtained for themselves. Then every complaint must end. Then they would share to the full the blessings and advantages of the best Constitution which the world had ever seen. They would learn to appreciate the gift and bless the hand by which it was bestowed. Alas! it was not the want of the franchise, it was not the political disabilities of the Catholics, that had caused the misery of Ireland. Catholic emancipation could not drain the bogs, build houses, plow and plant the soil, teach the owners of it wisdom, and the peasants who dwelt upon it industry, put down beggary and assassination, punish landlords who robbed their tenants, or tenants who shot their landlords. It gave social consequence to Popery. It gave the priests political power, and in giving them power restored to their creed its respectability and importance. But to the Irish peasant it was giving a stone for bread, and for fish a scorpion. It mocked them with hopes which it could not realize. They could send their representatives to Westminster, but only to be outvoted by their old enemies. The land of their fathers still belonged to the stranger. The soil out of which they supported themselves was not theirs. The Saxon could turn them adrift upon the world at any moment that pleased him. The chasm which divided landlord and tenant became wider than before, and the discontent more deep, as the hopes of the Irish to get rid of the intruder altogether still were disappointed. To tell a people that they are conquered, and must submit to a power stronger than themselves, may be harsh, but if it be true it can be endured, and it can be endured easily if the conqueror's rule is practically beneficent. To tell a people that they are free to manage their own affairs, but to leave them in such a condition that they must use their freedom as others please, is a mockery and an insult. Free-

dom to Ireland means the land to themselves, and a government of their own choosing. Freedom in that sense England can not and will not allow to Ireland. That is the hard fact, and thus every step in the way of concession has but led to deeper disaffection, as it has strengthened the power of resistance.

Public opinion refused to look the truth in the face. We had given Ireland political reform, and political reform, we flattered ourselves, would do its work in time. The first catastrophe which broke upon us after emancipation was the potato-famine. Before English rule had established itself in the shape of the policeman, the numbers of the Celtic race were kept down by internal wars and feuds, and want of food. The Irish annals are a monotonous record of fights among the O's and the Mac's ; of farmsteads burned, and cattle carried off as spoil. Under such conditions, settled industry was impossible. Corn could not be grown. The people lived like wild animals, upon meat and grass ; and in Spenser's time the Celtic population scarcely amounted to half a million. English rule at least enforced a kind of peace. The chiefs could no longer openly make war on one another. The potato lent its fatal help—the potato and heedless landlords, who attended to nothing so long as their rents were paid. Thus in 1846 the half million had grown to nine millions, seven of which were absolutely dependent on a single miserable root. The root failed: the whole island was smitten ; hundreds of thousands were starved to death. Millions fled across the Atlantic to found a new Irish nation in hospitable America. In a state of misery, human beings are generally unreasonable ; and the Irish were never distinguished for drawing accurate conclusions. All that they were suffering was laid at England's door; and, indeed, in a sense, with justice ; for except for us they would never have been alive to suffer. And, if we had been more faithful in our stewardship, Ireland would have been as wealthy and prosperous as the sister island, and not at the mercy of a potato-blight. We did what we could : we subscribed money ; we laid a poor law on the land. But it was to no purpose. The emigrants went away with rage in their hearts, and a longing hope of revenge hereafter with America's help. Those who staid, again talked rebellion, shot landlords, and gathered pikes and rifles. The United Irelanders of 1798 revived in Fenian lodges ; and, from the time of the famine, dates a spirit of settled, sullen hostility to England, and everything English, more profound and more organized than any which has been known for the century. Those who know Ireland well, have seen

the change in the temperament of the people. The light-heartedness, the wit, the humor, have disappeared. In the few instances where the Protestant landlords had resided on their estates, and had taken an interest in their tenants, difference of religion had not prevented a kindly feeling growing up toward them. The Celtic peasant is instinctively loyal to the chief who is visibly set over him; and in default of a chief of his own blood he had, within limits, looked up to the stranger who was in his place. All this is gone now. The one desire is to shake the landlord from off the soil, and break if possible the English connection. They hated it from the first; we have done nothing to make them cease to hate it, and we have done too much to justify their detestation. We acknowledge our sins, but we do not amend them. Our only remedy is to pour oil into the fire, to break the cords with which we had tied them down, while we remain determined as ever to refuse them the one concession for which liberty is valuable to them. The Catholic Church has sanctified the Irish cause. It has made patriotism respectable. It has given the peasantry the sympathy of Catholic Europe. Without their religion they would have yielded long ago. In the dream that we can detach the Catholic Church from the popular cause, we weaken the Protestant garrison which our fathers established at so desperate a cost. We disestablish our darling Anglo-Irish Church. We paralyze the power of the landlords. We surrender our control over education. We leave the bishops and clergy to train the children in principles and in an interpretation of history which are certain to intensify their dislike of us. It is true that the Established Church had been a mistake and a misfortune from the first. It is true that we had made it worse than it need have been, by appointing scandalous persons to the Irish sees. It is true that our English land system was unsuited to Ireland, and ought never to have been introduced into it. But it was no longer possible to leave the tenantry in the power of a set of land-owners who could never have done their duty properly, and from change of circumstances could now no longer do it at all. In another age, and under other habits of mind, the Church would have been made a real church, and authority would have been established in a just and tolerable shape. High statesmanship is impossible now. Our only expedient is to abolish authority altogether, and to pass the power over to the people themselves; and then we are surprised that they are still dissatisfied, and we ask with open eyes what they can want more. What can they want

more? They want the lands again which, by yielding the points for which they fought, they forfeited for a rebellion which we now allow to have been legitimate. They want their country. They want to be rid of the chain which binds them to a union which they detest and have too much reason to detest. As hopeless is the dream that by any concession which we can make we can really conciliate the Roman hierarchy. They will take what we give them, but they will not thank us for it. To the Roman Church belongs, in their own conception of what is their due, not Ireland only, but England also. The small installments of justice which have been wrung from us, they do not owe to our repentance but to our fears. The one weapon in their hands is the popular agitation which threatens to turn into rebellion. They will not let the flame blaze out, but never will they seriously try to extinguish it altogether till a Roman Catholic Primate is again installed at Canterbury; then, perhaps, and not till then, will the interest of the Church cease to be identical with patriotism. Not till then will the old allies be divided, and the priest be found on the English side.

Not so long ago the English army and navy were filled with Irish recruits. Half our victories were won by Irish peasants. That was in the days of oppression, when the Irish knew that England was their master, and respected us for not being afraid to say so. All is changed now. Few and half-hearted are the "boys" at the present day whom the sergeant's shilling can tempt at Cork or Mallow. Those who would once have enlisted under the English flag are now in New York and Boston, in Chicago and Cincinnati, forming the rank and file of the Catholic army which is to conquer the United States. They have carried the war, too, into our English and Scotch cities. As they have emigrated to the United States, so they have emigrated to us. They have gone to Liverpool and Manchester, to Glasgow and Birmingham, to Leeds and Bristol, to earn our wages and to share our suffrage. In forty English constituencies the Home Rule League boasts that the Irish vote will govern the return. When parties are nearly balanced again in the House of Commons, the Irish members will decide whether Liberal or Tory is to hold the reins, and it is whispered that the virtue of neither party will stand the trial. It is on the cards that they may make constitutional government impossible, or, if we wish to save it, may force us to let Ireland go.

Nor can it be said that in Ireland itself we are doing anything to entitle us to keep a hold upon it. No government has a right to

exist which will not at least try to protect life and to keep order. Crimes enough have been committed in Ireland ever since we have been connected with it, but we have at least endeavored to punish them. Two instances have happened within the last few years from which it would seem that we had abandoned even these rudimentary elements of our business there.

The first was the murder of a detective policeman named Talbot. When so much inflammable matter is lying about, the authorities in Dublin Castle are driven to use the services of men who can disguise themselves outwardly and inwardly; who can assume the character and win the confidence of those whose secrets they wish to discover. It may be wrong to employ persons of this kind, but every civilized government does employ them and must employ them. The detective police are a body without whose assistance modern felons would have us at their mercy. Talbot's business lay not among felons but among political conspirators. Political conspiracy is held in these days to be more respectable than murder and burglary, and to deserve more honorable treatment. We still admit, however, that too ardent patriots may be lawfully hanged, and if they may be hanged it is hard to see why necessary means may not be used to detect and convict them. Talbot had been eminently successful. The Castle had no better servant belonging to it. His disguises were impenetrable, his power of acting unsurpassed. The Fenians had seen their most private counsels betrayed at the critical moment, lodges were broken up, the most carefully laid plots were anticipated. They discovered, at length, that the traitor was a police-officer, and in the open day, in the most frequented street in Dublin, a patriot named Kelly walked up to Talbot and shot him through the neck. He lingered till the next day and then died. The assassin was caught red-handed, and was tried. There was not the slightest doubt that he had fired the bullet. The defense was that the death had not been caused by the wound, but by the unskillful treatment of the surgeon. The plea was allowed. The wives of the twelve jurymen received widows' caps by the post, intimating the fate that awaited their husbands if they dared to sacrifice an Irish patriot, and Kelly was acquitted. He was tried afterward for wounding another man who had been active in his arrest, and for this he was sentenced to a few years' penal servitude. But for the murder of Talbot he was not punished at all. Irish opinion justified the verdict. The policeman was held to have deserved his fate, and Kelly to have done good service in killing him. And to this

conclusion the Government submitted. Ireland was to be ruled according to Irish ideas, and this was one of them. The authorities at the Castle seemed unconscious that, in allowing an officer to be sacrificed with impunity for doing too well and faithfully the duty on which they had employed him, they had themselves practically abdicated. Loyalty for the English administration there had long been none, and respect perhaps as little. But a government which permits itself to be laughed at and set aside by the extemporized justice of popular disaffection has forfeited its right to exist. It is not only useless, but mischievous. It teaches the most fatal of all lessons, that the law may be broken with impunity. It is simply an enthronement of anarchy. The public opinion which acquitted Kelly was a defiance of English government, an open declaration that, if law was to be obeyed in Ireland, it must be such a law as Ireland approved, and no other. The union is maintained by force. That is the fact, and that will continue to be the fact. If England had really wished to "reconcile" Ireland, she would have informed the Irish patriots that, jury or no jury, murder should not go unpunished. An act of Parliament should have been carried on the spot by the consent of both the political parties in it, to bring the murderer to London and try and hang him there ; and one emphatic act of this kind would have done more to put an end to Irish disloyalty than all the Papist relief acts which have been passed for a century. Relieve the Papists if it be necessary. The time may be past when men can be fitly disqualified for their religious opinions, but a government which confesses its inability to punish assassination is a mockery and an abomination, and the sooner it comes to an end the better for England and for Ireland both.

The second case is that of Lord Leitrim, who was shot last year near his own door, in Donegal. Lord Leitrim was called a hard landlord. His estates lay in the most lawless part of the island, and he retained the old-fashioned notion that he had a right to use the power which the law gave him to clear off persons whom he knew to be dangerous. In money transactions with his tenants he was just and even generous. When he evicted a man from a farm, he gave him the full compensation which the law prescribed, but go the man must if Lord Leitrim did not choose that he should remain. In these high-handed proceedings he was certainly imprudent, and perhaps he was needlessly harsh. He was guilty of the anachronism of trying to carry out in a changed time the policy for which the English landlords were imposed upon the country. He, for his part,

in such part of Ireland as had fallen to him to administer, was determined to crush out Irish disaffection. He did not reside himself in security in England and send his perilous orders to be executed by his agents. He was a brave old man, and lived in the middle of his property as careless of danger as a soldier on a campaign. He was threatened often, but he went on upon his way, till at length he was killed on the road at a short distance from his house. There was probably not a person in the neighborhood, not a servant, even, in his own family, who did not perfectly well know the hand that had fired the shot, but no one would give evidence. Man or woman who had come forward as a witness would have been treated as Lord Leitrim was treated, and the people were quite aware of it. Again, as in Talbot's case, Irish opinion declared that Lord Leitrim had only got what he deserved. His coffin was insulted at his funeral, and, to reconcile England to the sentence which Ireland had executed, stories were industriously circulated charging him with scandalous personal profligacy. As far as such charges bore upon his death, they were totally without foundation. He was seventy when he was killed. The most that could be proved was that he had been, perhaps, irregular in his early years. He was to be shot in Donegal at seventy because he had been wild at college.

Even supposing that the worst that had been alleged of him was true, are we to have a Corsican vendetta in Ireland? The government that tolerates such things is self-condemned. Its one duty is to take itself away. It stands there confessedly incapable of protecting its own officers or maintaining the elementary laws of human society, while secret tribunals administer a separate justice of their own. Yet we are contented to shake our heads; to regret that the victim should have provoked his fate by his arbitrary ways; and we rejoice in our hearts that we are rid of so troublesome a person.

Each crime of this kind undetected and unavenged is a fresh rent in the veil of self-complacency with which we hide the truth from ourselves. Ireland, we are assured, is infinitely improved. Old acts of injustice have been repaired. The people are protected from oppression by the land act. Their religion is honored and respected. They have all the liberties which are the pride and glory of England. It appears that they have a good deal more liberty. The land act, good as it may be, does not give them the full protection which they desire, and they are allowed to supplement it by laws of their own. Liberty to commit murder with im-

punity is not a form of political freedom which we can contemplate with satisfaction.

It may be said that this Donegal atrocity is exceptional. Fifty years ago landlord-shooting was a common form of political sporting. Now it is only here and there that a rare example is needed. Fifty years ago the Catholic clergy were all enlisted among our enemies. Now it is their interest to be loyal. The sectional animosity which divided Ireland into two hostile armies has disappeared with Protestant ascendancy, and the Catholic Church lends its powerful influence to put an end to crime. In a certain sense this is true. The Catholic Church will use its influence on the side of order as long as Ireland is administered in the way which it approves. But it will not prevent or punish assassinations like those of Talbot or Lord Leitrim ; and landlord-shooting has become exceptional, only because the landlords know that they have no support to look for, and that if they are to exist at all in Ireland they must be content to exist on sufferance—that is to say, the effort to assimilate Ireland to England has been abandoned. The Protestant gentry are satisfied with receiving their rents as long as the people will pay them. If they attempt to do the work for which they were intended, they will be shot, with the general approval of the country, and English statesmen will shrug their shoulders and regret that they should have been so wrong-headed as to misunderstand the signs of the times. The Protestant clergy similarly are made to feel that, if they exert themselves to proselytize, their schools will be burned, and their converts will be rattened. They may keep their own flocks, but only on condition that they remain quiet, and do not add to them.

It is easy to see whither all this is tending. Land-owners with nothing to do are an anomaly, a burden upon the soil, and will soon drop out of existence. Teachers of religion who may not teach are spiritual eunuchs, and will have no progeny. If the stream runs with comparative smoothness, it is because there is no resistance, and it flows on with gathering volume to its natural issues. Were England out of the way, and Ireland left to settle its own affairs, a free Parliament, meeting at Dublin, would at once establish Roman Catholicism, and would make it, if not impossible, at least very uncomfortable, for any other religion to exist by the side of it ; the act of settlement would be undone, the rights of the landlord would be reduced to a rent-charge, the rent-charge would become a life annuity, and the life annuity would soon cease to be

paid. No one who knows Ireland can doubt that this would be the form which affairs would take. The Catholic population is five times larger than the Protestant. The voting power would be in the ratio of the population, and the Catholics would vote as the priests directed them.

There is, indeed, an appeal beyond the ballot-box. In the north of Ireland the Presbyterians balance the Catholics in numbers, while they far exceed them in wealth and intelligence. The remnant of the Presbyterians who survived the persecution from the Established Church and the Tory aristocracy, have taken root in the soil. They are a stern, hardy race, of the same creed and mettle as the Scots from whom they came, and they would not bear without a struggle to see Ireland again Celtic and Romanist. They would be strong enough of themselves to make head in the field, volunteers would not be wanting to stand by them if the Protestant flag was flying, and a brave minority may reverse by arms the verdict of the polling-booths. It remains still uncertain what Ireland's destiny would be if she were left to decide it for itself; but such a trial of strength, by the irony of Fate, the connection with England forbids. No revolution is possible where England nominally rules. According to established constitutional principles the majority must prevail; and, if Ireland is to be governed, as Mr. Gladstone says that it must be, by Irish ideas—and Irish ideas are held to be those which are expressed by the majority of votes—the entire strength of the empire is committed to Catholic and Celtic ascendancy. Slowly, like a retreating tide, the Protestant element is receding—one by one the cords are breaking. That nine tenths of the soil shall be owned by Protestants, while the political power is in the hands of Catholics, can not long continue. It is against the nature of things. In the great war against the English Reformation the Catholics have won the first campaign. They have reconquered Ireland.

Thus, on both sides of the Atlantic, the principles of constitutional government have permitted the growth of a party at once religious and national, which is the natural enemy of religious and political liberty; which demands toleration, yet will concede no toleration; which aspires to undo the work of the Reformation, and turn back the tide of human things. To an impartial looker-on upon the ebb and flow of the organic forces the spectacle is profoundly interesting. He sees with admiration constitutional statesmen and philosophers so confident in their theories that they allow

their open enemies the fullest advantage which they can derive from those theories. They rely on truth to bring its own justification. They permit every superstition, and every national and political passion, free room to assert itself, and they have an entire assurance that all will go well so long as the voices of the majority prevail. He sees, on the other hand, a spiritual belief which our fathers had believed to be dead rising like a thunderstorm against the wind in the face of the spirit of this age. A united Italy may have stripped the Pope of his immediate dominions ; but in every country in the civilized world the Papacy has recovered a practical power which more than compensates the loss. It divides France with the republicans. It brings to terms the imperious German statesman. It is the enemy of freedom, yet its power is greatest under the freest governments. It has delivered Ireland from Protestant ascendancy. It invades America by Irish arms. In England, if not as yet politically powerful, it has converted the Anglican Church into a training-school by the infection of its principles. Romanism unquestionably is everywhere recovering itself, putting out extraordinary energy, rousing something like the old enthusiasm, and making progress most where her enemies had been the strongest. Men of intellect may see the falsehood of her doctrines as clearly as ever they saw them. But men of intellect are not the majority. The vote of a peasant is as useful to Rome as the vote of a philosopher. The Catholic Church and the civil governments are rival claimants for the same dominion. They can be friends only when one is weak and the other strong, when one yields and the other rules. The Church was beaten upon her knees by the Reformation, and for two centuries she has been docile and submissive. She is growing again like another Antæus, and a fresh conflict is now not very far off.

When two opposing principles flourish together in the common soil of human nature, it is likely that each represents some side of truth which the other ignores. The line of human progress is the equation of the compound forces of freedom and authority. Freedom runs into anarchy ; authority runs into tyranny. By the "endless jar" of these two tendencies the curve of advance is traced out. It pleases us to say that all men have a natural right to liberty. But perhaps only those have a right to liberty who deserve it, and can use it well ; and, although the law may not be able to select the deserving from the undeserving, fact, nevertheless, will find out the distinction and will refuse to recognize a theory which

denies its existence. We say that all men are equal. We say it to no purpose if nature has made us unequal. We say that all men have an equal right to a voice in the government of the state. It may be that only the wise and competent ought to have a voice in it at all; that the majority are as little able to choose their ablest statesman as to choose their ablest artist, their ablest poet, their ablest philosopher, their ablest religious teacher; and as in fact contemporaries never have recognized their best men in these departments, the majority at any given time possesses not the highest discernment, but only average discernment, and the persons whom they select for honors are those who best represent the average prevailing insight. How the wisest are to be discovered, and how, when discovered, are to be raised to power, is a problem which has never been solved completely, and never will be solved completely. We have to be content with approximations to a solution—some nearer to completeness, some further from it. Universal suffrage is one method which under certain conditions answers better than any other would do; but it is no law of nature. It is a passing expedient, like the rest. It will succeed while those conditions continue; it will break down and pass away when the conditions change.

We say that every man has a right to his own opinion, whether it be true or false; that he has a right to think and act as he pleases, so long as he does not injure his neighbor, and that no one has any business to interfere with him. Doubtless no man or body of men, either by right of birth, or by state selection, or by the putting on of bishops' hands, or by any artificial title whatever, can receive authority to dictate to others what they are to do or think. It is no less true that every false opinion is a misfortune to a man; that he can not act upon it without hurting himself, and indirectly or directly hurting society; that society prospers precisely so far as the members of it can be persuaded, and in great matters, if persuasion will not serve, can be driven, to act rightly and not wrongly. We shall never see our way so long as we talk only about our rights. For rights we must read responsibilities. The rights of man are we know not what. The responsibilities of man are practical realities which find us out at every false step which we take. A state of things in which the action of government is restricted to the prevention of crime and statutable fraud, and where beyond those limits all men are left to go their own way—to be honest or dishonest, pure or profligate, wise or ignorant, to lead what lives they please, and preach what doctrines they please—may have been a necessary step

in the evolution of humanity; but as surely, if no other principle had ever been heard of, or acted on, civilization would have stood still, hardly above the level of barbarism. As surely, unless the wheel of progress is to turn backward, and we are to decline as we have risen, the natural superiority of truth to falsehood, and right to wrong, will recover in some shape or other the form of practical authority; and it is this principle of authority which Romanism has all along insisted on. That the Catholic Church is our divinely appointed guide, may be a false inference, but that there ought to be some guidance is true, and, as long as "modern civilization" continues to deny it, a growing section of mankind will support the Church in refusing to "reconcile itself" with modern civilization, and will go back into allegiance to the Church till some better authority is found. It is the fashion to say that the modern man is free; that submission to authority is mean and servile. On the contrary, it is precisely as men understand what real freedom means, that they submit to what is better than themselves; and those who clamor loudest for their rights are those who have fewest rights which deserve to be respected.

Thus the conflict will go on, and may last for some generations. Liberalism will not easily be convinced that it has been mistaken; and Romanism burdened as it is with so many spriritual incredibilities and so dark a history, could never have stood its ground, or have recovered ground which it had lost, unless it represented something most real, which the world can not afford to forget. It will not win in the long run. Very noticeable is the fact that it shows most signs of vigor in Protestant countries, where the intellectual and moral energy is the strongest. Its ranks are numerically respectable. In the Old and the New World alike Roman Catholics are an actual majority. But Spain and Portugal are not likely to affect deeply the practical fortunes of Europe. The Bonapartists are not promising allies in France, and the Austrians are the losing side in Germany. Nor will Spanish America affect the convictions of the world beyond its own limits. In England and America the Church's soldiers are the Irish; and the Irish, whatever weight their numbers may lend to the Church's immediate pretensions, may ultimately more embarrass the cause than strengthen it. The Irish are interesting for their misfortunes. No one can refuse to admire the passionate tenacity with which they cling to their faith and their country. But no cause has ever prospered as yet with which Ireland has been connected. She has never ceased to struggle, but

her struggles have ended uniformly in failure ; and there is a certain ridiculousness in the Catholic Church, which claims to represent the Almighty upon earth, being supported in its most ambitious campaign by voting regiments of Irish peasants.

Both England and the United States have something to learn from her, and the lesson may be unpleasant and humiliating. But Romanism as a theological creed can not again command the serious belief of the intelligent part of mankind. A galvanic "grammar of assent" may make the dead limbs seem to move ; but the movement is artificial. The heart does not beat, the blood does not run in the veins. The life once gone does not come back again.

JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE.

SAINTE-BEUVE.*

When, in publishing some years since the small collection of letters which Sainte-Beuve had addressed to his gracious and appreciative friend the Princess Mathilde, his last secretary, M. Troubat, announced his intention of getting together and bringing to the light the general correspondence of the great critic, the thing seemed a capital piece of literary good news. After a considerable interval the editor has redeemed his promise, and we have two substantial volumes of Sainte-Beuve's letters. The result may be said, on the whole, to be a very interesting one—our prospect of high entertainment was not illusory. The letters extend from the year 1822 to the autumn of 1869, the moment of the writer's death, and are naturally most abundant during the closing years of his career—the second volume occupying entirely the period from 1865. The editor mentions that during the passage of the second volume through the press a number of letters, of whose existence he had not been aware, came into his hands. These he has reserved for a supplementary volume; the reader will have to interpolate them at their proper dates. I do not longer await the appearance of this volume—it was promised several months ago—in order to speak of its predecessors, for these are complete in themselves, and are so rich in interesting matter that I shall be able to do them but scanty justice.

Sainte-Beuve's letters do nothing but complete a portrait which was already a very vivid one. Sainte-Beuve had painted his own likeness in a myriad fine, unerring, cumulative touches; no writer was ever more personal, more certain, in the long run, to infuse into his judgments of people and things those elements out of which an image of himself might be constructed. In Sainte-Beuve the whole man was in the special work—he was *all* a writer, a critic, an appre-

* Correspondance de C. A. Sainte-Beuve (1822–'69). Paris, Calmann Lévy, 1878.

ciator. He was literary in every pulsation of his being, and he expressed himself totally in his literary activity. No character and no career were ever more homogeneous. He had no disturbing or perverting tastes; he suffered no retarding or embarrassing accidents. He lost no time, and he never wasted any. He was not even married; his literary consciousness was never complicated with the sense of an unliterary function. His mind was never diverted or distracted from its natural exercise—that of looking in literature for illustrations of life, and of looking in life for aids to literature. Therefore it is, as I say, that his work offers a singularly complete image of his character, his tastes, his temper, his idiosyncrasies. It was from himself always that he spoke—from his own personal and, as they say in France, intimate point of view. He wrote himself down in his published pages, and what was left for his letters was simply to fill in the details, to supply a few missing touches, a few inflections and *nuances*. As a matter of course, Sainte-Beuve was not an elaborate letter-writer. He had always his pen in his hand, but he had little time for set epistles. His literary career was an intensely laborious one—his time, attention, and interest, his imagination and sympathies were unceasingly mortgaged. The volumes before us contain almost no general letters—letters purely sociable and human. The human and sociable touch is frequent, it is perpetual; to use his own inveterate expression, he "slips it in" wherever there is an opening. But his letters are almost always rather brief notes, dictated by some professional or technical occasion. There are very few letters devoted to giving an account of his personal situation, of his movements and adventures, of the incidents of his life. Sainte-Beuve's adventures, indeed, were not numerous, and the incidents in his life were all intellectual, moral, literary incidents—the publication of his works, the changes, the phases, the development of his opinions. He never traveled; he had no changes of place, of scenery, of society, to chronicle. He once went to Liége, in Flanders, to deliver a course of lectures, and he spent a year at Lausanne for the same purpose; but, apart from this, his life was spent uninterruptedly in Paris.

Of course, when one makes the remark that a man's work is in a peculiar degree the record of a mind, the history of a series of convictions and feelings, the reflection of a group of idiosyncrasies, one does not of necessity by that fact praise it to the skies. Everything depends upon the value of the mind in question. It so happened that Sainte-Beuve's was a wonderful one—a mind so rich

and fine and flexible, that this personal accent, which sounds everywhere in his writings, acquired a superior savor and an exquisite rarity. He had indeed a most remarkable combination of qualities, and there is something marvelous in the manner in which he reconciled certain faculties, which are usually held to be in the nature of things opposed to each other. He had, to begin with, two passions, which are commonly assumed to exclude each other—the passion for scholarship and the passion for life. He was essentially a creature of books, a *literatus;* and yet to his intensely bookish and acquisitive mind nothing human, nothing social, was alien. The simplest way to express Sainte-Beuve's high plan is perhaps to say that, putting aside the poets and novelists, the purely imaginative and inventive authors, he is the writer who has imported into literature the largest element of *life.* No scholar was ever so much of an observer, of a moralist, a psychologist; and no observer, surely, was ever so much of a scholar. He valued life and literature equally for the light they threw upon each other; to his mind one implied the other; he was unable to conceive of them apart. He made use in literature, in an extraordinary manner, of the qualities that are peculiarly social. Some one said of him that he had the organization of a nervous woman and the powers of acquisition of a Benedictine. Sainte-Beuve had nerves assuredly; there is something feminine in his tact, his penetration, his subtilty and pliability, his rapidity of transition, his magical divinations, his sympathies and antipathies, his marvelous art of insinuation, of expressing himself by fine touches and of adding touch to touch. But all this side of the feminine genius was in Sainte-Beuve reenforced by faculties of quite another order—faculties of the masculine stamp—the completeness, the solid sense, the constant reason, the moderation, the copious knowledge, the passion for exactitude and for general considerations. In attempting to appreciate him, it is impossible to keep these things apart; they melt into each other like the elements of the atmosphere; there is scarcely a stroke of his pen that does not contain a little of each of them. He had ended by becoming master of a style of which the polished complexity was a complete expression of his nature—a style which always reminds one of some precious stone that has been filed into a hundred facets by the skill of a consummate lapidary. In Sainte-Beuve the facets are all there; the stone revolves and exhibits them all in the course of a single paragraph. When I speak of attempting to appreciate him, I know it is not an easy matter, and I have

no intention of undertaking a task for which his own resources would have been no more than sufficient. He might have painted his portrait himself; but no other artist holds in his hand those fine-tipped, flexible brushes with which such a likeness should be pointed and emphasized. Various attempts, nevertheless, have been made to appreciate Sainte-Beuve—as was eminently natural and inevitable. He spent his life in analyzing and pondering other people, and it was a matter of course that he also should be put into the scales. But, as a general thing, on these occasions they were not held with a very even hand; as too often happens in France, the process was invalidated by party passion. This is especially the case with the hostile judgments that have been passed upon the great critic—of which the number, as may well be imagined, is not small. Sainte-Beuve had wounded too many susceptibilities and vanities—had taken upon himself functions too thankless and invidious—to find the critic's couch a bed of roses. And he not only offended individuals, he offended societies and "sets," who, as a general thing, never forgave him, and who took their revenge according to their lights and their means. The very pivot of Sainte-Beuve's intellectual existence was what he would have called the liberty of appreciation; it was upon this he took his stand—it was in the exercise of this privilege that his career unfolded itself. Of course he did not claim a monopoly of the privilege, and he would never have denied that the world was at liberty to appreciate Sainte-Beuve. The greater wisdom, to my mind, was on his side; his great qualities—his intense interest in the truth of any matter, his desire to arrive at the most just and comprehensive perception of it, his delight in the labor involved in such attempts, and his exquisite skill in presenting the results of such labor—these things have never been impugned. Into the innumerable hostilities and jealousies of which he was the object—the resentments more or less just, the reproaches more or less valid, the calumnies more or less impudent—no stranger, fortunately, need pretend to penetrate. These are matters of detail, and here the details are altogether too numerous. Sainte-Beuve's greatest admirers are not obliged to accept him unconditionally. Like every one else, he had the defects of his qualities. He had a very large dose of what the French call "malice"—an element which was the counterpart of his subtilty, his feminine fineness of perception. This subtilty served him not only as a magical clew to valuable results, but it led him to play tricks of a sometimes unprofitable kind. It led him to

analyze motives with a minuteness which was often fatal to their apparent purity, it led him to slip in—to *glisser*, as he always says—the grain of corrosive censure with the little parcel of amenities. In feats of this kind, Sainte-Beuve was really wonderful; he strikes the reader as more than feminine—as positively feline. It is beyond question that he has at times the feline scratch. The truth is, that his instrument itself—his art of expression—was almost a premium upon the abuse of innuendo. The knowledge that he could leave the impression without having said the thing, must frequently have been an intellectual temptation. Besides, it may be said that Sainte-Beuve's scratch was really, on the whole, defensive, or, at the worst, vindictive; it was, to my belief, never wanton or aggressive. We each have our defensive weapon, and I am unable to see why Sainte-Beuve's was not a legitimate one. He had the feline agility and pliancy; nothing was more natural than that he should have had the feline claw. There is nothing surprising in the tone in which he was usually alluded to by those of his contemporaries who were not fond of him—in the charges of "perfidity" and malignity; only we must not allow these things too much weight. Sainte-Beuve defended himself, as I have said, in his own manner; he was extremely susceptible and sensitive; he was even a trifle rancorous; he rarely forgave an injury. I spoke just now of his being "personal," and there is no doubt that he was sometimes so in the invidious sense of the word, as well as in the honorable sense in which I then used it. I do not mean that he sinned in this respect after the fashion of certain American newspapers—that he was coarsely abusive and intrusive, that he exercised himself upon the private and domestic affairs and idiosyncrasies of the objects of his criticism. But he apprehended the personality, the moral physiognomy of the people to whom he turned his attention—Victor Cousin, for instance, Lamartine, Villemain, Balzac, Victor Hugo, Chateaubriand—with an extraordinary clearness and sharpness; he took intellectual possession of it, and never relaxed his grasp. The image was always there, with all its features, for familiar reference; it illuminated and colored every allusion that Sainte-Beuve had occasion to make to the original. "What will you have?" he would have said; "I am so intensely impressible, and my impressions are so vivid, so permanent. One can go but by one's impressions; those are mine. Heaven knows how the plate has been polished to take them!" Sainte-Beuve was very apt to remember people's faults in considering their merits. He says

in one of his letters that he is more sensible of certain great faults than of a certain order of merits. And then, with his passion for detail, for exactitude and completeness, for facts and examples, he thought nothing unimportant. To be vague was the last thing possible to him, and the deformities or misdemeanors of people he had studied remained in his eyes, as definite as the figures in a table of arithmetical factors.

His great justification, however, it seems to me, is, that the cause that Sainte-Beuve defended was the largest of all, for it was simply the cause of liberty, in which we are all so much interested. This, in essence, is what I mean by saying that certain of those habits of mind which made many people dislike him were defensive weapons. It was doubtless not always a question of defending his own character, but it was almost always a question of defending his position as a free observer and appreciator. This is the fine thing about Sainte-Beuve, and the only thing with which, as strangers, happily detached from that imbroglio of rival interests and ambitions in which his lot was cast, we need greatly concern ourselves. In a society that swarmed with camps and coteries, with partisans and advocates, Sainte-Beuve was more than any one else the independent individual, pinning his faith to no emblazoned standard, and selling his vote to no exclusive group. The literary atmosphere in France has always been full of watchwords and catchwords, the emblems and tokens of irreconcilable factions and of what may be called vested literary interests. Sainte-Beuve's instinct, from the beginning of his career, was to mistrust any way of looking at things which should connect the observer with a party pledged to take the point of view most likely to minister to its prosperity. Sainte-Beuve cared nothing for the prosperity of parties ; he cared only for the ascertainment of the reality and for hitting the nail on the head. He only cared to look freely—to look all round. The part he desired to play was that of the vividly intelligent, brightly enlightened mind, acting in the interest of literature, knowledge, taste, and spending itself on everything human and historic. He was frankly and explicitly a critic ; he attributed the highest importance to the critical function, and he understood it in so large a way that we can easily agree with him. The critic, in his conception, was not the narrow lawgiver or the rigid censor that he is often assumed to be ; he was the student, the inquirer, the observer, the interpreter, the active, indefatigable commentator, whose constant aim was to arrive at justness of characterization. Sainte-Beuve's

own faculty of characterization was of the rarest and most remarkable; he held it himself in the highest esteem; he valued immensely his *impression*. There is something admirable in his gravity, consistency, and dignity on this point. I know nothing more finely characteristic of Sainte-Beuve than a phrase which occurs in one of the volumes before me in the course of his correspondence with Madame Christine de Fontanes on the subject of the biographical notice he had undertaken to supply for a new edition of her father's works. The whole correspondence is most interesting, and shows Sainte-Beuve at his best—full of urbanity and tact, but full also of firmness and reason, knowing exactly what he wishes and means, and adhering to it absolutely. M. de Fontanes, whose reputation has sensibly faded now, was a critic and poet of eminence under the First Empire and the Restoration · his daughter was editing a "definitive" collection of his writings, and Sainte-Beuve had sent her his own article to read before insertion. The tone of the article was respectful and sympathetic (it is included at present among his "Portraits Littéraires"), but to certain points in his judgment of her father the Comtesse de Fontanes had taken exception. Sainte-Beuve offered to withdraw the article altogether, but he refused to alter a word. "Upon anything else in the world I would yield," he says; "*pas sur les choses de la plume quand une fois je crois avoir* DIT" (not on the things of the pen when once I think I have hit it). . . . That's my weakness," he adds; "can you forgive me?" For my own part, I can forgive him easily; I should have found it hard to forgive him if he had acted otherwise. All Sainte-Beuve is in those few words—all his famous "method," which has been so much talked about, and, one may almost say, all his philosophy. His method was to "hit it"—to "say it," as he says—to express it, to put his fingers on the point; his philosophy was to accept and make the best of truths thus discriminated. He goes on to give Madame Christine de Fontanes several examples of what he means: "I wrote a biographical notice of M. Ampère the elder, from private documents supplied by the son, my friend. I didn't read him the notice. He only saw it printed, and he was contented, save with a word that I had slipped in upon something that I believed to be a weakness of character in M. Ampère with regard to great people. He said to me, 'I was pleased with it all, except that word, which I would have begged you to leave out if I had seen it beforehand.' It was just for that that I had not submitted my article to him. *If I had not been free to write that word*

I would not have written the notice. . . . When I wrote upon Madame de Staël," he goes on, "Madame de Broglie [her daughter] sent for me, and, with all that authority of grace and virtue which was hers, prescribed to me certain limits ; she desired me to communicate my article in advance ; I was unwilling to do so. When she came to read it she was pleased, except with regard to a page which nothing in the world would have induced me to withdraw, for it consisted of my reserves and my insinuations (with regard to the 'romantic' life at Coppet)." Nothing could be more characteristic of Sainte-Beuve than this frank allusion to his *insinuations.* To "insinuate" was a part of his manner, and was to his sense a perfectly legitimate way of dealing with a subject. Granting certain other of the conditions of his activity, I hold he was quite right. And, indeed, there is nothing intrinsically unlawful in an insinuation ; everything depends upon the tone, the manner, the spirit, the cause in which it is made. "From all this," he pursues, after various other remarks upon the points at issue with Madame de Fontanes, "I conclude that it is impossible that the notice should go into the edition. On your side is your duty ; on mine is a feeling which I don't know how to name, *mais qui est ma nature même.*" It was, in fact, Sainte-Beuve's "very nature" to trust his impressions and to abide by what he considered his last analysis of a matter. He knew with what extreme intelligence he had regarded the point —he knew the light, the taste, the zeal, the experience he had brought to bear upon it. A certain side of his feeling about criticism is strikingly expressed in one of the later letters (in date) of this collection. The epistle seems to me so good, so full of a sense of the realities of life as distinguished from the shadows, that I shall take the liberty of quoting the greater part of it. It contains an allusion, by the way, which helps to understand the little discussion of which I have just partly given an account. Sainte-Beuve is writing to M. Ernest Bersot :

"Is it not necessary," he asks, "to break with that false conventionality, that system of cant, which declares that we shall judge a writer not only by his intentions, but by his pretensions? It is time that this should come to an end. I will take the critics as instances. What ! am I to see nothing of M. de Fontanes but the great master, polished, noble, elegant, trimmed with fur, religious —not the quick, impetuous, abrupt, sensual man that he was? What ! La Harpe shall be but a man of taste, eloquent in his academic chair, and I shall not see him of whom Voltaire used to say,

'*Le petit se fâche!*' And for the present, come now—I speak with you without circumlocution—I have no animosity at heart, and I appreciate those who have been, in whatever degree, my masters; but here are five-and-thirty years, and more, that I live before Villemain, the great talent, the fine mind, so draped and decorated with generous, liberal, philanthropic, Christian, civilizing sentiments, etc.—and, in fact, the most sordid soul—*le plus méchant singe qui existe.* What must one do in definition—how must one conclude with respect to him? Must one go on praising his noble, lofty sentiments, as is done invariably round about him? And, as this is the reverse of the truth, must one be a dupe and continue to dupe others? Are men of letters, historians, and moralistic preachers nothing more than comedians, whom one has no right to take outside of the *rôle* that they have arranged for themselves? Must one see them only on the stage, and look at them only while they are there? Or else is it permitted, when the subject is known, to come boldly, though at the same time discreetly, and slip in the scalpel and show the weak point of the breastplate—show the *seam*, as it were, between the talent and the soul—to praise the one, but to mark also the defect of the other, perceptible even in the talent itself and in the effect that it produces in the long run? Will literature lose by this? It is possible; but moral science will gain. That's where we are going, fatally. *There is no longer such a thing as an isolated question of taste.* When I know the man, then only can I explain to myself the talker, and especially that species of talker that is the most artful of all—the one who prides himself on having nothing of the mere talker left. And the great men (you will say), and the respect one owes them, and the reputation that must be so dearly paid for? Very true; every man who competes for praise and celebrity is devoted to every infamy by that very fact. It is the law. Molière is insulted by Bossuet, Goethe by the first rowdy that comes along; only yesterday Renan and Littré by Dupanloup—and insulted in his character, in his morality. What is to be done about it? It isn't by cuddling one's self that one can escape from it. One must *be* something or some one; and in that case one resists—one has one's army—one counts in spite of one's detractors. As soon as you penetrate a little under the veil of society, as in nature, you see nothing but wars, struggles, destructions, and recompositions. This Lucretian view of criticism isn't a cheerful one; but, once we attain to it, it seems preferable, even with its high sadness, to the worship of idols."

There are many things to be said about such a dissertation as that, and among them it may be said that there is something harsh and invidious in its tone, and that, in whatever degree it may testify to that love of ascertaining the reality which I have spoken of as Sainte-Beuve's great merit, it indicates a good deal of skill in placing the reality in an unbecoming light. This is not the effect, however, that it produces upon my own mind; I take it as the expression of a wholesome impatience of that dull and unintelligent vision of things which so often passes in literature as adequate and decorous, and which, in fact, is poor sentiment quite as truly as it is poor criticism. Sainte-Beuve was a man of imagination and, as our ancestors used to say, of sensibility; as a critic, he had lively sympathies. But he was not a sentimentalist; he was incapable of preferring a contemplation of the surface to a knowledge of the internal spring.

If it be needful to admit that the sharper side of Sainte-Beuve's temperament comes out in such a passage as I have just quoted, it may be added that these volumes are by no means without testimony to the extreme acuteness with which he could feel irritation, and the inimitable neatness and lucidity with which he could express it. The letter to M. Villemain, of the date of September, 1839, and that to Victor Cousin, of July, 1843, are highly remarkable in this respect, and remarkable, too, for the manner in which they appeal to the sympathy of a reader who is totally unacquainted with the merits of the quarrel. The delicate acerbity of the tone, the absence of passion, of violence, or confusion, produce almost an impression of beauty, and our intellectual relish of the perfection with which he says what he desires suffices by itself to place us on his side. There is something essentially French in the tone of Sainte-Beuve's excited susceptibilities; it is hard to imagine an Englishman addressing to a friend, whose conduct he holds to have absolved him from further friendly allegiance, quite the same sort of reproaches as those which Sainte-Beuve conveys in so remarkably tidy a packet to his distinguished fellow critics. These are quarrels of literary—of intensely literary—men; and even an Englishman who rejoices in the questionable privilege of possessing what is called the artistic temperament would hardly measure so explicitly the injuries offered to his "personality." An Englishman's disposition is simpler and less expressive—his dignity is less vigilant, more confident. There are various examples of Sainte-Beuve's skill in that process known to the French as telling a person

son fait. "I only ask of you one thing," he writes to Madame Louise Colet, who had pestered him to publish a critical appreciation of her literary productions, "to admire you in silence, without being obliged to point out to the public just where I cease to admire you." In the letters to the Princess Mathilde there occurs a very entertaining episode, related by Sainte-Beuve to his sympathetic correspondent. A lady had sent him her manuscript commonplace-book to read, with the request that he would give an opinion upon the literary value of its contents. Turning it over, Sainte-Beuve encountered a passage relating to himself, and not present to the lady's mind when she sent him the volume—a passage of a highly calumnious character, attributing to him the most unattractive qualities, and accusing him of gross immorality. He copies out for the Princess the letter with which he has returned the manuscript of his imprudent friend, in which, after administering a rebuke of the most ingeniously urbane character, he terminates by begging her "to receive the assurance of an esteem which he shall never again have occasion to express." The whole letter should be read. Even in perfectly friendly letters his famous "malice" crops out—it has, here and there, an even slightly diabolical savor. A most interesting letter to Charles Baudelaire, of the year 1858, is full of this quality, especially in the closing lines: ". . . . It isn't a question of compliments. I am much more disposed to scold [Baudelaire had just sent him "Les Fleurs du Mal"], and if I were walking with you on the edge of the sea, along a cliff, without pretending to play the Mentor, I would try and trip you up, my dear friend, and throw you suddenly into the water, so that, as you know how to swim, you should henceforth take your course out there in the sunshine and the tide." The most interesting parts of the contents of these volumes, however, I have found to be the graver and more closely personal ones. In the history of a mind like Sainte-Beuve's every autobiographical touch has a high interest. There are a number of autobiographical touches bearing upon his material life, and illustrating his extreme frugality and the modesty —the more than modesty—of his literary income. "From 1830 to 1840," he says, "I lived in a student's room (in the Cour du Commerce) on a fourth floor, and at the rate of *twenty-three francs* a month, my breakfasts included." In 1840 he was appointed titular librarian at the Bibliothèque Mazarine, and then "I found myself rich, or at my ease, for the first time in my life. I began to study again, I learned Greek; my work contains indications of this in-

crease of leisure, and of my being able to do it as I chose. Then came the Academy, toward 1843; I became a member of the committee of the Dictionary, and really I had hard work to spend my income. To do so, I had to buy rare books, for which the taste came to me little by little . . . . I have *never* had a debt in my life . . . . they attack me there on my strong side. I have my weaknesses, I have told you so: they are those which gave to King Solomon the disgust of everything and the satiety of life. I may have regretted feeling sometimes that they quenched my ardor—but they never perverted my heart."

Of autobiographical touches of the other sort—those that bear upon his character and his opinions—there are a considerable number—a number which, however, would be a good deal larger if the letters written before the year 1860 had been more carefully preserved by his correspondents. I marked a great many of these passages as I read, but I must content myself with a few extracts. There was an element of philosophic stoicism in Sainte-Beuve, which is indicated in his earliest letters; the note is struck at intervals throughout the correspondence. "Take care of yourself," he says to one of his friends, in a letter written at the age of twenty-four; "pass the least time possible in regrets; resign yourself to having had no youth, no past, no future; I don't tell you not to suffer from it, not to die of it even, at the end; but I tell you not to lose your temper over it, nor to let it make you stand still and stamp." This is quite the same man who found himself impelled to write in 1864: "The more I go on the more indifferent I become; only, judgments take form within me, and, once established, after being shaken and tested two or three times, they never take their departure. I believe, moreover, that I have no animosity. Observe that I have no time for that; animosities themselves need to be cultivated. Obliged, as I am, to change so often the direction of my mind and my interest, to fasten it and make it sink into writings and authors so different, trying to find in each of them the greatest possible amount of truth, I grow case-hardened to pricks and irritations, and, after a little while, I don't even know what they are meant for. But, I repeat to you—and it is the misfortune and also a little the honor of the critical spirit—my judgments abide within me." That is the Sainte-Beuve of my predilection—I may almost say of my faith—the Sainte-Beuve whose judgments had no element of vulgarity, but were always serious, comprehensive, touched with light. I see no element of narrowness or ob-

stinacy in the declaration I have just quoted; I only see the perceptive mind, the intelligence. There is an expression of this ripe intelligence, this faculty of perception resting upon a sense of experience, in a letter of 1863 to a female friend: "We are getting ready for a great battle, in which philosophic minds will be known by true marks. I am one of them, after all. I went in for a little Christian mythology in my day, but that has evaporated. It was like the swan of Leda, a means of getting at the fair and wooing them in a more tender fashion. Youth has time and makes use of everything. Now I am old and I have chased away all the clouds. I mortify myself less, and I see *plus juste*. It is a pity that all this can not last, and that the moment when one is most master of one's self and one's thoughts should be that at which they are nearest faltering and finishing." I don't know at what period Sainte-Beuve disentangled himself from the "Christian mythology," but already in 1845 he makes a striking allusion to what he deems to be the collapse of his sentimental faculty: "Your letter touched me, honored me; but I always find myself without words before your praise, feeling so little worthy of it, passed as I have into the state of a pure critical intelligence, and assisting as I do with a melancholy eye at the death of my heart. I judge myself, and I rest calm, cold, indifferent. I am dead, and I see myself dead—but without emotion or confusion. Whence comes this strange state? Alas! there are causes old and deep. Here I am talking to you suddenly as to a confessor; but I know you are so friendly, so *charitable*—and it is this, this last point, which is everything, and which the world calls the heart, that is dead in me. The intellect shines over the graveyard like a dead moon." This is strongly stated; apparently Sainte-Beuve is speaking of a certain special function of the heart which, after forty, is not very active in any one. Of a certain intellectual cordiality, the power of tender, of sympathetic appreciation, he gave very frequent proof during the remainder of his long career. If his heart was dead, he had at least what may be called the imagination of the heart. Moreover, the heart can hardly be said to die. In some cases it has never existed; and in these it is not likely to spring into being. But, if it has existed, it is never distinctly got rid of. It changes its forms of manifesting itself, but there is always a savor of it in the conduct.

It was to be expected that the letters of a great critic should contain a great deal of good criticism, and in this respect these vol-

umes will not be found disappointing. They contain a great variety of fragmentary judgments, and of characteristic revelations and side-lights. With his great breadth of view, his general intelligence, and his love of seeing "juste," Sainte-Beuve was nevertheless a man of strong predispositions, of vigorous natural preferences. He never repudiated the charge of having strong idiosyncrasies of taste. This, indeed, would have been most absurd; for one's taste is an effect, more than a cause, of one's preferences; it is, indeed, the result of a series of particular tastes. With Sainte-Beuve, as with every one else, it grew more and more flexible with time; it adapted itself, and opened new windows and doors. Indeed, in his last years, he achieved feats that may fairly be called extraordinary, in the way of doing justice to writers and works of an intensely "modern" stamp —to Baudelaire and Flaubert, to Feydeau and the brothers Goncourt. There is even, in the second of these volumes, a letter, on the whole appreciative, to the young writer whose vigorous brain, in later years, was to give birth to the monstrous "Assommoir." But originally Sainte-Beuve's was not a mind that appeared likely, even at a late stage of its evolution, to offer hospitality to M. Émile Zola. He was always a man of his time; he played his part in the romantic movement; Joseph Delorme and the novel of "Volupté" are creations eminently characteristic of that fermentation of opinion, that newer, younger genius which produced the great modern works of French literature. Sainte-Beuve, in other words, was essentially of the generation of Lamartine and Victor Hugo, of Balzac and George Sand. But he was much more on his guard than most of his companions; he was a conservative as well as a liberal; he never was a violent radical. He had a great tenderness for tradition, for the old models, for classic ideas. In 1845 he was open to the charge of "reactionary" taste; it must be remembered that the critics and commentators can not, in the nature of things, afford to run the risks and make the bold experiments of the poets and producers. "I have *never* liked the modern drama as Hugo and Dumas have made it," he says; "and I have never recognized in it, the least in the world, the ideal that I conceive in this respect. . . . I should be unable to express to you what I feel with regard to the enormities which have partly defeated our hopes, but there are points on which I hold my ground, and I flatter myself that I have never deserted my early convictions. It is all the same to me that Madame de Girardin should come and tell me that I am going in for reaction, pure and simple, and I don't give myself the trouble even

of heeding it; but, if you say it, I permit myself to answer *no*, and to tell you that you are completely mistaken, which is the result, perhaps, of your not attaching the same importance as I to purely literary points—points on which I have remained very much the same." Sainte-Beuve here defends himself against the charge of having dropped out of the line; he intimates that it is he who has adhered to the pure "romantic" tradition, and that the eccentric movement refers itself to the two writers he mentions. They were not the only ones of whom he failed to approve; it is unfortunately a substantial fact that he never rendered half justice to Balzac, and that to George Sand he rendered but half at the most. There is an interesting passage bearing upon this in a letter of 1866, written to a critic who had published an appreciative notice of Sainte-Beuve's long and delightful article upon Gavarni. "You have indeed put your finger upon the two delicate points. At bottom, I know, Musset had *passion* and Théo [Théophile Gautier] didn't have it; and one warms people up only by having a flame one's self. And then Balzac, I know too, with defects that I feel too much (being of quite another family), had *power*, and Gavarni only had an infinitude of wit, elegance, and observation. But Gavarni had taste and *le trait juste*—things I greatly value. That being said, I have my private idea, not as an advocate, but as a critic of conviction, which is, namely, that in our day there is too much water carried to the river, too much admiration *quand même*, too little real judging. Once the word genius is pronounced, everything is accepted and proclaimed. Musset's worst verses are quoted as proverbs; they are admired on trust. So for the great novelist. It would seem that there had been no observer but he; that Eugène Sue, Frédéric Soulié—all those big fellows—have ceased to exist, have been absorbed by him. But it is, above all, when it is a question of the great men of the past, that I am unable to accept that number of genius under which they place him. This is the bottom of my thought, and it doubtless judges me myself. . . ." And it is here that he goes on to add the remark I have quoted, to the effect that he is more sensitive to certain great defects than to a certain order of qualities. He had, in his latter years, an occasional caprice or slight perversity of judgment; he took two or three rather unaccountable literary fancies.

Such was the high relish which, for a certain period, he professed for the few first productions of M. Ernest Feydeau, and such the serious attention that he appears to have bestowed upon

the literary activity of Charles Baudelaire. Both of these writers had their merits, but one would have said that Sainte-Beuve, who was so sensitive to faults, would not have found his account in them. He writes to M. Feydeau, in 1860, on the occasion of this gentleman having put the finishing touches to a novel of a peculiarly repulsive character, which was a very flimsy piece of work into the bargain: "It will be very nice of you to tell me when 'Sylvie' will be worthy in your eyes to make her *début* in my faubourg; I shall be all eyes, all ears, to receive her." It must be remembered that Sainte-Beuve was absolutely destitute of prudery; his attitude in regard to that great group of considerations which we of English speech have so conveniently labeled the "proprieties" was eminently Gallic. There is a curious example of this fact in a letter written in 1868, and given in the second of these volumes, in which (alluding conjecturally to a question as to which the French are always so alert in conjecture—the character of the relations between Benjamin Constant and Madame de Charrière) he makes light to an extraordinary degree of the whole matter of modesty and purity. He lays it down as highly probable that the lady just mentioned was conspicuously deficient in these qualities, and then adds: "Excuse my levity, but be so good as to observe that this does not in any way diminish the esteem that I have for Madame de Charrière. I will say the same for Madame de Staël, equally facile on this point." Sainte-Beuve had, as a matter of course, the Gallic imagination. It is very well for him to ask his correspondent to excuse his levity; his English reader will probably not do so. But in this particular matter we must almost always make allowance for a degree of levity which we ourselves are not prepared to emulate; and I refer to Sainte-Beuve's conformity of tone only because it helps to explain his incongruous appreciation of MM. Baudelaire and Feydeau. It is a tribute to the Gallic imagination.

But Sainte-Beuve paid so many tributes of a different kind that it is out of place to do more than touch upon this one. Here is a very different note: "If you knew English," he writes to a clerical friend who had sent him some poetic attempts, "you would have a treasure-house upon which you could draw. They have a poetic literature very superior to ours—and, above all, more healthy, more full. Wordsworth is not translated; one doesn't translate those things; one goes and drinks them at the fount. Let me enjoin upon you to learn English . . . . In a year or two you would be

master of it, and you would have a private poetic treasure for your own use ; be a poet—I was only a little rivulet from those beautiful poetic lakes, with all their gentleness and melancholy." What I have found most interesting in these pages is the mark of the expert, as I may call it—the definiteness and clearness, the ripe sagacity, of the writer's critical sense. When it is a case of giving advice, of praising or of blaming, of replying to a question or an appeal, there is something delightful in our impression of Sainte-Beuve's perfect competence. He always knows so well the weak point, always touches in passing upon the remedy : "The day on which you shall be willing to sacrifice a little to that French taste which you know so well, to our need of a frame and a border, you will have the value of all your essential qualities." He writes that to his distinguished fellow critic M. Schérer, whose culture he deemed a little too Germanic ; and it would have been impossible to give him in a single sentence better practical advice. There is an admirable letter to M. Taine, on the appearance of the latter's rather infelicitous attempt at satire—the volume of impressions of M. Graindorge. This letter should be read by every one who has read the book—it is impossible to express more felicitously the feeling of discomfort produced by seeing a clever man make a great mistake. I have spoken of Sainte-Beuve's letter to Émile Zola ; it is full of exquisite good sense (the writer's great quality), and the closing lines are worth quoting as an illustration of the definite and practical character of the critical reflections that he offered his correspondents. The allusion is to M. Zola's first novel, "Thérèse Raquin." "You have done a bold act ; you have, in your work, braved both the public and the critics. Don't be surprised at certain indignations—the combat is opened ; your name has been sounded. Such struggles terminate, when an author of talent is so minded, by another work equally bold, but a little less on the stretch, in which the public and the critics fancy they see a concession to their own sense ; and the affair is wound up by one of those treaties of peace which consecrate one more reputation." It must be added that this was not the advice that M. Émile Zola took. He has never, that I know of, signed a treaty of peace ; and, though his reputation is great, it can hardly be said to have been "consecrated." But I must make no more quotations ; I must do no more than recommend these two volumes to all those readers for whom Sainte-Beuve may have been at any time a valued companion. They will find a complete reflection of the man and the

writer—the materials for a living portrait. They will find, too, a large confirmation of their confidence. Sainte-Beuve's was a mind of a thousand details, and it is possible to pick out certain points before which an admirer may falter and hesitate. But, as regards the whole, I should never for an instant hesitate. If it is a question of taking Sainte-Beuve or leaving him—of giving in our adhesion or withholding it—I take him, definitively, and on the added evidence of these letters, as the very genius of observation, discretion, and taste.

HENRY JAMES, JR.

THE METAPHYSICS OF SCIENCE.

SCIENCE is a knowledge of phenomena and of their orders of succession.

Sensible phenomena are qualities or changes existing in relation to our faculty of external cognition. The relation is only that mode of existence, as to time, place, or nature, which awakens in us a consciousness of power exerted upon us, and a reference of the impression to an external phenomenon as its concomitant. Qualities or changes which exist without such relation are not phenomena capable of constituting material of human science.

An order of succession or mode of sequence among phenomena may be cognized as invariable or variable. When a certain mode of sequence is cognized as repeatedly and continuously occurring, we generalize by calling it fixed and invariable. The invariable order of succession of two or more phenomena is the *law* in accordance with which the occurrence of the sequents is regulated. The law being ascertained, we feel confident, whenever the antecedent is cognized, that one or more sequents will come into existence. We thus predict events on the strength of our confidence in the uniformity and irrepealability of the law induced. Whenever a mode of sequence is cognized which is not repeated, or is repeated only in such manner that no regularity or uniformity is discovered, we record it, for the time, as a variable mode of sequence. We fail to induce the *law* under which the phenomena come into existence.

Yet we are psychically so constituted as to believe in the *uniformity of nature.* Even orders of succession which seem capricious or chaotic must imply some law under which they succeed, and in the eye of which they are invariable. In this intuitive faith we seek to discover the law.

The method of the search is the mental juxtaposition of two or

more series of successions judged to be fundamentally cognate, and the selection of such terms in the juxtaposed series as exactly coincide with each other. These terms, thus observed to recur in fixed order, yield the law of their occurrence. The intercalated terms remain apparently adventitious, and must occur in accordance with one or more different laws which may remain undiscovered, or may be discovered, one by one, by means of the juxtaposition of a larger number of series, and the exercise of a broader mental power of holding phenomena before attention, and selecting the like and neglecting the unlike. This is well illustrated by the method of astronomy in selecting from an apparently chaotic mass of observations such as agree in time and position with a given set of observations, and thus afford ground for the elimination of the law of the motion of a newly investigated planet or comet, or the law of correlation between sun-spots on the one hand and auroral displays, magnetic disturbances, or Indian famines, on the other.

It is the work of science to extend, as far as possible, the knowledge of phenomena. It is its higher work to arrange phenomena into homogeneous groups—that is, into series of successions in which the terms appear to possess some fixed relations of time, space, or nature to each other. It is the highest work of science to *perfect* the classification of phenomena and induce the laws under which they occur.

The work of science has proceeded so far that innumerable phenomena, which were once regarded as isolated, are known to occupy fixed places in invariable sequences which come into existence under laws of nature.

Isolated phenomena were regarded in unscientific ages as occurring by chance, or through the momentary volition of beings possessing control of particular departments of nature, or of the whole of nature. A sentiment universal, and undoubtedly innate in humanity, prompts intelligence to recognize the existence of one or more superior beings, to whom the direct or indirect causation of phenomena may be ascribed, and toward whom a feeling of veneration may be directed. As fast as science has succeeded in relegating under law any of these supposed isolated phenomena, they have been viewed as accounted for and explained, without recourse to the volition of superior beings. To such extent, these beings have seemed to be retired from participation in the affairs of the world, and the religious feeling has been robbed of occasions for its exercise. Hence the progress of science has seemed to antagonize the

religious sentiment. Science has, therefore, been denounced as atheistic, while, on the other hand, the religions of men have been despised as ignorant and superstitious.

The work of science, as just stated, consists of observation, comparison, and induction. Obviously, a law reached by induction from facts is a principle from which other facts may be deduced; and this is one of the legitimate and characteristic processes of science. Science, in the full exercise of all its functions, is not, therefore, exclusively inductive.

Without observation, the material of science would not exist. There could be neither comparison, induction, nor deduction. Without comparison, no affiliated juxtapositions of phenomena would exist; and we should reach neither the laws which regulate them, nor an anticipation of other phenomena coördinated under the same laws. Without induction, the observation of phenomena would only create a mass of undigested material, like that which accumulated in the observatory of Tycho Brahe. Without deduction, the universe of phenomena would present the order and symmetry of a perfect machine, the products of whose activity we could know only as they were wrought out. Anticipation—prediction—and all the plans and operations based upon expectation, would have no place among human activities if science could not descend from principle to fact. All conceptions of phenomena that have not been objects of cognition must be based on deduction, proceeding from general principles established by induction from cognized phenomena. By such means science has affirmed the internal solidity of the earth, or predicted the eccentricity of her orbit at an epoch a million years in the future, or pictured her physical condition in a past removed from us by millions of years.

Such seem to be the scope and prerogatives of that department of science whose data are sensible phenomena. The term science, in its modern, popular acceptation, signifies the science of sensible phenomena. When the term is employed without qualification, it is generally understood to signify *physical* science.

There are, however, other fields of phenomena—using the term in an extended but legitimate sense—cognizable through internal instead of external perception. The phenomena of the mind have an existence as certain, and orders of succession as fixed and cognizable as the phenomena of the external world. The reality of mental phenomena is absolutely unquestionable. They are, in fact, the only data of demonstrable knowledge. Sensible phenomena are

only names which we ascribe to assumed external manifestations *believed* to be coördinated with cognized internal phenomena. Hence the certainty of external phenomena is conditioned on the validity of this belief. External phenomena, therefore, can not become so immediately, even if they can so certainly, the materials of valid knowledge, as those phenomena which arise in the mental field.

Among the phenomena of consciousness we have to make, therefore, the following discriminations: 1. Mental states, or psychic modes, without regard to their sources, occasions, or coördinations to any other facts than mental states. 2. Those among the mental states which we irresistibly refer to external phenomena as their correlates and causes. But there is also a third category of mental states, or inner perceptions, which we irresistibly refer to abstract and necessary truths. This reference of these states to necessary truths as their correlates and causes is the intuitive perception of necessary truths.

The truths thus cognized as having a necessary, universal, and eternal existence are truths concerning necessary being and necessary relations. Space and time are existences which must be held necessary in the same sense as other truths are necessary; and the relations of portions of them are relations of quantity, which are formulated in well-known axioms and theorems, embraced among the necessary truths which stand as correlates to the third class of mental states. Other truths are the inseparableness of quality and substance, attribute and being, effect and cause, order and intelligence, continuity of existence, universality of law, ultimate unity, and ultimate primordiality of existence. Some of these principles have generally been omitted from enumerations of necessary truths; and the reader, if he think proper, can omit them here, as the main purpose is simply to adduce illustrations and not to establish a catalogue.

Finally, we discern a *fourth* class of mental states. These are the assumptions which we irresistibly make of an absolute causal correlation between certain conscious states and realities external to consciousness. We find in existence an assumption that certain states are caused by sensible phenomena; and an assumption that other mental states are caused by the disclosure of certain abstract truths; and an assumption that these abstract truths have a necessary existence in the universe of which we are a part. We find here, also, the assumption of personal existence and personal identity. This fourth group of conscious states impresses a belief in the

reality of sensible phenomena; in the reality of existence behind these phenomena; in the reality of supersensible existence underneath all psychic phenomena, and in the reality of truth apprehended as universal and necessary. These subtile, instantaneous, and irresistible *assumptions* are the only bond of connection between us and any realm outside of our own minds. Invalidate them, and all which seems to exist, either in a world without or a world within, resolves itself into a phantasmagoria of forms without substance—a succession of mental states which seems to have a cause and correlative, but has none; a succession which seems to be concatenated and orderly, but is absolutely chaotic and fortuitous; a succession of states which, after all, are not states, but only the alluring and deceptive images of states—and not even images, for the seeming must be as fanciful and illusory as the seeming of substance. Deny the validity of the assumption of causal correlations between mental states and realities, and all knowledge is annulled. We float only in a glittering realm of empty forms—we can not say we float, but we seem to float—we can not say we seem to float, but we seem to seem to float. All predication is annihilated. We are conscious, at first, of existing in a world of realities; then we float in a realm of unsubstantial visions; then everything—visions and realities alike—sinks into absolute nihility. Such denial is the end of all philosophy and all science alike. What do we say? All science and all philosophy depend for their validity on the validity of our reference of certain mental states to causal correlates external to the mind.

That the reference is valid, no one can possibly doubt in a practical manner. Denial, even of the speculative kind, is impossible. The utmost which speculative thinking has ever been able to do is, to affirm the *possibility* that such reference is invalid. The history of philosophy has shown that the most eminent propounders of this possibility have found, in after-life, satisfactory ground for holding that the reference is valid; and that, therefore, a realm of reality exists, and that it is such as reported in consciousness.

Every argument between two parties must proceed on the fundamental admission that those states of mind which have been here described as announcements of a correlation between other states and external realities are truthful announcements. If either party deny this, he deprives himself of all ultimate ground for either affirmation or denial; and his attempt to reason is like the effort to move the world without the basis for a fulcrum.

After this *conspectus* of the situation, let us examine more at-

tentively the foundations underneath the fabric of physical science.

The current conception of physical science presents it as a body of knowledge. It is commonly regarded as the most certain of all knowledge, and the safest foundation for belief, expectation, and action. Men stand firm on the conclusions of science, however they falter on the isolated propositions which science subsumes. They formulate their creeds on the dicta of science, though they may profess to doubt or to be ignorant in the presence of the naked principles which authenticate the dicta of science.

That science attains to valid knowledge can not be rationally denied. Instead of denying, it is our purpose to demonstrate that it is valid; and that it is valid because certain underlying principles which science never mentions are the firm foundations on which it rests.

I. All science begins in the assumed existence of a real, thinking being. But what is the ground of the assumption of our personal existence and personal identity from moment to moment and from day to day? The conviction is grounded in our inmost consciousness; we are unable to resist it; but it is only a *belief*—a valid belief—the ultimate elemental utterance of mind, speaking with the authority of its very being. Nothing, of course, can validate its utterance; but, if we choose to admit a speculative doubt, we negative at once all possibility of science and all possibility of a scientific basis for anything.

All trustworthiness of memory rests in the presupposition, not only that the representative faculty is a true witness, but that we are the same being as yesterday. The scientist records his notes after hours, days, or weeks have passed; and he builds most serious reasoning on the assumption that it was he who made the observations which he seems to reproduce. If he is mistaken in this, his reasoning is illusory; but he builds, sometimes unmindful of the fact that his fabric rests upon a purely and deeply metaphysical subsumption.

II. Admitting the evidence of personal existence sufficient, other queries immediately arise which must be disposed of. Science we have defined as beginning objectively in a knowledge of phenomena. Now, how do we know that phenomena exist? or, that they exist as they seem? or, that any reality lies behind them? or, that the reality is such as it seems to be? Plainly, all these things are assumed on the naked testimony of the mind. Consciousness reports

external phenomena, and we believe. Consciousness represents them thus and so, and we believe. And then we find disclosed in consciousness a confidence that all phenomena are grounded in real existence, and that such phenomena as these are grounded in a mode of existence sustaining an exact correlation to these particular phenomena. This confidence is only belief in the ultimate verdict of our being. *All science, to be substantial, must assume the validity of all these ultimate beliefs.* The most logical conclusions of science must necessarily imply that there are some propositions which do not admit of logical proof, but which must be received with absolute unreserve. These ultimate propositions are simply believed without reasoning ; but our belief is so strong that we feel it to be knowledge. If it is not knowledge, the fabric of propositions which we build upon it is not knowledge. If it is knowledge, then the plain, simple, ultimate utterances of our minds are the indestructible molecules of all our systems of science ; and the testimony of consciousness respecting the coördination between any of its states and external realities is a direct intuition of truth.

This conclusion can not be evaded. The reality and genuineness of our knowledge of the phenomena assumed as the material of science is absolutely conditioned on the veracity of consciousness in certain of its testimony. Impugn this veracity in any respect, and the genuineness of the materials of science is correspondingly impaired. The more valiantly we affirm the indestructibility of scientific knowledge, the more explicitly we admit the unimpeachable veracity of the direct testimony of consciousness. If consciousness is not admitted as a veracious witness thus far, it is impossible to hold an argument with the reader. If consciousness is admitted veracious, so far as to validate the phenomena from which science proceeds, we may next inquire what are the further implications of scientific knowledge.

III. Supposing the facts of observation to stand in every respect unchallenged, some principles of relation must be tacitly assumed to serve as the ground and authentication of any classification. Whether we associate them with reference to time or place, concomitance or succession, quantity or quality, it is in every case a basis of resemblance. Without some kind of mutual resemblance, no homogeneity or community would be present to justify any general predication. But, when we adopt any kind of resemblance as the basis of classification, we tacitly assume that likeness among phenomena proceeds from community or identity of *cause ;* in other

words, that "like effects proceed from like causes." This is a principle which must be validated by pure reason to acquire that character of certainty, universality, and necessity which we assume it to possess in the use which we make of it. If it be thought a principle resting on a general induction from observation, then admitting (contrary to the fact) that the same absolute certainty could be reached, the very process of generalization assumes still the same principle, that homogeneity of phenomena implies similarity of cause. Hence, when we look to general induction for the validity of the principle that like results proceed from like causes, we find that the induction itself assumes beforehand the validity of the principle; and our effort is simply a case of reasoning in a circle. As general induction can not, therefore, validate the principle which validates general induction, it follows that the principle is validated either by deduction or by the direct sanction of pure reason. But it is not a deductive conclusion, for the principle itself, possessing the highest possible degree of generality, is not the result of an analysis. We discover no account of the validation of the principle except in the sanction of the same rational authority as speaks to us in affirming a correlation between certain conscious states and external realities. Here, then, in the first step which science takes in formulating a general concept or scientific doctrine, it is absolutely necessary to rely on the universal validity of a principle which can not be established by scientific processes, nor indeed by any formal logic whatever.

So, it may be added, the whole search after general laws, or the unification of human knowledge, is prompted and guaranteed by the intuitive conviction that *unity* exists among the diversified phenomena of nature. If no ulterior unity existed, or if reason were not furnished with the knowledge of its existence, the search for general laws and deeper causes would never be undertaken, or if undertaken would be fruitless.

It is extremely easy for the scientific investigator to overlook a metaphysical principle involved in the comparison and classification of concrete phenomena; but, since the principle clearly reveals itself to critical attention, we must frankly acknowledge that the entire fabric of physical science rests upon a truth grounded in the realm of metaphysics; and that this is not for such reason a truth "merely speculative" in the reproachful sense, but a truth which is self-evident, and surer than any scientific conclusion. To a certain class of minds such a statement may not address itself with all the

cogency of a concrete proposition ; but it may impress the necessity of caution in vaunting scientific conclusion from sensible phenomena as the most certain kind of knowledge, and incomparably more substantial than the ethereal abstractions of metaphysics.

IV. When, in the progress of our scientific investigations, we reach the stage of inductive inference, the process of concluding from a part to the whole is based on an assumption of the uniformity of nature, which is only the concrete form of the principle that like results proceed from like causes. If unobserved phenomena belonging to the same group with those on which the inference is based are not ascribable to the same cause, or same kind of cause, we have no right to extend the inference from observed data to these. But the principle of the uniformity of causation is accepted as more valid than any inference which we may induce from any array of phenomena, however extended. The inference may express a bond of connection running through the phenomena observed, and no others ; it is therefore not a causal bond. It may express a causal bond, but not the deepest and strongest bond. In any such case the inference is liable to fail in its application to new phenomena. The inference, therefore, can never be unreservedly accepted except when the facts sustain quantitative and therefore mathematical relations to each other. But, however qualified the inference, the metaphysical principle on which it proceeds is never accepted with reserve. Uniformity of causation is felt to be absolute. The common process of inductive conclusion, which is the staple method of science in the evolution of doctrine, requires, consequently, an underlying metaphysical principle to give it any semblance of validity.

V. Granting full validity to the successive steps taken by science in attaining its ultimate generalizations, these are expressions of laws under which successions of phenomena come into existence. The order and method of the cosmos are so far revealed. Its phenomena become intelligible in their mutual relations. The flow of events is systematic, certain, predicable. Nothing happens capriciously, or with any regard to interjected emergencies. No variation in the established order of events can be expected under any supposable circumstances. This is the "reign of law." No ground exists for denying that this reign embraces all the events which make up the history of the irrational world. Nor can it be denied that all rational activities proceed according to some law ; for otherwise there would be no evidence that they are rational. But the laws of

rational activity inhere in rational spontaneity ; those of physical events are imposed by external authority.

But the reign of law means nothing more than the universal prevalence of methodical successions of events. Law is the formula under which events are coördinated ; but law does not produce events. A phenomenon is scientifically explained when we refer it to the law under which it takes place ; but it is not exhaustively explained. For the purposes of science it is adequate to ascribe events to law, because law is the ultimate stadium of scientific ratiocination. It lies on the remotest frontier of scientific territory. Physical law is itself an abstraction, and constitutes the connecting link between the physical and the metaphysical. But, when we say, in the language of science, that events "come by law," we must take care not to conclude that law is their cause. Law explains their order of succession, but does not explain how the law came into existence, nor how events are generated, nor how they are coördinated so methodically. Law is simply the rule of coördination ; efficiency produces them and coördinates them.

Law viewed scientifically is merely a rule of succession ; viewed philosophically, it is an expression of power and intelligence—a synthesis of force and mind. In the purview of science law is the key to unlock the methods of nature—a clew to guide through the labyrinth of phenomena ; in the eye of philosophy it is a preconceived plan of action, purposeful of results. While science rests on law as a finality, philosophy seeks the power which ordains law ; and, viewing law as the expression of will, it insists on the reality of will by all the evidence which science summons to establish the reality of law. Science claims law as an intelligible principle of coördination among phenomena ; and philosophy claims an intelligible principle of coördination as the exclusive product of intelligence. The cosmos is comprehensible by thought because it is the product of thought. Grant the mechanical nature of the processes of the world, the existence of a mechanism which does not express mind is something unthinkable.

Science is under no obligation to assume a strange garb, and make affirmation of the predicates of philosophy. Such freedom may authorize science to ignore the predicates of philosophy, but it confers no privilege to deny them. As long as, maintaining its own character, it ignores the principles, postulates, or axioms of philosophy, it can not antagonize philosophy; but, when it offers an argument *ex ignorantia*, against the verdict of philosophy, all right

thinking recognizes it as sophistical. It is impossible to grasp the meaning of law with the whole breadth of the intelligence, without apprehending it both as a rule and as an expression of ordaining will.

VI. As law, in its existence, proclaims necessarily a purposive ordination, so the correlation of events under law must necessarily be regarded as a result purposed in law. If law exists as the result of purpose, there must be a reason why it has been purposed; and the reason why can exist nowhere but in the results impressed by the law—that is, in the results which take place according to the law. The coördination of results, therefore, is as much the expression of purpose as the law which embodies the principle of coördination. The fact that events take place according to law, instead of proving their disconnection with purpose, is the very circumstance which demonstrates their dependence on purpose. Caprice and confusion are not the marks of intelligence; high controlling intelligence always seeks its ends by fixed methods of action. The more clearly we discern the reign of universal law, the more clearly we discern the evidence of general design in the phenomena of the universe. The question whether events take place through law or through design is destitute of rational meaning; because, *first*, events are produced neither by law nor by design; and, *secondly*, if they are produced by design, it is, as we see, according to law; and, if they are produced by law, it is according to design in the law. Law and design are so far from being mutually exclusive, that, in truth, they are mutually inclusive. There is no law without design; and, in nature, the design of the law is worked out under the law.

VII. Passing from general design to special design, or the design supposed to be revealed in particular events, or particular correlations of material parts, the foremost question arising concerns the meaning of the metaphysical principle of design. Now, when parts are coadjusted, as in any mechanical combination, like a watch or a human hand, the instinctive verdict of mankind is an affirmation of intention. This affirmation is prompted by the adjustment of *part to part*, and by the adjustment of the whole to its *result*. These two conceptions must be kept distinct. Let us for the moment leave out of consideration the question of design in the result, and note what is implied and what is not implied in the affirmation of design in the parts. We say instinctively that the coadjustment of parts implies design; but—1. It does not imply that the action of the parts was designed to produce any result. 2. It does not imply

that the result, if any, is useful, beautiful, or any otherwise characterized. 3. It does not imply that the result, if any, is either comprehended or comprehensible. 4. It does not imply that the adjustment itself is something wholly comprehensible. 5. It does not imply that the cause of the adjustment is either finite or not finite. 6. It does not imply that the conformations and collocations in the adjustment have been effected by any particular instruments, or according to any particular method. They may have been molded, hewed, carved, turned, or grown—it is all the same. These eliminations are of the utmost importance; but a careful appeal to consciousness demonstrates that our verdict is rendered without the least regard to any consideration save the fact of *coadjustment*—mechanical coadjustment, in which the action of one part is continually reciprocated by the action of another part. Isolating the question of design from these customary entanglements, it is apparent that, when a case of mechanical coadjustment is presented, it is not pertinent to consider whether it is a product of man or of nature. It either implies design absolutely, or it does not imply design at all. The same combination can not imply design when viewed as a human product, and have no significance when viewed as a natural product. The consideration that it has come into existence by a method of evolution, or by any other method, is as alien from the question as if the method had been by an envelope-making machine, or by carpentry, or smithery. It does not add to the conclusiveness of the statement to suggest that a method of evolution may and must have been established by design, and that consequently the ends which it attained may and must have been designed, both in general and in particular. The suggestion, however, is valid, and is perfectly in parallelism with the inference of design directly from adjustment. If the recognition of design, therefore, is legitimate, without any regard to the teleological significance of the products of adjustment, the most radical profession of nescience of the "designs of Nature" may admit that some design is revealed in the simple fact of structural adjustment, even if it were not designed to produce what it produces.

This is not that remote and hypothetical admission of design which recognizes simply the possibility that the whole system of nature may exist for some design; but it is an affirmative and necessary recognition of design, as the logical antecedent of all coördinations interpretable in terms of intelligence.

VIII. Besides mutual adjustment of structural parts, we may

consider the meaning of adjustments to a general concept. All that we know of fundamental plans of structure in the organic world is but a body of facts exemplifying adjustment of parts, not alone to each other, but to an archetypal conception—an intelligential standard. It is frequently suggested that fundamental relationships have resulted from the law of heredity, with progressive divergence. That, probably, is a valid scientific account to give of what have been styled *plans* of organization; and every one is free to rest in the finality of science. But, if our minds are so constituted that we irresistibly conclude design from coördination, regardless of the instrumentality or means by which the coördination becomes expressed in matter, then heredity with divergence is not an ultimate explanation, and every man is at liberty, without reproach, to pass beyond the pale of science, and recognize heredity as a thoughtful determination fixed for the purpose of introducing order and method into the organic world, as we find them. So the mathematical order of the solar system is explicable in scientific terms, by ascribing it to the cooling of a primitive nebula; but the forces engaged in the evolution of a planetary system must be rationally conceived as merely the instruments which work out symmetrical results coördinated to a general concept or plan. If, finally, the deepest law of nature is the law of evolution, we may recognize that as the all-embracing principle under which events emerge into being; but reason can never be divested of the simple conviction that events coördinated on so comprehensive a scale, and coördinated to so vast a scheme, give expression to purpose equally vast and comprehensive. The explanations of science are held to be valid, but they do not go far enough; they are not ultimate explanations. By the inherent principles of our mental being, we postulate and posit motive and agency behind the last explanation of science.

IX. As design is the necessary implication of parts coördinated to each other, or to a general concept, so metaphysical cause is the only rational explanation of those ultimate physical antecedents which belong to the category of sub-causes or scientific causes. Of metaphysical cause science professes to have no knowledge, holding that invariable antecedence is the scientific conception of causation. But, manifestly, no phenomenon comes into existence *because* another phenomenon precedes. The precedence is the sign of antecedent efficiency. So the law under which a phenomenon arises is modal, not causal, and implies prior ordination, as the subordinated event implies transcendent causation. The *conditio sine qua non* of

a phenomenon is not its essential cause, but the condition of the operativeness of a certain law which expresses a method of activity of essential cause. The notion of metaphysical cause is therefore the underlying ground of all the ultimate conceptions of science.

That notion, in spite of the formal restriction of the logic of science, has found constant expression in scientific language under the name of *force*. This, like the assumed atom and molecule of physics, the ethereal medium and the ultimate incompressibility of matter, is a purely metaphysical conception. It is a name which the necessities of thinking have impelled us to adopt for the efficiency transmitted from or through the phenomenon which stands in the place of invariable antecedent. Yet there are questions still deeper which offer themselves as subjects of analytic thought. Is force an entity or an attribute? If an entity, is it self-acting or subordinated? If subordinated, what is the nature of the power which subordinates it? If self-acting, then the discernment and design revealed in the results of its activity are attributes which characterize a demiurge. But, if we say force is an entity which produces results, what is the means by which it produces them? Are not all results produced by force, and is not our reasoning thus reduced to the proposition that the entity force employs force to produce results? This proposition is unintelligible, and shows that the conception of force as an entity is absurd. Force is an attribute.

But, if force must be conceived as an attribute, what is the nature of its subject? *What* is it which exerts or manifests force? To say that the attribute force exerts itself is to make it both attribute and subject. Something which is not force, but which is capable of exerting force, is therefore necessarily implied in the conception of force. Is matter the subject? Then, *first*, it is a subject which thinks and purposes; for the results of force are thoughtful and purposive, and matter does thus possess a "power and potency" of psychic results. But, *secondly*, we are not certain that matter possesses a subjective nature. We only know matter phenomenally, and it may easily be that phenomena constitute all there is of matter in itself. Yet phenomena are manifestations of something possessing the power to produce them. The phenomena which we cognize as matter are manifestations of force. If there be no subject matter, there must be some other subject revealing itself in the phenomena which we group under the designation of matter. We are driven, then, to the recognition of an intelligent subject as the ground of the attribute of force manifesting its activ-

ities in the being of what we call matter, as well as in the changes which are impressed upon matter.

The inquiry does not end even here; for it remains to ascertain what is the mode of origin of force from its subject. What is the method by which the subject reveals the attribute of force? Is forceful emanation from the subject an unconscious and continuous necessity of its being; or is it a conscious and voluntary activity? If necessary, then some higher power has imposed the necessity; if unconscious, then some higher intelligence directs according to the laws of conscious thought; for coördination of products implies at least two things consciously apprehended both in their separateness and in their relation; unconscious intelligence is a nugatory expression, for consciousness is the prime moment of intelligence. If forceful manifestations are effected through the method of volition, then the subject which constitutes the ground of all cosmical force is possessed of will as well as intellect and susceptibility to motive, and is consequently a personal entity—an entity thinking, feeling, and willing with reference to that which is not itself.

Finally, all the distinctive doctrinal enunciations of modern science are conclusions which reach beyond the peculiar domain of science. One class of these is constituted of applications of the metaphysical principle of continuity, through which is deduced the evolution of the forms of inorganic matter from a primitive homogeneous state, and also the forms of organic matter from a primitive vitalized plasma. Another class is a body of enunciations respecting the causation of origins. The method and order of origins are the subject of legitimate scientific research, but essential causes, as we have stated, lie quite within the region of the metaphenomenal.

It appears, therefore, as Lewes states, that "the fundamental ideas of modern science are as transcendental as any of the axioms of ancient philosophy," and that "every physical problem involves metempirical elements." All the fundamental conceptions of science—self, substance, cause, force, life, order, law, purpose, relation, unity, identity, continuity, evolution, natural selection, species, genus, order, class—are purely metaphysical concepts or ideas. These are not the objects of sensible perception, like the phenomenal data of science, but are apprehended by the rational insight. Many of them are the logical antecedents and necessary conditions of the possibility of experience. They precede and legitimate all our cognitions and judgments concerning the sensible world, and act as the

constitutive and coördinating principles among our sensations. They render possible the logical contemplation and intelligent penetration of nature. They constitute the bond of consistence and coherence in the fabric of science, and illume the system of the cosmos with the supernal light of thought.

The foregoing suggestions are intended to reveal clearly to the intelligent reader the existence of a realm of legitimate thought deeper than the data of physical science; presupposed, indeed, by all the logic of science, and sole sponsor for all the validity which the principles of science can ever acquire. The effect is not to impair the authority of science, but to rationalize it and purge it of empiricism and dogmatism. The moral is, that science, from its platform, is not competent to utter conclusions on themes which lie over in the realm of metaphysics; but, when it gives utterances, either affirmative or negative, on questions essentially metaphenomenal, it must proceed from the axioms of metaphysics, and not from the inductions based on sensible phenomena.

ALEXANDER WINCHELL.

THE PERMANENCE OF POLITICAL FORCES.

PART II.

DURING the civil war, and immediately at its close, the financial questions determined were of as great importance as or greater than any now before the country; but they were then overshadowed by graver interests. To-day, fiscal affairs make a leading issue in party politics. The main question awaiting decision is a plain one: Shall the circulating medium of the country be of the precious metals, or shall it be of inconvertible paper? This is the real issue. Its decision will decide the numerous intermediary schemes which have been invented to avoid the main question; and we shall greatly delude ourselves if we suppose that any point of rest will be found short of it. Neither of the two chief political parties can be said to be solidly united for or against either proposition. Neither, therefore, could at this time go into a Presidential election with financial questions as the main issues, with the certainty that all its forces would be in line. Something of the strength of both would be drawn to a third party, if such there was, which represented paper money pure and simple. Such a party has come into existence during the past four years. It was almost inevitable that it should as soon as fiscal systems became leading issues, and neither of the two chief parties made inconvertible paper the financial plank of its platform. The Greenback, or National party, then, being an independent organization, its future must be considered by the light of the law of growth of third parties, which is invariable, and may be stated thus: *Since the two principal parties each represent the whole scheme of political government, though different principles of it, they represent generally that particular element or interest in it which the third party represents specially. This third party must continue to increase, with more or less disturbance of the main bodies, until a decisive point is reached. When this has been attained, it*

either expires, and its individual parts are reabsorbed in the two principal parties, or it itself absorbs that one of these with which it has most affinity. Whether it does the one thing or the other depends in the main upon the nature of the interest it represents. A party formed upon an issue broad enough to cause a civil war has one sufficiently broad to absorb one of the preëxisting parties; while another, having its cause of being solely in the idea that an accident of nativity should be the qualification for suffrage, passes away with no other than a third-party record.

It is clear that we have to consider, in view of this law, whether the issue upon which the Greenback or National party is formed be such a one as may threaten the existence of either the Republican or Democratic party; whether, in fact, either of them shall cease to be, and thereafter parties be National and something else. The issue presented is certainly not so new to the country as was Know-nothingism, since in this year of grace it can claim the respectable age of one hundred and ninety years. It had its birth in Massachusetts in 1690, and during the course of its long and eventful life has plagued this nation more persistently than any other upon which political parties have differed. It has come up in every conceivable variety of form; it fomented violent disputes among the people, and between the people and the royal Government when the country was colonial; it was one of the leading economic causes of the Revolution; it played a prominent and disastrous part in the War of Independence; it made havoc in our domestic affairs after independence was achieved; it was one of the chief obstacles to the acceptance of the Constitution; it survived its adoption, which was thought to have killed it, and, entering on a new career in different shape, it disturbed the country under President Madison; it convulsed it under President Jackson; it worried and distracted it more or less nearly down to the accession of President Lincoln; it then underwent a transformation or retransformation back to its old and worst form; and here it is to-day, as active, threatening, and troublesome as ever. There is no getting rid of it. It will not down. Its persistency as a disturbing force is beyond that of any other single cause.

And, again, as to the various forms of paper money, and their effects, we have tested the working of every one to the last extreme. We have had paper money in every shape, and issued for every variety of purpose, that the history of finance shows to be known to any country in the world. There has been inconvertible and con-

vertible paper money ; and paper nominally convertible but really inconvertible ; it has been issued by the General Government, by the State governments, and by corporations under Government charters ; it has been legal tender and not legal tender, and the proverbial ingenuity of the Connecticut mind discovered a compromise between these two ; it has been based on landed security ; on the security of taxes ; and on no other security than the pure credit or authority of the Government, i. e., "fiat money" ; its causes of issue have been to meet extraordinary Government expenditures ; to meet current Government expenditures ; for the professed purpose of affording a circulating medium ; and as a loan for the promotion of industry. Issues of "fiat money" have nearly all originated in the necessities of war. The first issue by Massachusetts, in 1690, was to pay the cost of the disastrous expedition against Canada. Further issues were made for a like purpose in 1709, and the other New England colonies with New York and New Jersey joining in the expeditions, they too issued "fiat money" to defray the expenses. Virginia made its first issue to pay the cost of Braddock's expedition ; South Carolina to meet the charges of an expedition against the Spanish settlement of St. Augustine ; the Continental currency was issued to pay the charges of the Revolutionary War ; all the States made large issues for the same purpose ; and the greenback of to-day came into existence through the Government needing money to put down the rebellion.

So far for the persistency ; let us glance at another feature of this issue, viz., its troublesomeness. In the first place, there was a constant discord between the colonies and the Crown on this matter of paper money. The issues, beginning with war, but soon renewed in times of peace, deranged trade. The British merchants suffered heavily in consequence, and the home Government tried hard to hold the colonists down to the use of coin. Its most conspicuous success was in exasperating them. In all these troubles, the popular leaders were extreme in their opposition to the interference of the Crown. Restraint being removed by independence, and the people being free to manufacture as much paper as they chose, there was substantial unanimity upon the subject until depreciation began. Depreciation was considered to be something unpatriotic. Congress endeavored to stop it by passing tender acts and maximum-price acts ; the States, by acts to punish speculation. The "Safety Committees" took up their enforcement vigorously, and as these bodies were purely voluntary associations, like the modern

vigilance committee, it is easy to imagine the zeal with which they carried on their operations. In a few years, the ruin which had been wrought was frightful. Paper money was said to have done infinitely more damage to the country than the arms of the enemy. Under the Confederation we have some more examples. An era of wild speculation followed the War of Independence, just as it did the civil war. The people were poorer than ever they had been before, but peace opened a glorious dream of wealth in the near future. Free trade was to make the whole country opulent immediately ; the price of lands was to rise enormously from the torrent of immigration expected to pour in from Europe. Paper money had already turned all the transactions of trade into a system of betting, and there was yet another popular delusion aiding speculation. "It had not escaped observation," says Marshall, "that every purchaser on credit, however excessive the price might apparently be, had not only been relieved by the depreciation, but had derived great gains from his contract. Speculating on a similar course of things, many individuals had made extensive purchases at high prices, and had thus contributed to continue for a time the deception imposed on themselves by those *who supposed that the Revolution was a talisman, whose magic powers were capable of changing the nature of things.*" Previous to 1873 it was the popular belief with us that the civil war had been such a talisman. In two or three years the crash came, and we have graphic pictures of the distress and disorders which attended the painful process of contraction. The popular cry was that it was impossible for the people to pay their public or private debts ; the more popular demand, that prosperity should be restored by legislation. After 1873 we heard this cry very loud among ourselves.

Under the Constitution the cause of coin against paper took the form of a political warfare on the question of bank or no bank. It was, however, no longer "fiat money," but bank-paper, nominally convertible, though practically as inconvertible as the other, which was in dispute. The establishment of the first United States Bank was a subject of warm contention between the two political parties, for the Democrats held it to be a violation of the Constitution. Upon this point, however, they changed their minds in 1815, and demanded that the bank be rechartered, on the ground that such an institution would control the extravagant increase and wild-cat operations of the State banks. The second United States Bank opened for business January 1, 1817 ; but its operations did

not tend to produce unanimity of opinion between the two parties. Great expansion, followed by violent contraction when Congress threatened to cut short its career, produced the collapse of 1819, which inflicted ruinous losses on the country. When President Jackson, some ten years or so later, commenced his warfare upon it, the Whigs had taken it under their protection, and the system of paper money which it represented. The contest reached its highest point of fury in the second election of Jackson. "Jackson and hard money" was the watchword of the campaign on the Democratic side. Banking corporations were to that generation what railroad corporations are to the present. As a result of the campaign, the charter of the bank was not renewed. It expired by limitation in 1836. In 1846 the last of the many contests fought out between the two parties on the paper-money issue, previous to the civil war, took place on the passage of the second Independent Treasury Act, the first having been repealed by the Whigs the year after its passage by the Democrats. With its enactment, this troublesome and persistent question was removed from the field of national (though not of State) politics, only to be brought back again through the war.

The least enthusiastic believer in the virtues of "fiat money" might be excused if, from a hasty glance at these facts, he jumped to the conclusion that his party had an issue broad enough to expand upon, until, in obedience to the law of growth, it became one of the two chief parties of the country. But, in this conclusion, he would be profoundly in error. Not only is it insufficient for this, but it is one which the history of this country for nearly two centuries shows to be such as must doom a third party to inevitable and total defeat. All the experience of the past, all the lessons to be derived from that experience, would be totally falsified if the ultimate fate of the Greenback party should be any other than its defeat and dispersion. The harm it may do the country before that time must be through its influence on the two chief parties, and the damage it may inflict by local successes.

The limits of this article preclude any but the briefest possible statement of the reasons for this assertion; but, if we look under the surface of things, it is speedily discovered that, where paper has gained its national victories against coin, the issue has always been complicated with other matters of far deeper interest to the nation. Upon the one occasion when it was tried on the merits, the side that espoused paper money suffered an overwhelming defeat. True, that the people in colonial times were greatly enamored of a paper

currency, to the issue of which they had many temptations; but it is clear that there could be no dispassionate discussion when the cause of metallic money was identified with the Crown Government, whose interference in its favor was resented as an invasion of popular rights; when Samuel Adams is found declaring this interference to be a violation of the rights of man, and the cool-headed Franklin writes pamphlets in opposition to it. Furthermore, this interference was so far successful that the people had undoubtedly to wait for independence to gather a full experience of the evils which paper money can inflict. Again, the Continental Congress could not tax, and hence the issue of paper money was the only way in which it appeared that funds could be raised to defend the country. Thus its issue again became identified with patriotism, and at a time when patriotism was a flame of fire in the hearts of the people. After the war, paper money had no such moral support, and at once we find the most violent contests for and against its issue waged in the several States, one class demanding it as a measure of relief in the prevailing distress, another resisting it as the root of all evil. Soon after the Debtors' Rebellion in Massachusetts was put down, the Constitution was presented for adoption. Its provisions struck, as they were intended to strike, what was thought a fatal blow at the party of paper money. The whole country divided into two parties for and against adoption; but not as debtor and creditor. This issue, until that moment distracting every State, instantly disappeared. Federal or anti-Federal was the question. It is certainly reasonable to suppose that the mass of the paper-money party went to swell the ranks of the anti-Federalists, and yet it did not suffice to give them the victory in the contest. After the adoption of the Constitution, the Whigs represented the cause of paper. They certainly can not be called a successful party, and in their financial policy they were conspicuously and disastrously unsuccessful. The two Presidents they elected were elected on platforms which kept paper money in the background. When Jackson and Clay were opposed, the main issue was really a financial one; and the Whigs were simply nowhere. One hundred and seventy-eight electoral votes were cast for Jackson to eighty-three for Clay, although the latter had the whole of the then powerful banking organization of the country supporting him. Nor should it be forgotten that the question as then presented was very far from having the extreme form in which it is now presented by the Greenback party. Finally, it must be noted that it is not due to any decision given by

the country on financial questions pure and simple that this party has a cause of being at all, but solely to the pressing necessities of the Government in a mighty struggle for its existence; and thus patriotism again came into play, and but lately stump-orators were talking of the "blood-stained greenback."

In conclusion: as to the degree of influence which the Greenback or National organization may exert on the two chief parties, and the damage it may thereby inflict on the country, that is obviously a matter beyond human foresight. But, from the experience of the past and the circumstances of the present, these conclusions seem justified: First, that so long as financial questions are an issue in national politics, no resting-place will be found until it is finally and absolutely determined whether coin or an inconvertible paper currency is to be the money of the country; second, that the Greenback organization will never be anything but a third party, and, as such, will be defeated and broken up; third, that the ultimate result of the agitation will be a decision, irrevocable if such be possible, either by amendment to the Constitution or otherwise, that the national Government shall not, for any cause or under any circumstances, issue an inconvertible legal-tender paper money.

CUTHBERT MILLS.

RECENT POETRY.

The Light of Asia. By Edwin Arnold, M. A. Boston: Roberts Brothers.
Blanid. By Robert D. Joyce, author of "Deidre." Ibid.
The Poetical Works of Bayard Taylor. Household edition. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co.

THE light of Asia has been long in reaching the heaven of European song. It twinkled on the chalky cliffs of England in a letter from Mary Wortley Montagu, written to the poet Pope from Adrianople on April 1, 1717, and containing a copy of verses addressed by Ibrahim Pasha, the reigning favorite of Achmet III., to the eldest daughter of that potentate, to whom he was contracted in marriage. Her ladyship took abundant pains, she wrote, to get a literal translation of them, which is evident enough, and she thought they resembled the Song of Solomon. She sent them to her correspondent as a curiosity rather than as a poem, for she appreciated their poetic qualities so slightly that she immediately set to work and spoiled them by turning them into sing-song heroics. About this time, or possibly a little earlier, Parnell wrote his poem "The Hermit," which is unquestionably of Eastern origin, and is fully worthy of its reputation as a moral apologue. It was followed by four musical but absurd productions, the work of a true poet, in whose exquisite little volume they may be read to-day as "Oriental Eclogues." Of greater intellectual value than these was the famous "Vision of Mirza" in the "Spectator," and of doubtful value was Johnson's lumbering story of "Rasselas." Of no value at all were the many delineations of Asiatic personages in the early poetic drama of England—its Tamburlaines, Bajazets, Aurungzebes—monstrosities that would be laughable, if they were not horrible. A host of other Orientalities—the spawn of these, and of the Anglicized version of Galland's French paraphrase of "The Thousand and One Nights"—"Persian Tales," "Chinese Tales," "Tales of the Genii," and what not—confounded the English mind with their

vast and varied misinformation concerning the literature of the East. It might have been enlightened, however, toward the close of the last century by Sir William Jones, who was one of the first, if not the first, Englishman to devote himself seriously to Oriental studies, which were then in their infancy among Europeans, and who achieved what was then thought to be eminence therein. His scholarship was more remarkable than his talents, which were not distinguished for force or originality, and were rather of a judicial than poetic order. He wrote two volumes of elaborate trifles in rhyme, among which were a number of translations, paraphrases, and imitations, in Latin and English, of Arabic, Persian, Chinese, and Turkish poems, besides a series of hymns in honor of several Hindoo deities. It is possible to read these languid exercises in verse, but it requires a large fund of patience to do so, and a determination to find something characteristic in them. Only one of Sir William's Eastern poems has come down to us through the poetic anthologies—a loose paraphrase, for it is in no sense a translation, of the gazel of Hafiz, beginning "*Egher an Turki Shirazi*," which is chiefly remembered on account of its single quotable line—

"Like Orient pearls at random strung."

If Sir William had been a poet, the light of Asia might have reached us sooner than it did, and its white radiance need not have been obscured, as it was by the lurid glooms of Byron and the twinkling illuminations of Moore. But it was not lost, for gleams of it struggled out now and then in the poems of Leigh Hunt, whose "Abou Ben-Adhem" will live as long as the language; in those of Trench, whose "Poems from Eastern Sources" are the best things that he has written; and in Matthew Arnold's "Sohrab and Rustem," a noble rendering of the most pathetic episode of the Shah Nameh of Ferdousi, and in his "Sick King in Bokhara"—a soul-troubled relation of the melancholy Prince of Denmark. Nor was it merely handed down to us by the poets, like the torches in the old Greek game, for, the more the languages of the East were studied, the clearer it became. It was a guiding star to scholars all over Europe who dedicated their lives to the study of Sanskrit, and Persian, and Chinese: it was a fresh source of inspiration to Goethe, and Rückert, and Bodenstedt: and it was a stumbling-block to Christian missionaries, who were obliged to translate its Scriptures before they could hope to supplant them. We owe these good gentlemen more, no doubt, than they intended we should; for, in

their endeavor to show the superiority of our religion over the religions of the East, they were compelled to state just what those religions are, and, in so doing, to place in our hands a standard of comparison which we did not before possess, and which perhaps is not so favorable to their own dogmatism as they suppose. But, however this may be, and through whatever means it has been gained, authentic and noble knowledge of the cradle of the race has become a part of our intellectual inheritance, and has prepared us to welcome its latest manifestation in "The Light of Asia."

The mere word "Asia" summons a thousand remembrances

"From the dark backward and abysm of Time"—

remembrances of the primitive race as they are recorded in tradition: the goings forth of men with their flocks and herds; encampments of tents followed by villages of huts, which in turn are followed by walled towns and cities; kingdoms of which we only know the names of their rulers, and that their peoples were of less account in their eyes than the wild beasts they hunted; the building up of great empires, structures of tyrannous power, cemented with blood, and the downfall of those empires when the measure of their iniquity was full—scenes of carnage and destruction which the Muse of History shudders to contemplate. But there is another Asia than this; for upon the stage of this gigantic theatre, where light and darkness are struggling so tumultuously, we see glorious and majestic shapes, and a splendor of opulence without a parallel in later times. And there is still another Asia, which goes back beyond these, and is yet an important factor in the history of the world—the mysterious mother of myths which have shaped themselves into Religion. It is this greater Asia which is the inspiration of Mr. Arnold, who has selected its gentlest and most gracious benefactor as the hero of his poem. The life of this extraordinary personage who is sometimes known as Gautama, at others as Sâkya-Muni, but more generally as Buddha, is so overlaid with myths that it is difficult to distinguish the man as he was from his magnified reflection in the minds of his followers. The date of his birth, which varies largely in the different countries where his religion prevails, is supposed by European scholars to have been in the first quarter of the sixth century before the Christian era. His name was Siddârtha, and he was the son of King Suddhôdana and of Maya his queen. Stripped of its poetic garb, the story of his childhood is that of a beautiful prince who was gifted with genius,

and who was secluded by his parents lest he should discover the sorrows and sufferings of mankind. They surrounded him with all that could please the eye and gratify the senses ; and if ever prince should have been happy it was he. But he was born for higher things, and he sought them in solitary musings—in solemn visions and far-reaching dreams—

> "In which the burden of the mystery,
> In which the heavy and the weary weight
> Of all this unintelligible world
> Was lightened."

Happy in his marriage—for he weds a beautiful princess, whom he wins from all his rivals by feats of strength and skill—a longing to see the world haunts him like a passion, and he orders his chariot to be yoked—

> "That he may ride abroad and see mankind."

His father commands the city to be gayly decked, and that no one who is halt or maimed, sick or stricken in years, shall come forth. Prince Siddârtha rides along joyously until he meets a man whose back is bent with the burden of many years, and who solicits alms. Then he knows what age is :

> "Turn back, and drive me to my home again!
> I have seen that I did not think to see."

He rode forth again, and beheld a wretch smitten with the plague, and, as he had before known what age was, so now he knew what death was. He returned to his palace sorrowfully, and, brooding over the misery that he had seen, it was borne in upon him that there must be a cure for it, and that he, or such a one as he, who having much to give gave it all for the good of man, and spent himself in the search for truth, would find it, and so bless the race :

> "Surely at last, far off, sometime, somewhere,
> The veil would lift for his deep-searching eyes,
> The road would open for his painful feet,
> That should be won for which he lost the world,
> And Death might find him conqueror of death."

So he arose one night, leaving his wife and his unborn child, and went forth on his wanderings after wisdom. He sojourned awhile

among the most learned Brahmans, who sought to detain him, but without success, for they could not direct him to what he sought. He was beset by temptations, which he baffled, and passed through dire conflicts with hostile deities, who could not prevail against him. At last, after years of wandering and meditation, when he was sitting under a bôdhi-tree, he understood the riddle of life and death, and attained Nirvâna. Illuminated with divine wisdom, and filled with infinite pity, he returned to the city of his birth, making many converts by the way, and reached it after a twelve years' separation from his wife, who, with five hundred ladies of rank, embraced his faith. Such was Buddha, whose religious tenets propagated themselves rapidly, and are to-day the faith of nearly five hundred millions of mankind.

What concerns us critically is not Buddhism, but Buddha, who certainly ranks among the great names of the world. Sympathy such as he felt for suffiering, and recognition of the brotherhood of the race, was a mental phenomenon in his time, and, if it had been looked for at all, would have been looked for in a peasant, never in a prince. The high station which Buddha filled, and from which he descended in his love of mankind, glorified his life of abnegation, and imparted an heroic element to his character, both as a man and a religious teacher, an element which Mr. Arnold is the first English poet to perceive. He has followed the accepted facts of his life, retaining as much of its mythological machinery as was necessary for his purpose, and has constructed a narrative poem which is as creditable to his imagination as if it were his own invention instead of a *rifaciménto* of an old legend. It is orderly in its arrangement of incidents and its development, artistic in its succession of picturesque effects, and noticeable for its fluency. Mr. Arnold's blank verse has the merit of movement, and the demerit of carelessness. His vocabulary is not large, and his ear is not nice. With all its blemishes, however, it is an honest, manly, beautiful piece of writing, which will be read with delight by the lovers of poetry, and with interest by the student of ethics. No other poem with which we are acquainted is so thoroughly informed with the spiritual life of the East, with its gentleness, its compassion, and its self-sacrifice, and with what it has sought and found in its unwearied searches into the mysteries of life and death. What Mr. Tennyson has done for King Arthur, Mr. Arnold has done for Buddha, whose divine personality is henceforth enthroned in the heavens of English song, where it is indeed the Light of Asia.

What Mr. Arnold has done for Asia, Mr. Joyce has done for Ireland. It is an Ireland of which Moore knew nothing, though he had temerity enough to publish its history, and of which he had only the faintest conception when he wrote his famous "Melodies." It is poetical, no doubt, if the antiquity of a country and the stormy lives of its kings and chiefs are poetic; but few have been able to detach its poetry from the barbaric elements by which it is surrounded. Mr. Joyce can hardly be said to have done this—perhaps he has not tried to do it—but has contented himself with depicting what seemed to him most characteristic of the Ireland of old, which was famous, we are taught, for the beauty of its women and the valor of its men, and which was certainly given over to deeds of violence and blood. He has selected a time and place which abounded with the materials out of which epics are shaped; and, if these are sufficient for a poem, "Blanid" is one. But they are not sufficient; for, instead of being the motive of a poem, they should play a subordinate part in it, and rank among the episodes which help in the development of its story and its characters. There are, in our way of thinking, too many incidents in "Blanid," which we remember only through those incidents, and not as a whole—a central unity around which they should revolve. It lacks light and shade, tenderness and repose. Mr. Joyce has decided talent as a story-teller, and the uncommon merit of not reminding us of any recognized master of narrative verse. There are no suggestions of Tennyson here, or Morris, or Swinburne, but evidences of a power which has not yet done itself full justice. If we may trust our impressions, "Blanid" was written too easily. The necessity of finding rhymes compels Mr. Joyce to give his sense a turn that he would not have given it in blank verse, and that does not naturally belong to it. His descriptions, which are generally florid, are frequently injured by this want of skill on his part. But, whatever fault may be found with "Blanid," it is a poem which will gratify a large class of readers who care nothing for the technicalities of verse. They will be interested in its succession of stirring adventures and in its delineations of a savage and ferocious people. It is not a lovely picture which it presents to us, but it is, we are persuaded, a more faithful picture of the Ireland of the old bards—

> "When her kings with standard of green unfurled
> Led the Red-Branch Knights to danger"—

than the "Idyls of the King" of the England of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table.

Technical skill in which Mr. Joyce, and Mr. Arnold in a less degree, are deficient, was never charged against Mr. Bayard Taylor, whose first poems were as clearly thought out and as carefully written as his last ones. If he sinned in his poetic practice, it was in the direction of art, of which he possessed too much rather than too little, and which we wish he could have occasionally sacrificed to nature. We have here not exactly a complete edition of his poetical works, as the cover would lead us to believe, but a complete edition of his miscellaneous pieces, the fugitive inspirations of more than thirty years; and it is in these, we think, that he is seen with all his singing robes about him. It will not do to say that he was a great poet, for great poets are rare, but it is safe to say that there are as great elements in his poetry as in that of any other American poet. He had an active, imaginative genius, which sympathized with and sought out large subjects and emotions, and a singularly noble gift of expression. His diction is remarkable for its grandeur and magnificence, and for its harmonious correspondence with sense. A good example of his mastery of the music of words is the "Metempsychosis of the Pine," a majestic phantasy, in which he recalls his pre-natal earth-life and its surroundings:

"I held the eagle till the mountain-mist
Rolled from the azure heights he came to soar,
And, like a hunter, on my gnarlèd wrist
The dappled falcon bore.

"Poised o'er the blue abyss, the morning lark
Sang, whirling near in rapturous carouse;
And hart and hind, soft-pacing through the dark,
Slept underneath my boughs.

"Down on the pasture-slopes the herdsman lay,
And for the flock his birchen trumpet blew;
And ruddy children tumbled in their play,
And lovers came to woo.

"And once an army, crowned with triumph, came
Out of the hollow bosom of the gorge,
With mighty banners on the wind aflame,
Borne on a glittering surge

"Of tossing spears, a flood that homeward rolled,
While cymbals timed their steps of victory,
And horn and clarion, from their throats of gold,
Sang with a savage glee."

The poetry of Mr. Taylor is marked by elevation of thought and feeling, and a picturesque grasp of nature. It is Turneresque in its suggestion of landscape on a grand scale—glimpses of mountain-ranges purple with distance and shadowed by thunder-clouds, stretches of desert sand, yellow, bleak, trackless, and long lines of surf rolling in on desolate beaches in the lurid light of morning. His sense of color is good, and his knowledge of form large. He experimented with new measures, or new combinations of old measures, and was generally successful. He had a definite idea of the effects which he wished to produce, and of the methods by which these effects could be obtained, and his lightest touch was a sure one. Premeditating, as he did, before he wrote, his work lacked spontaneity, and was nothing if not elaborate. In his choice of subjects he appealed to the head rather than the heart, and so missed the undefinable charm of tenderness. Its place was sometimes supplied, however, by a certain dignity of feeling, which is apparent in such poems as "The Mystery," which embalms, we believe, an early sorrow of the poet. A stanza of it will, perhaps, indicate the quality to which we refer :

> "I keep for thee the living love of old,
> And seek thy place in Nature, as a child
> Whose hand is parted from his playmate's hold,
> Wanders and cries along a lonesome wild."

What we like best in this collection of the poetical works of our dead singer is not "The Poet's Journal," the "Home Pastorals," or "The Picture of St. John," but his shorter and less ambitious poems, such as "The Quaker Widow," "John Read," and "Jane Read," which are perfect studies of American country life and character; such as "Ariel in the Cloven Pine," "The Song of the Camp," and the airy little trifle entitled "Proposal"; and such as the "Bedouin Song," which is a noble companion-piece to Shelley's "Lines to an Indian Air." On the whole, we prefer the "Poems of the Orient" to the rest of the volume. They are enjoyable and satisfactory examples of objective art, and noble additions to our poetic knowledge of the East.

RICHARD HENRY STODDARD.

All applications for or information in reference to Advertising in "THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW" must be addressed to HENRY W. QUIN, Advertising Department, D. Appleton & Co., 540 & 551 Broadway, N. Y.

Thayer Academy, Braintree, Mass.—Designed to furnish instruction of the highest order in English, Modern Languages, and the Classics; fitting boys for the best colleges, and girls for the Harvard examinations and colleges for women. For catalogues, address J. B. SEWALL, Master, South Braintree, Mass.

BRAIN AND NERVE FOOD.

VITALIZED PHOSPHATES,

COMPOSED OF THE NERVE-GIVING PRINCIPLES OF THE OX-BRAIN AND WHEAT-GERM.

Physicians have prescribed 193,420 packages with the best results in all forms of impaired vitality, mental exhaustion, or weakened digestion. It is the best preventive of Consumption and all diseases of debility. It gives strength, rest, and sleep, by feeding the brain and nerves. It acts by feeding the brain with its necessary food, not as a medicine. For sale by Druggists.

F. CROSBY, 666 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

Appletons' Journal:

A MAGAZINE OF GENERAL LITERATURE.

APPLETONS' JOURNAL is devoted to literature of a sterling and general character. Fiction occupies a place, and Descriptive Papers appear; but large place is given to articles bearing upon Literary and Art Topics, to discussions of Social and Political Progress, to papers addressed distinctly to the intellectual tastes of the public, or upon subjects in which the public welfare or public culture is concerned.

It is the growing habit of the leading minds in all countries to contribute their best intellectual work to the magazines and reviews; and, in order that APPLETONS' JOURNAL may adequately reflect the intellectual activity of the time thus expressed, it admits to its pages a selection of the more noteworthy critical, speculative, and progressive papers that come from the pens of these writers.

25 cents per number; $3.00 per annum, in advance, postage included. A club of five will be sent one year for $12.00.

The volumes begin January and July of each year. Subscriptions received for any length of time.

D. APPLETON & CO., PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK.

D. Appleton & Co.'s Books for the Holidays.

I.

THE HOMES OF AMERICA.

With 103 Illustrations on Wood. Edited by Mrs. MARTHA J. LAMB, author of "The History of the City of New York." Quarto. In full morocco, price, $12.00; in cloth, extra gilt, price, $6.00.

"The Homes of America" is a superb holiday volume, of quarto size, exquisitely printed on toned paper, containing engravings of the highest art-character, illustrating the homes of America in the Colonial, the Later, and the Modern Periods. It will have a leading place among the holiday books of the season.

II.

LANDSCAPE IN AMERICAN POETRY.

Illustrated from Original Drawings by J. APPLETON BROWN. Descriptive Text by LUCY LARCOM. Large octavo. In full morocco, price, $8.00; in cloth, extra gilt, price, $4.00.

The illustrations in the volume are of remarkable freshness, and illustrate, so far as practicable, the actual scenes described in the verses of Bryant, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, and others of our poets. The engravings, therefore, apart from their striking and artistic beauty, have associations that add greatly to their value and interest.

III.

New Illustrated Cooper.

THE NOVELS OF J. FENIMORE COOPER.

With 64 Engravings on Steel, from Drawings by F. O. C. DARLEY. Complete in 16 volumes. Price for the complete set, $16.00.

*** This edition of the Novels of Cooper is the cheapest ever offered to the public. It contains the entire series of novels, two being bound in each volume; and the series of steel plates, from drawings by F. O. C. Darley, originally engraved for the finer editions, at a great cost, which are conceded to be the best work on steel ever produced in America.

IV.

AMERICAN PAINTERS.

Being Biographical Sketches of Fifty leading American Artists, with Eighty-three Examples of their Works, engraved on Wood, in the most perfect manner. In cloth, extra gilt, price, $7.00.

As an evidence of the value and beauty of this volume, we may mention that the cost of the engravings was nearly *thirteen thousand dollars*. The publishers are justified in saying that the contemporaneous art of no country has ever been so adequately represented in a single volume, nor has any work of the kind been produced here or abroad in which the illustrations surpass it.

V.

THE LIFE AND WORDS OF CHRIST.

By CUNNINGHAM GEIKIE, D. D. With Twelve Engravings on Steel. In two vols. Price, cloth, $8.00; half calf and half mor., $15.00; mor., $20.00.

"A work of gigantic industry, noble in outward form, of the highest rank in its contents, and, what is the chief point, it breathes the spirit of true faith in Christ. I have read enough of it to rejoice at such a magnificent creation, and especially to wonder at the extent of reading it shows. When I shall have occasion to revise my Hebrew New Testament, I hope to get much help from it."—*From Dr.* DELITZSCH, *the Commentator.*

"These fresh volumes are marked throughout by a humane and devout spirit. The work is sure to make for itself a place in popular literature."—*New York Times.*

VI.

THE FAIRY-LAND OF SCIENCE.

By ARABELLA B. BUCKLEY, author of "A Short History of Natural Science," etc. With numerous Illustrations. 1 vol. Cloth. Price, $1.50.

"A child's reading-book, most charmingly illustrated, and in every way rendered especially interesting to the juvenile reader."—*Athenæum.*

"It deserves to take a permanent place in the literature of youth."—*London Times.*

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, New York.

Completion of "Picturesque Europe."

NOW READY,

COMPLETE IN THREE MAGNIFICENT VOLUMES,

Picturesque Europe.

WITH

63 Exquisite Steel Plates, and nearly 1,000 Original Illustrations on Wood,

From Original Drawings made expressly for this work by BIRKET FOSTER, HARRY FENN, J. D. WOODWARD, P. SKELTON, S. READ, W. H. BOOT, and others.

Edited by BAYARD TAYLOR.

"Nothing on so grand a scale has been planned before, nor anything, so far as we know, so well executed."—LONDON SPECTATOR.

LIST OF ARTICLES.

Windsor.
Eton.
North Wales.
Warwick and Stratford.
The South Coast, from Margate to Portsmouth.
The Forest Scenery of Great Britain.
The Dales of Derbyshire.
Edinburgh and the South Lowlands.
Ireland.
Scenery of the Thames.
The South Coast, from Portsmouth to the Lizard.
English Abbeys and Churches.
The Land's End.
Old English Homes.
The West Coast of Ireland.
Border Castles and Counties.
Cathedral Cities.
The Grampians.
Oxford.
Scotland, from Loch Ness to Loch Eil.
The West Coast of Wales.
The Lake Country.
Cambridge.
The South Coast of Devonshire.
South Wales.
North Devon.
The Isle of Wight.
Normandy and Brittany.
The Italian Lakes.
The Passes of the Alps.
The Cornice Road.
The Forest of Fontainebleau.
The Rhine.
Venice.
The Channel Islands.
The Pyrenees.
Rome and its Environs.
The Bernese Oberland.
The Rhine, from Boppart to Drachenfels.
Spain (North and Old Castile).
Auvergne and Dauphiné.
Old German Towns.
Naples.
Norway.
Spain (New Castile and Estremadura).
The Lake of Geneva.
The Frontiers of France (East and South).
North Italy.
Norway (The Sogne Fjord, Nord Fjord, Romsdal).
Spain (Cordova, Seville, and Cadiz).
The Frontiers of France (West and North).
Calabria and Sicily.
The Black Forest.
Sweden.
The Tyrol.
Gibraltar and Ronda.
Dresden and the Saxon Switzerland.
Eastern Switzerland.
Constantinople.
Belgium.
The High Alps.
Granada and the East Coast of Spain.
Russia.
The Jura.
Athens and its Environs.
Holland.
The Danube.

"PICTURESQUE EUROPE" is sold only by subscription, and is published in 60 parts, royal quarto, at 50 cents each, and in three volumes, bound in full or half morocco. Price, in half morocco, $48.00; full morocco, $54.00; morocco, extra gilt, $57.00.

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, New York.

AGENCIES IN OTHER CITIES: Boston, 6 Hawley Street; Philadelphia, 922 Chestnut Street; Baltimore, 22 Post-Office Avenue; Pittsburg, 10½ Sixth Street; Rochester, 42 State Street; Cincinnati, 200 Main Street; Chicago, 61 Washington Street; St. Louis, 320½ North Third Street; New Orleans, 20 St. Charles Street; San Francisco, 207 Dupont Street.

☞ "THE PRINCE AMONG MAGAZINES."—*N. Y. Observer.*

THE GREATEST LIVING AUTHORS, such as Professor Max Muller, Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, James Anthony Froude, Professor Huxley, Richard A. Proctor, Professor Goldwin Smith, Edward A. Freeman, Professor Tyndall, Dr. W. B. Carpenter, Frances Power Cobbe, the Duke of Argyll, William Black, Miss Thackeray, Mrs. Mulock-Craik, George MacDonald, Mrs. Oliphant, Mrs. Alexander, Jean Ingelow, Julia Kavanagh, Thomas Hardy, Matthew Arnold, J. Norman Lockyer, Francis W. Newman, Alfred Russel Wallace, Henry Kingsley, W. W. Story, Ivan Turguenie', Ruskin, Tennyson, Browning, and many others, are represented in the pages of

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE.

In 1880, THE LIVING AGE enters upon its thirty-seventh year, admittedly unrivaled and continuously successful. A WEEKLY MAGAZINE, of sixty-four pages, it gives more than

Three and a Quarter Thousand

double-column octavo pages of reading-matter yearly, forming four large volumes. It presents in an inexpensive form, considering its great amount of matter, with freshness, owing to its weekly issue, and with a *satisfactory completeness* attempted by no other publication, the best Essays, Reviews, Criticisms, Tales, Sketches of Travel and Discovery, Poetry, Scientific, Biographical, Historical, and Political Information, from the entire body of Foreign Periodical Literature.

During the coming year, Serial and Short Stories by the **Most Eminent Foreign Authors** will be given, together with an amount

UNAPPROACHED BY ANY OTHER PERIODICAL

in the world, of the most valuable Literary and Scientific matter of the day from the pens of the foremost Essayists, Scientists, Critics, Discoverers, and Editors, above-named and many others, representing every department of Knowledge and Progress.

The importance of THE LIVING AGE to every American reader, as the only **satisfactorily fresh and complete** compilation of a generally inaccessible but indispensable current literature—*indispensable* because it embraces the productions of

The Ablest Living Writers

in all branches of Literature, Science, Art, and Politics, is sufficiently indicated by the following recent

OPINIONS.

"The last volume of THE LIVING AGE presents a fresh example of the judgment in selection and adaptation to the demands of the best popular literature, which have secured so wide a circulation to that periodical."—*New York Tribune.*

"It covers the whole field of literature, and covers it completely, thoroughly, and impartially."—*Times*, Cincinnati.

"It affords the best, the cheapest, and most convenient means of keeping abreast with the progress of thought in all its phases."—*North American*, Philadelphia.

"It is, by all odds, the best eclectic published."—*Southern Churchman*, Richmond.

"It is the embodiment of the truest and purest literature of the age."—*American Christian Review*, Cincinnati.

"*With it alone* a reader may fairly keep up with all that is important in the literature, history, politics, and science of the day."—*The Methodist*, New York.

"To read it weekly is a liberal education."—*Zion's Herald*, Boston.

"Gives the best of all at the price of one."—*New York Independent.*

"It holds the palm against all rivals."—*Commercial*, Louisville.

"There is no other way of procuring the same amount of excellent literature for anything like the same price."—*Boston Advertiser.*

"It supplies a better compendium of current discussion, information, and investigation, and gives a greater amount and variety of reading-matter, which it is well worth while to read, than any other publication. . . . It is simply indispensable."—*Boston Journal.*

"Ought to find a place in every American home."—*New York Times.*

"There is nothing comparable to it in true value in the whole range of periodical literature."—*Mobile Register.*

Published WEEKLY at $8.00 a year, *free of postage.*

☞ **EXTRA OFFER FOR 1880.** ☜

To all new subscribers for 1880 will be sent gratis those numbers of 1879 which contain, besides other interesting matter, the first chapters of "HE WHO WILL NOT WHEN HE MAY," a new story by **MRS. OLIPHANT,** now appearing in THE LIVING AGE from advance sheets.

CLUB-PRICES FOR THE BEST HOME AND FOREIGN LITERATURE.

["Possessed of THE LIVING AGE and one or other of our vivacious American monthlies, a subscriber will find himself *in command of the whole situation.*"—*Phila. Evening Bulletin.*]

For $10.50 THE LIVING AGE and *either one* of the American $4.00 Monthlies (or *Harper's Weekly* or *Bazar*) will be sent for a year, *both post-paid*; or, for $9.50 THE LIVING AGE and the *St. Nicholas*, or *Appletons' Journal.*

ADDRESS **LITTELL & CO., Boston.**

NEW AND IMPORTANT WORKS

Just published by

A. C. ARMSTRONG & SON.

By Rev. Dr. WILLIAM M. TAYLOR.

The Limitations of Life and Other Sermons.

With a Fine Portrait on Steel by Ritchie. 8vo. Extra cloth, $1.75.

They are undoubtedly the choice of Dr. Taylor's best sermons—who is one of the most vigorous and origiual thinkers, and eloquent of pulpit orators, at the present day. The volume contains 25 discourses, and is a valuable contribution to the best literature of the time.

Homiletical and Pastoral Lectures

Delivered before the Church Homiletical Society, London. By Rt. Rev. Bishops THOMPSON, GOODWIN, THOROLD, TITCOMB, WALSH, RYAN; Rev. Deans HOWSON, FREEMANTLE, STEWART PERROWNE, T. T. PERROWNE, PIGOU; Rev. Canons BARRY, HEURTLEY, GARBETT, BERNARD, HOARE, ELLISON, HOW, MACDONALD, CADMAN. Preface by Rt. Rev. Bishop ELLICOTT. Crown 8vo, 540 pages. $1.75.

Life of Alexander Duff, D. D.

By GEORGE SMITH, LL. D. Introduction by Rev. Dr. WILLIAM M. TAYLOR. 2 Steel Portraits and Maps. 2 vols., 8vo. Extra cloth, $3.75. (*Ready in January.*)

NEW EDITIONS OF DORAN AND SYDNEY SMITH.

Annals of the Stage.

THOMAS BETTERTON TO EDMUND KEAN.—Actors, Authors, and Audiences. New Preface and Memoir of Dr. Doran, with supplementary chapter on MACREADY, by R. H. STODDARD. 2 vols., crown 8vo. Cloth, gilt top, $3.50.

The most entertaining and comprehensive work extant concerning Actors and Actresses. A dramatic history as well as biography. Critical, scholarly, exhaustive, and in every way valuable.

Sydney Smith's Wit and Wisdom.

Selections from his Writings and Passages of his Letters and Table-Talk. Steel Portrait, a Memoir, and Notes. By E. A. DUCYKINCK. With a new Prefatory Memoir of Ducykinck, by R. H. STODDARD. 1 vol., crown 8vo. Cloth, gilt top, $1.75.

CHOICE EDITIONS OF STANDARD WORKS.

Hallam's Complete Works.

A very elegant edition. Revised and corrected.

The Middle Ages. State of Europe during the Middle Ages. 3 vols., $5.25; half calf, $10.50.

Introduction to the Literature of Europe. 4 vols., $7.00; half calf, $14.00.

Constitutional History of England. 3 vols., $5.25; half calf, $10.50.

May's Constitutional History of England, 1760-1871. (May is a continuation of Hallam.) 2 vols., $3.50.

Dean Milman's Complete Works.

Latin Christianity. Including the Popes to Nicholas V. 8 vols. Cloth, $14.00.

History of Christianity. 3 vols. Cl., $5.25.

History of the Jews. 3 vols. Cloth, $5.25.

Charles Lamb's Complete Works.

A very choice edition. Edited by Sir T. N. TALFOURD, with Memoir and Steel Portrait. 5 vols., crown 8vo. Cloth, $7.50; half calf, $15.00.

Isaac Disraeli's Works.

"*A whole Library in Nine Volumes.*" A very choice edition. Edited by his Son.

The Curiosities of Literature. 4 vols., $7.00.

The Amenities of Literature. 2 vols., $3.50.

The Calamities of Authors. 2 vols., $3.50.

The Literary Character, etc. 1 vol., $2.25.

Sent by express or mail, prepaid, by

A. C. ARMSTRONG, 714 Broadway, New York.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS'

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart. By GEORGE C. MASON. With Reproductions of Stuart's Portraits. 1 vol., 4to, $10.00.

Perhaps the most important contribution yet attempted to the literature of American art is Mr. George C. Mason's *Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart*, written at the wish and with the personal coöperation of Miss Jane Stuart, the daughter of the painter. The publishers have used every effort to make the volume, as an art-work, worthy of its subject. It contains ten reproductions of Stuart's portraits, printed in Paris, by the photogravure process of Messrs. Goupil and Company, here used for the first time in America for book illustration; a superb print in pure line by Burt, of the "Gibbs Washington," considered by connoisseurs the best of Stuart's Washingtons, and now for the first time engraved; an etched fac-simile, by Duthie, of Stuart's pen-and-ink portrait of himself; and an engraving by Cole of Miss Goodridge's miniature of the artist.

Brazil: the Amazons and the Coast. By HERBERT H. SMITH. With Illustrations. 1 vol., 8vo, $5.00.

Mr. Herbert Smith, the author of the recent widely-read articles on Brazil in SCRIBNER'S MONTHLY, has now published the more finished results of his journeys in a volume, of which those papers form only the groundwork; and an unusually valuable and attractive book of travels is the result. His chapters on the great Amazon's forests; on the Indians and their villages; on their myths and folk-lore; on the adventurous ascent of certain of the Amazon's tributaries, and on the quiet life of the planters along the river-banks, are especially excellent. The sketches, made by Mr. J. Wells Champney, who accompanied Mr. Smith on his last journey, furnish most of the illustrations, which include a number besides those accompanying the magazine articles.

The Letters of Charles Dickens. Edited by his Sister-in-law and his Eldest Daughter. With several fac-simile Letters. 2 vols., 12mo, $3.00.

"It will be impossible for the letters of Dickens not to command immediate popularity, and no work of the year will be more welcome to multitudes of readers. This correspondence shows in full the sweet and fragrant life of the author, and will prove a priceless contribution to literature." —*Hartford Post.*

The Boy's Froissart: Being Sir John Froissart's Chronicles of Adventure, Battle, and Custom, in England, France, Spain, etc. Edited for Boys, with an Introduction, by SIDNEY LANIER. Illustrated by *Alfred Kappes.* 1 vol., 8vo, extra cloth, $3.00.

The Serpent-Charmer. A Tale of the Indian Mutiny. By LOUIS ROUSSELET, author of "India and its Native Princes." Translated from the French by Mary de Hauteville. 1 vol., crown 8vo, extra cloth, numerous Illustrations, $2.50.

The Exploration of the World. FAMOUS TRAVELS AND TRAVELERS. By JULES VERNE. 1 vol., 8vo, extra cloth, with more than 100 full-page Engravings, $3.50.

The Rise of the Huguenots of France. By Professor HENRY M. BAIRD. With Map. 2 vols., 8vo, cloth, gilt top, $5.00.

The Complete Poetical Writings of Dr. J. G. Holland. With Illustrations and a Portrait of Dr. Holland by Wyatt Eaton, engraved by Cole. 1 vol., 8vo, extra cloth, $5.00; half calf, $7.50; full mor., $9.00.

*** *These books are for sale by all booksellers, or will be sent, prepaid, upon receipt of price, by*

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, Publishers,

NOS. 743 & 745 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

Published Monthly. Volume 130. Number 2.

SIXTY-FIFTH YEAR.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITED BY ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

February, 1880.

I. The Catholic Church and Modern Society...Cardinal MANNING.

II. The Third Term.....T. O. HOWE.

III. M. de Lesseps and his Canal....Rear-Admiral DANIEL AMMEN.

IV. Now and Then in America..... GEORGE AUGUSTUS SALA.

V. The Emancipation Proclamation...President JAMES C. WELLING.

VI. Recent English Books.....MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

I. Sacred Books of China and India.

II. Machiavelli and his Times.

III. The Home of the Eddas.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,
549 AND 551 BROADWAY.

LONDON: SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON, SEARLE & RIVINGTON.—PARIS: THE GALIGNANI LIBRARY.—
BERLIN: A. ASHER & Co.—GENEVA: J. CHERBULIEZ.—ROME: LOESCHER & Co.—
MELBOURNE: W. ROBERTSON.—YOKOHAMA AND SHANGHAI: KELLY & WALSH.

TERMS.—Five Dollars a year. Single number, Fifty Cents.

ered at the Post-Office at New York, and admitted for transmission through the mails as second-class matter.

Volume 129 of the North American Review,

NOW READY, COMPLETE.

CONTENTS.

JULY.

Our Success at Paris in 1878. Richard C. McCormick.
The Revolution in Russia. A Russian Nihilist.
The Public Schools of England. Part II. Thomas Hughes.
The True Story of the Wallowa Campaign. General O. O. Howard.
The Psychology of Spiritism. George M. Beard.
The Education of Freedmen. Part II. Harriet Beecher Stowe.
Recent Essays. Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

AUGUST.

The Work and Mission of my Life. Part I. Richard Wagner.
The Diary of a Public Man.
Garrison. Wendell Phillips.
The Power of Dissolution. Edward A. Freeman.
The Founder of the Khedivate. The late John L. Stephens.
The Future of Resumption. An Old Financier.
Recent Works on Ancient History and Philology. John Fiske.

SEPTEMBER.

The Genius of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Anthony Trollope.
The Standard of Value. Professor Simon Newcomb.
The Work and Mission of my Life. Part II. Richard Wagner.
The Diary of a Public Man. Part II.
Confession of an Agnostic. An Agnostic.
Intrigues at the Paris Canal Congress. A. G. Menocal.
Three Important Publications. Mayo W. Hazeltine.

OCTOBER.

The Woman Question. Francis Parkman.
Science and Humanity. Frederic Harrison.
Louis Napoleon and the Southern Confederacy. Owen F. Aldis.
The Railway Problem. Robert Garrett.
The Diary of a Public Man. Part III.
Spencer's Evolution Philosophy. Professor E. L. Youmans.
Recent History and Biography. A. K. Fiske.

NOVEMBER.

The Other Side of the Woman Question. Julia Ward Howe, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Wendell Phillips.
Malthusianism, Darwinism, and Pessimism. Professor Francis Bowen.
A Page of Political Correspondence: Stanton to Buchanan.
The Diary of a Public Man. Part IV.
Tariff Reactions. Professor Arthur L. Perry.
Some Recent Works of Fiction. Edward Eggleston.

DECEMBER.

Romanism and the Irish Race in the United States. Part I. James Anthony Froude.
Young Men in Politics. George S. Boutwell.
The Religion of To-day.
Is Political Economy a Science? Professor Bonamy Price.
English and American Physique. George M. Beard, M. D.
The Permanence of Political Forces. Part I. Cuthbert Mills.
Recent Literature. John R. G. Hassard.

Price, unbound, $2.50; bound in cloth, $3.00; in half morocco, $4.00.

Sent by mail on receipt of price.

Address THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, New York.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

FEBRUARY, 1880.

No. 279.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,
549 & 551 BROADWAY.
1880.

COPYRIGHT BY
ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.
1880.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

FEBRUARY, 1880.

Art.		Page
I.	The Catholic Church and Modern Society. By his Eminence Henry Edward Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster	101
II.	The Third Term. By Timothy O. Howe.	116
III.	M. de Lesseps and his Canal. By Daniel Ammen, Rear-Admiral, U. S. Navy	130
IV.	Now and Then in America. By George Augustus Sala	147
V.	The Emancipation Proclamation. By James C. Welling, LL. D., President of Columbian University	163
VI.	Recent English Books. I. Sacred Books of China and India. II. Machiavelli and his Times. III. The Home of the Eddas. By Mayo W. Hazeltine	186

THE Editor disclaims responsibility for the opinions of contributors, whether their articles are signed or anonymous.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCLXXIX.

FEBRUARY, 1880.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND MODERN SOCIETY.

1. THE object of this paper is not speculative and abstract, but strictly concrete and practical. It is to ascertain what can be, and what ought to be, the relations of the Church in the nineteenth century to the political society of the world in the nineteenth century.

2. These relations must be—(1.) Those of amity; or (2.) Of opposition; or (3.) Of a mixed character—that is, both of amity and of opposition:

I. First, let us understand what is meant by society, and then by modern society.

1. By society I mean the state of man, or of human life, in the natural order apart from faith. It has three degrees of formation or completeness, namely—(1.) The domestic life; (2.) The civil life; (3.) The political life of a people or nation. Human society comprehends all these three stages or forms of life. They may be classed also more briefly as—(1.) Private life; and (2.) Public life: the private life containing the domestic and social in its narrower sense, the public life containing the civil and political.

2. Now, neither mankind as a whole nor any integral portion of mankind, such as a people, race, or tribe, was ever yet a mere numerical multitude, without head, without social relations, or without authority.

"*Nos numerus sumus, et fruges consumere nati,*" was never true. There were always relations of inequality, as of parentage,

brotherhood, age, strength, mental and bodily, and therefore of subjection and authority, which constitute organization.

3. Men were never all equal. The first principle of 1789 is false, and it is the πρῶτον ψεῦδος of the nineteenth century.

4. There never was and there never could be an "original compact." The whole theory is a "*chimœra bombitans in vacuo.*"

5. Mankind was never without organization, and therefore never without subjection and authority. Every generation of men reproduces both these elements in the domestic life; and no civil or political life is possible without these conditions. It would be anarchy, and anarchy can not last; it destroys itself by reaction, which again reproduces order and authority.

6. Authority, therefore, is an imperishable element in the condition and history of man. Authority is not of human creation. It is in itself divine. When St. Thomas Aquinas and others say that authority is given by God immediately to society, and mediately by society to the one or to the many who bear it, he declares authority to be θεοδοτον—that is, from God—and in itself to be a divine creation. This is the *crux* of modern society. It claims to create its own authority—that is, to be its own creator. Such also is St. Paul's declaration: "Let every soul be subject to higher powers, for there is no power but of God; and those that are, are ordained of God. Therefore, he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. And they that resist purchase to themselves damnation" (Romans xiii. 1, 2).

7. The theory of authority, as created by a delegation from the people, is therefore false. It is a negation of the truth, and an inversion of the intellectual and moral order of mankind. The people or society of men may designate the person, or the family, or the group of persons who shall bear authority, but they can not create it; nor can they, when it is once impersonated, revoke it at their mere will.

8. Authority, as it exists among men, has for its root either right or might. It either devolves peacefully from sire to son, or it emerges from conflict in the hand of the strongest. Might becomes right when confirmed by stability and permanence.

9. The authority of pure right is the most perfect, but perhaps it exists in unbroken devolution only in the sovereignty of the Vicar of Christ. Might is either the root or the renewal of every other authority in the world. But authority which begins in might becomes rightful in many ways, as in conquest followed by prescrip-

tion, by voluntary cession, by immemorial possession, and the like.

10. But the order which arises from might is better than anarchy. That a rightful sovereign be overturned is an evil, that society be overturned is worse. There is a time when loyalty to a dispossessed prince ceases to be a civic virtue; and when a legitimate prince can not rightfully attempt to recover his throne by force. If the attempt be easy of accomplishment, he may attempt it; if it be morally impossible, he ought not to attempt it; if it be both possible and probable, he and his subjects must use their prudence and self-denial; if it be possible but not probable, he ought not to risk civil war, which for an uncertain good brings certain bloodshed and misery upon his people. A restoration is one more revolution, which may indeed be made for the welfare of a people, but not merely for the sake of a person. "*Reges propter regna, non regna propter reges.*"

11. A revolution is a period of anarchy which can not last. Order by right or by might will put an end to anarchy, for anarchy is intrinsically destructive to the society of mankind. It is to society what mortal disease is to the body.

12. But society is imperishable. Given man, society by necessity exists. Man out of society is inhuman; man never so existed. Society is necessary to man, and not only to his perfection but to his human formation and development.

13. Historians say that a people is happy which has no history; for history is the narrative of wars and revolutions—that is, of the overthrows of authority and of order, and of the perpetual restoration of both.

14. Society, then, contains all the relations, bonds, and obligations of human life, domestic, civil, and political, and all the duties and affections which arise from those relations. Even Cicero could say, "*Omnes omnium charitates patria una complectitur,*" and St. Thomas says that the objects of the "Donum Pietatis," or gift of piety, are "*parentes et patria,*" our parents and our mother-country.

15. From all this I infer that it is the duty of every member of a commonwealth to use his utmost power to hinder all evil, and to do all good he can to the state or people to which he belongs. These are positive and natural duties which he can not fail to discharge without culpable omission, or rather without a dereliction, and betrayal of the highest natural duties, next after those which he owes immediately to God.

So much for society, roughly and in outline.

II. Next, few words are needed as to the Catholic Church.

1. The Catholic Church is the society of man in the supernatural order.

2. It is a perfect society in all the sense and extension of the term. It has authority, subjection, inequality, equality, relations, bonds, obligations, with all the duties and affections arising from them. St. Paul's analogy of the body of a man or the human structure, with its unity of life, its symmetry, sympathy, mutual needs and reciprocal services of all its members, is not only a metaphor but a philosophy. If sociology were capable of a scientific sense, it would be the philosophy of society.

3. As natural society develops man in the natural order, so the Church perfects man both in the natural and in the supernatural order.

4. But the Church not only perfects man or individuals, both in nature and in grace, but it perfects the natural society of man also, in all its relations of private and public life.

5. The Church elevates, preserves, and perfects the domestic and public life of natural society. In Athens and in Rome, the two culminating points of natural civilization, society had almost died out by the gangrene which had eaten away the domestic and moral life of men.

6. There is therefore a divine obligation binding the Church to enter into the most intimate relations with the natural society or commonwealth of men, or, in other words, with peoples, states, and civil powers.

7. This is the principle implied in St. Paul's words in the xiii. chapter of the Epistle to Romans, and in his injunction to Timothy that prayers "be made for all men, for kings, and for all that are in high station, that we may lead a quiet and peaceful life" (1 Timothy ii. 1, 2).

8. And this is the cause why the Church has in every age striven to direct not the life of individual men only, but the collective life of nations in their organized forms of republics, monarchies, and empires.

9. So long as the world was heathen, it could only convert individuals and sanctify households. The state was at war with the Church; there was a conflict of laws, and an irreconcilable conflict of aims and actions. No coöperation could exist between them.

10. As soon as the society of the empire became Christian, the Church penetrated all its legislative and executive actions. The temporal power of the Pontiffs is the providential condition under which the Church has fulfilled its mission to human society.

11. The domestic, civil, and political life of man became Christian, and the Church enveloped the natural society of man in its own unity.

12. The union of the two societies was so complete that, as a whole, every member of the empire was a member of the Church, and every member of the Church was a member of the empire. They were concentric, coextensive, and coincident.

13. The civil and ecclesiastical discipline was so coincident and concurrent that a heretic was "*vitandus*"—to be avoided by all citizens as by all Christians. He not only forfeited his civil rights, but was put beyond the pale and commerce of human society. He was like the leper in Israel, whom no man could touch without becoming legally unclean. No man could give to the heretic fire or water.

14. When this coincidence ceased in part to exist, Pope Martin V., in the Council of Constance, relaxed the obligations of avoiding the inevitable commerce and contact with heretics in civil and political life. It was lawful to communicate with heretics in all things except only in religion. "*Communicatio in sacris*" is intrinsically evil. It involves at least implicit communion in heresy. But outside of that circle, which is divine, the faithful could, without censure, converse and coöperate with their fellow citizens in all lawful things of the political order.

15. The Church, therefore, continued to hold relations with those who had departed from the faith, except when *nominally* excommunicated, that is by name, in all things outside of the faith itself.

16. But this divergence of the two societies was not any change on the part of the Church, which by divine guidance is immutable. It was the falling away of men from the unity of the faith. And this divergence has extended itself continually for the last three hundred years.

17. Nevertheless, the Church never withdraws from the state as such; which would be to abandon the natural society of man to its own maladies and mortality.

18. It continues always to save and to uphold it, and, without taking the contagion, it is in contact with its maladies, to heal them. For this cause, while it permits the sons of heretics to frequent its

own schools, it forbids, as Reiffenstuel, Ferraris, and the Canonists show, Catholic parents to send their sons to the schools of those who are out of the faith (Ferraris, Bib. Can. Hæreticus, s. 19).

19. From this it is inferred—

(1.) That perpetual hostility to the political order of any state is no duty of the Church, unless such political order should be intrinsically anti-Christian or anti-Catholic.

(2.) That indiscriminate opposition to any political order is not lawful nor reasonable. Order as such is from God. Its disorders, revolutionary or anti-Christian, are maladies and transient conditions, which need to be opposed with a specific resistance, while the political order itself is respected and obeyed.

(3.) That perpetual abstention from exercising the duties of citizens can not be justified.

It is—1. An abdication of a natural duty.

2. A virtual and inevitable separation of Church and state, which is condemned in the Syllabus—that is, the separation of the two societies which God willed should be united, for the peace of the one and for the perfection of the other.

20. Therefore, in every society or commonwealth which may be suffering from temporary anarchy, or revolution, or conquest, or usurpation, the duty of using all civil powers and privileges still within reach for the welfare of the people, for the restoration of authority, and for the maintenance of order, is a Christian and a Catholic duty.

III. We now come to define what is meant by *modern* society.

1. Modern society is the old society of the Christian world mutilated by the character forced upon it by the last three hundred years:

1.) First, by the so-called Reformation which, wheresoever it prevailed, destroyed the Catholic unity, and extinguished the Catholic mind of the Christian society.

2.) Secondly, by the principles of 1789, which were not a mere local formula of French opinion, but a dogmatic theory of revolution, promulgated by its pretentious authors for all nations. It has now, in fact, directly and indirectly pervaded the whole political society of modern Europe.

3.) Thirdly, by the recent international settlement or law which has admitted the kingdom of Italy with Rome as capital, and there-

fore with the usurpation of the rights and sovereignty of the Pontiffs, into the commonwealth of European states; and, so far as any *jus gentium* now survives, into the diplomacy of Europe.

2. Modern society, therefore, is not the natural society of the world before Christianity, nor is it the society of Christendom when the two societies were in amity, and coincidence of law and of intention, but it is the political society of the natural order, fallen from the unity of faith, communion, and obedience to the divine voice of the Church, revolutionary in its political creed and practice, and either in open usurpation, or in culpable connivance at the usurpation, of the sacred rights and sovereignty of the Vicar of Christ.

IV. From these premises it follows:

1. That the Catholic Church can only partially hold political relations with such states in Europe as have departed from the Catholic unity. They have either set up regalism, as in England, Denmark, and Sweden; or Cæsarism, as in Prussia. In so far as they have departed from the jurisprudence of Catholic Christendom, they have rendered relations of coöperation impossible. But the Church can still hold relations with the domestic, social, and civil life of those countries in all that is of the natural order of mankind.

2. That the Church can hold no relations with the revolutionary politics of France and Italy, in so far as they are founded upon the principles of 1789.

3. But that it can and ought always to hold relations with the commonwealths of those countries, and of all countries in all things of the natural order, rejecting only the violations of that order, and their consequent antagonism to the divine law. In so far as these states put off their anti-Catholic and anti-Christian attitude toward the faith and the Church, in that measure they return to the state of simple natural society, with which the Church is not only able but is bound to maintain relations of amity and of cooperation.

4. It follows further that, in proportion as the civil powers of any state are under the dominion of an erroneous religion, or of a schism, or of a royal supremacy, or of an imperial despotism, or of an anti-Christian revolution, the Church can hold no relations with them. It can not coöperate with or condone the Lutheran or Calvinistic heresies, or the Anglican schism, or the Thirty-nine Articles of Queen Elizabeth, or the Four Articles of 1682, or the Organic

Articles of the first Napoleon, or the Russian Holy Ecclesiastical Synod, or the Falk laws, and the like. But, under all these, there lies the commonwealth or natural society in all its domestic, *social*, and civil relations. With this in all the regions of its life and conditions of its welfare the Church sympathizes and coöperates for the common good—and that because even toward such states as these the Church has duties, such as (1.) First, to guard and to conserve all of Christian faith and morals that still remains in them; (2.) Secondly, to minimize all the evils of their legislation or government; and (3.) Thirdly, to recall them by all influences to a better condition.

5. In proportion as the civil powers release themselves from the dominion and perversion of the influences which are antagonistic to the Church and hostile to the faith—in proportion, that is, as the state returns to its purely and simply natural order—the repulsions and barriers which made unity and coöperation impossible will cease to exist, and the Church can then draw its relations more and more closely and intimately to the national commonwealth. Such is, in the main, the condition of the Catholic Church in the United States.

6. The best example I know of a commonwealth which has lost its Catholic perfection, without losing its traditional but imperfect Christianity, and has at the same time returned in great part to the natural order—that is, to the truths of natural religion and to the four cardinal virtues—may be said to be the British Empire, and especially in some of its more recent colonies. There exists in it nowhere at this time a penal law in matters of religion. The Catholic Church has all its spiritual liberties; no man can be molested for his faith. There exists, so far as I know, no bar to the participation of Catholics in any of the regions of the national life, domestic, social, civil, and political, excepting only the Crown and the office of High Chancellor in England. With few exceptions such as the Divorce Court and the presentation to livings in the Established Church, and the like, there is, so far as I remember, no branch of the public life and service of our commonwealth into which a Catholic, with a safe conscience, can not enter. He may sit in Parliament, he may dispense justice in Westminster Hall, he may serve and command in the army and the navy, he may hold any civil or political office under Government, he may partake in the whole world of finance and commerce. There is nothing outside of the unity of the faith and of the Church in which a Catholic in the British Empire may not be a citizen and a patriot, as there is nothing within

that unity in which he can yield a hair's breadth without betraying his fidelity, and deserving the worst of names, or at least that of a liberal Catholic.

V. 1. If, then, the Church be bound by its divine mission to conserve, to consecrate, and to coöperate with the natural society of man, then the withdrawal of Catholics from the active service of the commonwealth, and the non-fulfillment of the duties of citizens and patriots, is a dereliction of duty, and unlawful in itself.

2. In England, so long as penal laws excluded Catholics from all careers of civil and political life, there was no doubt as to their duty. Catholics had only to maintain inflexibly their unity of faith. It is not, perhaps, to be wondered at that they regarded the civil powers—and the whole nation—as antagonists, with whom they could hardly hold any relations of amity or of coöperation.

3. Nor is it, perhaps, a wonder that, after the abolition of penal laws, the same antagonism should continue as a personal sentiment, and that Catholics should feel no ambition and no desire, perhaps even no willingness, to enter into the careers of civil and political life. Such is the feeling of many among the faithful Irish race who can not forget or forgive the wrongs of their past history. It is no wonder, but it is a disaster, for thereby the whole administration of the commonwealth is left in the hands—I will not say of antagonists, but—of their non-Catholic countrymen. The penal laws have been abolished for half a century, but as yet Catholics are only entering slowly into civil careers, and no Catholic holds any political office of importance. The whole constituency of England, Scotland, and Wales, does not return a single Catholic to Parliament. Twenty years ago Catholics could hardly be induced to sign a petition to Parliament, or to take part in any public movements even of national beneficence. This was an unwise abstention, and canceled their weight in the public action of the country. It was socially and civilly *la politique d'effacement*, which their enemies most desire to perpetuate.

4. In France, inasmuch as the whole population, less only about one million out of thirty-eight, is nominally Catholic, the public life of the nation is in the hands of Catholics. Nevertheless, in every political election the abstention of a large proportion of voters, including the peaceful, the unambitious, and the retiring, who are also for the most part certainly Catholics, has left the effective Government of France in the hands of the anti-clerical parties, who are

also exaggerated republicans, and without faith at least, if they be not formally anti-Christian. And this evil has been greatly aggravated by the divisions and rivalries among the sections of the Conservative party, in which, if anywhere, the sounder Catholic politicians are or ought to be found. The sympathies of Catholics are rather with monarchy, royal or imperial, than with republicanism; but, the Imperialists and Legitimists being divided, the whole control of the political life of France is left to the Republican party, which contains within itself an extreme section, subversive of all relations between the commonwealth of France and the Catholic Church. It must be borne in mind that the republicanism of France is not the republicanism of Switzerland, nor of the United States. If the last outlines of the Catholic tradition of France are to be preserved in its civil and political order, it can only be done by a complete union of all the conservative sections against their direct and natural antagonist, namely the anti-Christian animosity of French republicanism. While Imperialists and Orleanists and Legitimists are contending in the vain hope of impossible restorations, the anti-clerical and anti-Christian party is becoming numerous, organized, and dominant. It is at this moment striving for the supremacy and the lead of the Republican majority in the Chamber and the Senate, and, this once attained, it will dominate over all political opposition, and dictate the secularization of all education from the universities to the primary schools,* the abolition of the budget of the clergy, including the subvention to the seminaries, the withdrawal of chaplains from the army and the navy, and the complete dechristianization of the whole civil and political order of France. The France of St. Louis would then become, not the United States of America, which are just and tolerant in religion, but the France of Voltaire and Rousseau.

But into this subject, which I give only as an illustration, I will not enter further. I will conclude by reciting the teaching of Leo XIII. in the Encyclical of 1878. Leo XIII. affirms the divine origin of authority by drawing out a beautiful analogy of the divine monarchy in the celestial and ecclesiastical hierarchies: "It is plain the Church does wisely in impressing upon the people subject to authority the apostolic precept: 'There is no power but from God; and those that are, are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. And they

* Since this was written in 1869 the Empire fell, and the Ferry bill has fulfilled the foresight.

that resist purchase to themselves damnation.' And again he admonishes those 'subject by necessity' to be so 'not only for wrath but also for conscience' sake,' and to render 'to all men their dues; tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honor to whom honor.' For he who created and governs all things has in his wise providence ordained that all should occupy their proper places, the lower beneath the middle, and the middle below the highest. As, therefore, in the heavenly kingdom itself he has decreed that there should be distinct orders of angels, some subject to others; and as in the Church he has instituted various orders, and diversity of offices, not all being apostles, or doctors, or pastors, so also has he appointed that there should be in civil society many orders, distinguished by their rank, privileges, and power; so that the state, like the Church, should be one body, comprising many members, some more noble than others, but all mutually necessary, and all concerned for the common good."

Next he warns all Governments that their peril is in their antagonism to the tradition of Christian civilization, and that their only way of safety is in renewing their relations with it: "And therefore, venerable brethren, we, upon whom the government of the whole Church rests, as at the commencement of our pontificate we pointed out to the nations and princes exposed to the fury of the tempest the place of refuge where they might best seek for safety, now again, moved by the extremity of the impending peril, raise to them once more our apostolic voice, and entreat them, for the sake of their own and their people's welfare, to hearken to and obey the Church, which has done so much to maintain the prosperity of kingdoms, reminding them that the principles of religion and of government are so identified, that anything that injures religion must needs injuriously affect the loyalty of the subject and the majesty of government. And inasmuch as they must well know that there is in the Church of Christ a power to avert the plague of socialism, which is not to be found either in human laws, or in the rigor of magistrates, or in the force of arms, we exhort them to restore that Church to that position of liberty in which she may best exercise her saving influence for the benefit of all human society.

"But this audacity of perfidious men, which threatens greater ruin to civil society, and strikes the minds of all with anxious fear, derives its cause and origin from those poisonous doctrines which, scattered in former times like corrupt seed among the peoples, have borne such pestilential fruit in their season. For you, venerable

brethren, very well know that the object of the war which ever since the sixteenth century has been waged by innovators against the Catholic faith, and which has every day increased in intensity down to the present time, has been that, by the setting aside of all revelation, and the subversion of every kind of supernatural order, an entrance might be cleared for the discoveries, or rather the delirious imaginations of mere reason. This kind of error, which wrongly usurps the name of reason, as it elicits and sharpens the desire of superiority, naturally implanted in man, and gives a loose rein to desires of every kind, has spontaneously penetrated to the wildest extent not only a multitude of minds, but civil society itself. Hence it has come to pass that, by a novel impiety, unheard of even among the heathen nations, states have been constituted without taking any account of God and of the order established by him ; it has been, moreover, declared, that public authority derives neither its principle nor its majesty nor its power of command from God, but rather from the multitude of the people—which, thinking itself absolved from all divine sanction, has determined to acknowledge only those laws which itself has framed according to its own good pleasure."

5. The social and political evils which are undermining the Christian society of the world culminate in one master evil, which again is prolific of all evils ; an evil which reproduces and perpetuates the whole tradition of apostasy from the Christian name. The state is everywhere claiming the education and formation of men. Christianity is expelled from that formation. Boys, youths, men, and nations will, if the Falk laws and the Ferry bills prevail, hereafter grow up in Germany, and France so far as the public laws can accomplish, without Christian faith or Christian morals. The state education is the formation of men "without Christ and without God in the world." And that is the truest description of paganism. Man without God ends in political Cæsarism and the deification of the civil power. On this, Leo XIII. says: "The supernatural verities of faith having been impugned and rejected as if they were inimical to reason, the Author and Redeemer himself of the human race has been, insensibly and little by little, forcibly banished from the universities, the lyceums, the gymnasiums, and from every public institution connected with the life of man. Finally, the rewards and punishments of the future and eternal life being relegated to oblivion, the ardent desire of happiness has been confined within the span of this present life. These doctrines having been dissemi-

nated far and wide, this so great license of thought and action being everywhere introduced, it is no wonder that men of the lowest class, weary of a poor home or workshop, should desire to invade the palaces and fortunes of the rich; it is no wonder that there now exists no tranquillity in public or private life, and that the human race has nearly reached its lowest depth."

In 1869—before the opening of the Vatican Council—the following words were written. They still describe the state of Europe at this day. There is not a Government in Europe, except our own, that did not use its influence against the Council and the Catholic Church. There is not a Government at this day, except our own, which has not a social revolution at its back, urging it on toward manifest dangers and perhaps toward its ruin:

"A moment's thought will be enough to explain why no civil Government was invited to attend. What Government, at this day, professes to be Catholic? How should any Government which does not even claim to be Catholic be invited? What country in Europe, at this day, recognizes the unity and authority of the Catholic Church as a part of its public laws? What country has not, by royal edicts, or legislative enactments, or revolutionary changes, abolished the legal status of the Catholic Church within its territory? On what plea, then, could they be invited? As governments or nations they have by their own act withdrawn themselves from the unity of the Church. As moral or legal persons they are Catholic no longer. The faithful, indeed, among their subjects will be represented in the Council by their pastors; and their pastors are not only invited, but obliged to be present. If any separation has taken place, it is because the civil powers have separated themselves from the Church. They have created the fact, the Holy See has only recognized it. The gravity of the fact is not to be denied. It is strange, that, with the immutability of the Church, and the 'progress,' as it is vaunted, of society before their eyes, men should charge upon the Church the responsibility of breaking its relations with society. The Church at one and the same time is accused of immobility and of change. It is not the Church which has departed from unity, science, liberty; but society which has departed from Christianity and from faith. It is said, 'If Christian unity be destroyed, if science have separated from faith, if liberty choose to reign without religion, a terrible share of the responsibility for these evils rests upon the men who have represented in the Christian world unity, faith, and religion.' Does this mean upon the Episcopate,

Councils, and Pontiffs? Who, if not these, 'have represented in the Christian world unity, faith, and religion'? Have they, then, misrepresented these things to the world? If so, who shall represent them? and where, then, is the divine office of the Church? The Pontiffs have been for generations lifting up their voice in vain to warn the Governments of Christendom of the peril of breaking the bonds which unite civil society to the faith and to the Church. They have maintained inflexibly, and at great suffering and danger, their own temporal dominion, not only for the spiritual independence of the Church, but for the consecration of civil society. But the Governments of the Christian world would not listen; and now a General Council meets, and the place where, as at the Lateran, at Florence, and at Trent, they would have sat, is empty. The tendency of civil society everywhere is to depart further and further from the Church. Progress in these days means to advance along the line of departure from the old Christian order of the world. The civil society of Christendom is the offspring of the Christian family, and the foundation of the Christian family is the sacrament of matrimony. From this spring domestic and public morals. Most Governments of Europe have ceased to recognize in marriage anything beyond the civil contract, and, by legalizing divorce, have broken up the perpetuity of even that natural contract. With this will surely perish the morality of society and of homes. A settlement in the foundations may be slow in sinking, but it brings down all at last. The civil and political society of Europe is steadily returning to the mere natural order. The next step in dechristianizing the political life of nations is to establish national education without Christianity. This is systematically aimed at wheresoever the revolution has its way. This may, before long, be attempted among ourselves. It is already in operation elsewhere. The Church must then form its own schools; and the civil power will first refuse its aid, and soon its permission, that parents should educate their offspring except in state universities and state schools. The period and the policy of Julian are returning. All this bodes ill for the Church, but worse for the state. The depression of the moral order of right and truth is the elevation of the material order of coercion and of force. The civil powers of the world do not choose this course; they only advance in it. There is behind them a power invisible, which urges them onward in their estrangements from the Church; and that unseen power is at work everywhere. It is one, universal, invisible, but not holy—the true, natural, and implacable enemy of

the one, visible, universal Church. The anti-Christian societies are one in aim and operation, even if they be not one in conscious alliance. And the Governments of the world, some consciously, others unconsciously, disbelieving the existence of such societies, and therefore all the more surely under their influence, are being impelled toward a precipice over which monarchies and law and the civil order of the Christian society of men will go down together. It is the policy of the secret societies to engage Governments in quarrels with Rome. The breach is made, and the revolution enters. The Catholic society of Europe has been weakened, and wounded, it may be, unto death. The Catholic Church now stands alone, as in the beginning, in its divine isolation: '*Et nunc reges intelligite; erudimini qui judicatis terram.*' There is an abyss before you, into which thrones and laws and rights and liberties may sink together. You have to choose between the revolution and the Church of God. As you choose, so will your lot be. The General Council gives to the world one more witness for the truths, laws, and sanctities which include all that is pure, noble, just, venerable on earth. It will be an evil day for any state in Europe if it engage in conflict with the Church of God. No weapon formed against it ever yet has prospered."*

HENRY EDWARD CARDINAL MANNING,
Archbishop of Westminster.

* "The Œcumenical Council and the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff," by Henry Edward, Archbishop of Westminster. London: Longmans, 1869.

THE THIRD TERM.

THE Presidential contest of 1872 had scarcely closed with the triumphant reëlection of General Grant, when a New York newspaper, of wide circulation and pervading influence, but somewhat prone to sensational utterances, announced that republican institutions were in imminent peril from the probable election of the same individual to a third term. It was boldly affirmed that American liberty could not survive such an experiment.

Of course, the announcement startled that whole body of Democratic opposition which had bravely followed Seymour and Blair to ignominious defeat in 1868, and which had cravenly clutched at the skirts of Horace Greeley in 1872 in the vain hope of being dragged to victory. It startled a large body of soured Republicans who had failed to secure, or, having secured, had disgraced, preferment. It startled a larger body of Republicans who, acknowledging the illustrious services of President Grant, yet for personal or local reasons preferred an early succession of some other individual of the same political faith. And it startled a still larger number of Republicans, who did not expect to find a President more prudent, more sagacious, or more honest than President Grant had been, yet who were made to fear that, as no President had ever been elected for more than two terms, so for some occult reason it would be unsafe ever to elect one for more than that number of terms.

Other newspapers echoed the solemn warning of the "Herald." Political conventions took up the refrain. The senseless clamor culminated when, on the 15th day of December, 1875, the Honorable Mr. Springer, a Democrat from the State of Illinois, presented to the House of Representatives a resolution in the following words:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this House the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States, in retiring from the

Presidential office after their second term, has become, by universal concurrence, a part of our republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions.

The rules of the House were suspended, and the resolution passed on the very day of its introduction. No less than two hundred and thirty-three votes were recorded in its favor. Only eighteen members voted against it.

That reiterated vociferation accomplished the purpose for which it was designed. It defeated the renomination of General Grant in 1876.

A political party must be brave and conscientious before it will venture to stake its hopes of the post-offices upon the reëlection of a President who has been fired at by millions of his countrymen for four years, and lied at by more millions for eight years. But, when to the hostility engendered by vilification is added the distrust born of a popular panic, no matter how groundless, temerity itself would doubt the availability of the victim.

Still, that resolution remains upon the journals of the House. It will remain there for ever. We hope posterity will be considerate enough to remember that we had not quite entered upon the second century of our national existence when that champion piece of charlatanry was enacted in the House of Representatives. But, happily, at the present time the Springer resolution is inoperative. President Hayes can not be elected to a third term, for he has not yet served a second term. It is true, General Grant still lives, and he might be elected to a third term. But the Springer resolution does not forbid that. It only enjoins retirement after a second term. Grant retired at the end of the second term, in strict accord with the precedents and the resolution.

That resolution rests upon the bold assumption that patronage and not principle dominates the electors of the republic; that the postmasters are too many for the people; and that he who controls appointments for eight years will form a corps of eighty thousand official janizaries who will easily subjugate six million who have never been appointed! But audacity itself has not yet ventured to suggest that a private citizen is likely to ride down people and postmasters both, merely because he once controlled appointments.

Since, then, no one can now be hurt or helped by the Springer resolution, this seems a fortunate time to discuss the merits of that fulmination. Since the reign of Jeroboam the world has not seen

true believers seduced from the worship of God to that of mere metallic calves. It is much to be desired that the world may not again see true republicans scared by a senseless clamor into putting lighted candles in their caps, after the manner of miners, and going down into subterranean depths to quarry out a President, while the foremost man of his age stands upon the mountain-top, upon whom the eager world has set the seal of primacy.

It is therefore the purpose of this article to show that in those few lines quoted from the journal of the House of Representatives are comprised a grave impeachment of the Federal Constitution, a gross libel upon its framers, a base counterfeit of our political history, and a wanton insult to our common sense.

The Constitution clearly permits what the resolution so forcibly condemns. The fundamental law puts no limit to the number of terms for which the people may elect the same man to the Presidency. And to affirm that it is "unwise," "unpatriotic," and "perilous to our free institutions" to elect the same man three times, is simply to impeach the Constitution for sanctioning an act so malevolent in its tendencies. Moreover, the question of reëligibility was not overlooked by the men who made the Constitution. It was carefully considered and reconsidered by them. They were not wanting in sagacity.

No one idea was so prominent or so universal in the Constitutional Convention as this: *Presidents must be reëligible.* Whoever they might elect, they should have the right to reëlect. Whatever might be the length of a term, there should be no limitation upon the number of terms. The reason was obvious. Mr. Gouverneur Morris, the man to whose rare genius, according to Mr. Madison, we are indebted for the polished style of the Constitution, stated that reason as tersely as it need be stated. "To forbid reëlections," he said, "tended to destroy the great motive to good behavior; the hope of being rewarded by a reappointment. It was saying to him, Make hay while the sun shines." Roger Sherman also said: "If he behaves well, he will be continued. If otherwise, he will be displaced on a succeeding election." Mr. King thought there was great force in the remark that "he who has *proved* himself most fit for an office ought not to be excluded by the Constitution from holding it." All thought reëligibility essential to a well-ordered government. But all thought it essential, also, that the executive and legislative departments of the government should be, as much as possible, independent of each other. How to secure both that

independence and reëligibility was a problem which the Convention found it difficult to solve. The prevailing opinion at the opening of the Convention was, that Congress should elect the President. And all could see that if Congress elected, and might reëlect the President, he would feel not independent of, but quite dependent upon, the Legislature. To avoid that dependence, some proposed to make him ineligible for a second term, while others proposed to make him elective in some other way than by Congress. But on the 17th of July, after weeks of debate, the Convention voted unanimously that the Executive be chosen by the National Legislature. When that had been carried and on the same day, upon the question of making him reëligible, six States, to wit, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Georgia, voted ay, while four States only, to wit, Delaware, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia, voted no. By those votes the Convention deliberately declared that the dependence of the Executive, although an evil, was a less evil than ineligibility to more than one term. On the 26th of July that decision was reversed. On that day, in the absence of the delegates from Massachusetts, seven States voted for the motion of Colonel George Mason, of Virginia, to make the "Executive to be appointed for seven years, and be ineligible a second time." In that shape the article on the Constitution of the Executive went to the Committee of Detail, and was subsequently reported back by that committee in these words: "The Executive power of the United States shall be vested in a single person. His style shall be 'President of the United States of America,' and his title shall be 'His Excellency.' He shall be elected by ballot by the *Legislature*. He shall hold his office during a term of *seven* years; but shall *not* be elected a *second* time."

When that clause again came before the Convention for consideration, the struggle was renewed to rescue the choice of the Executive from the hands of Congress. The struggle was protracted and somewhat heated. At length the whole subject of the Constitution of the Executive was referred to a committee of one member from each State. The committee was chosen by ballot, and upon it, among others less known, were placed Mr. Roger Sherman, Mr. Rufus King, Mr. Gouverneur Morris, and Mr. James Madison. On the 4th of September that committee reported a plan for choosing Presidents and Vice-Presidents by an electoral college. The plan provided that, if the colleges failed to elect, the choice should de-

volve upon the Senate. Mr. Sherman explicitly avowed that "the object of this clause of the report of the committee was to get rid of the ineligibility which was attached to the mode of election by the Legislature, and to make the Executive independent of the Legislature." But the new plan was at once attacked upon the assumption that the colleges would never elect, and of course the Senate would always elect, so that the President, instead of being independent, would be the mere creature of the Senate. After a long debate, Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, moved to postpone the report of the Committee of Eleven to take up the plan reported by the Committee of Detail. By that motion the Convention was called to choose directly between a President to be chosen by the Legislature for a single term of seven years and a President to be chosen by the electoral colleges or the Senate, but without limit as to number of terms. The motion was negatived. Only North and South Carolina voted for it. With some modifications, the plan of the Committee of Eleven was made a part of the Constitution, and the records of that great debate do not preserve the name of a single man with judgment so debauched as to object to the reëligibility of Presidents, if only the choice could be preserved from legislative control.

The Constitution, as finally agreed to, was not satisfactory to every member of the Convention. Many refused to sign it. Among those so refusing were Messrs. Robert Yates and John Lansing, of New York; Edmund Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, and George Mason, of Virginia; and Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts. Each one of those distinguished gentlemen has left on record his reasons for refusing to sign the Constitution. But not one of them enumerates the reëligibility of the President as an objection to the instrument. Did the House of Representatives affirm a "peril to our free institutions" which does not exist, or did those clear-sighted cavilers, eager as they were to find fault, fail to see a peril which did exist?

Again the Constitution was submitted to a critical review, in the several State Conventions called to consider the question of its ratification. In Massachusetts, one hundred and sixty-eight members voted against ratification. But not one of the whole number objected to the reëligibility of the President. No such objection was suggested in the Conventions for Connecticut or New Hampshire. That criticism was made in the Convention of New York. It was made by Mr. Melancthon Smith, a delegate from Dutchess

County. He had been a delegate from the State in the Federal Convention. He was the apostle of the gospel of rotation in office. He was a consistent one. He urged the rotation not of Presidents alone, but of Senators and members of the House also. But Mr. Smith found no second to his idea in that Convention, and even he seems to have abandoned it. For, when subsequently he moved his schedule of amendments, the adoption of which he desired to make a condition precedent to ratification, he omitted all mention of reëligibility.

In the Pennsylvania Convention the objection was not heard of. One year after Pennsylvania had ratified the Constitution, a large Convention assembled at Harrisburg, to propose amendments to it. Twelve different amendments were agreed to. But no limitation upon reëligibility was even proposed.

The Maryland Convention would not consider amendments; would not hear objections. One member after another arose in his place to say he was sent there "to ratify the proposed Constitution, not to amend it." They would not allow an amendment to be read even, but, on the very week they assembled, they voted to ratify the instrument, by a vote of sixty-three to eleven. Having ratified the Constitution, in order to pacify its opponents the Convention appointed a committee of thirteen to consider the subject of amendments. To that committee were submitted thirteen amendments, to which they agreed, and fifteen which they rejected. But not among the whole twenty-eight amendments considered can be found one single word of criticism upon the reëligibility of the President. The Convention in North Carolina was far less cordial to the new scheme of government. That Convention not only proposed twenty-six amendments to the text of the Constitution, but agreed to prefix a bill of rights containing twenty sections. But not even in North Carolina was a man to be found to object to the reëligibility of the President. No such man was found in South Carolina.

One such was found in Virginia, but only one. In the Virginia Convention the new instrument of government was subjected to the most searching review, to the most savage analysis. The Convention was large; the enemies of the Constitution were numerous and resolute. They convened on the 2d of June. They did not vote upon ratification until the 24th. Then seventy-nine out of one hundred and sixty-eight votes were cast against ratification. During the debate which preceded the vote, every objection which human

sagacity could detect or human ingenuity could invent had been urged against it. One man caviled at the reëligibility of the President. Mr. George Mason had been a member of the Federal Convention. He had heard reëligibility declaimed against there, while the plan was to give the election to Congress. That plan had been abandoned—had been abandoned, as we have seen, for the avowed purpose of removing the objection to reëlections. Still, Mr. Mason seemed to think he might arouse some hostility to the Constitution by an argument against reëligibility. His argument is worth reproducing, since it is the only one in our literature upon which the edict of the House can be excused. Mr. Mason said: "The President is elected without rotation. It may be said that a new election may remove him and place another in his stead. If we judge from the experience of all other countries, and even our own, we may conclude that, as the President of the United States may be elected, so he will. . . . This President will be elected time after time. He will be continued in office for life. If we wish to change him, *the great powers in Europe* will not allow it. . . . It is a great defect in the Senate that they are not ineligible at the end of six years. The biennial exclusion of one third of them will have no effect, as they can be reëlected. Some stated time ought to be fixed when the President ought to be reduced to a private station. I should be contented that he might be elected for eight years, but I should wish him to be capable of holding the office only eight years *out of twelve or sixteen.*"

The Springer resolution is the first echo of George Mason's speech. But, among all the men who debated the Constitution, either in the Federal or the several State Conventions, there are but two who are open to the suspicion of having favored a legal restriction upon the right to reëlect Presidents. Those two are Melancthon Smith, of New York, and George Mason, of Virginia. But it should be remembered in exculpation of Smith and Mason that they were openly trying to defeat the Constitution. They were opposed to it. They had not sworn to support it. It was not unnatural that they should raise unreal objections to it. They did not assault a Constitution they had sworn to support, for the purpose of destroying an imaginary candidate by stabbing through it.

The men who made the Constitution struggled to secure the reëligibility of Presidents. They surrendered preferences, abandoned cherished ideas, and devised new plans, in order to preserve the right to repeat the elections and prolong the services of able

and upright Presidents. They could hardly have expected that within a century a generation would appear whose representatives would dare to proclaim that the exercise of that simple right for which they sacrificed so much was "unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions."

The resolution refers to the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents, in retiring after the second term, and declares that precedent to have become part of our republican system. But a majority of our Presidents have retired after a first term. Why should the two-term precedent become a part of our governmental system more than the one-term precedent? It may be said that General Washington chose to retire at the end of his second term. The fact was so; but it is difficult to see how General Washington's refusal, in the latter part of the last century, to serve a third term, should debar the people, in the latter part of this century or the next, from choosing a man a third time who will serve. But if General Washington's personal tastes are equivalent to a constitutional limitation, then the one-term rule should prevail and not the two-term. He ardently desired to retire at the end of his first term. He avowed that desire often and earnestly. He assigned his reasons frankly and repeatedly. His reasons were personal, not patriotic. He never pretended that he sought retirement to promote the public welfare, but only to gratify his own feelings. He said to Mr. Jefferson that "he had, through the whole course of the war, and most particularly at the close of it, uniformly declared his resolution to retire from public affairs, and never to act in any public office; that he had retired under that firm resolution; that the government, however, which had been formed, being found evidently too inefficacious, and it being supposed that his aid was of some consequence toward bringing the people to consent to one of sufficient efficacy for their own good, he consented to come into the Convention, and on the same motive, after much pressing, to take a part in the new government, and get it under way. That were he to continue longer, it might give room to say that, having tasted the sweets of office, he could not do without them; that he really felt himself growing old, his bodily health less firm; his memory, always bad, becoming worse, and perhaps the other faculties of his mind showing a decay to others of which he was insensible himself; that this apprehension particularly oppressed him: that he found, moreover, his activity lessened, business therefore more irksome, and tranquillity and retirement become an irresistible passion."

His personal wishes were overruled. He consented to a re-election, and was unanimously reëlected. Envious of his overshadowing fame; jealous of his commanding influence with the people; fearful that they might again refuse to permit his retirement at the end of his second term—the hungry pack, who longed to succeed him, commenced systematically to tear him down. The air was filled with calumny, with caricature, with lampoons and lies. Partisan malice pursued him with that same hound-like ferocity with which it pursued President Grant during his second term. He did not bear it as Grant bore it. No man saw President Grant quail before the gibes of his enemies or before the guns of his country's enemies. Washington was stung to the quick by the injustice of his countrymen.

Before the first year of his second term was ended, Jefferson reports that at a Cabinet meeting "the President was much inflamed; got into one of those passions when he can not command himself; ran on much on the personal abuse which had been bestowed on him; defied any man on earth to produce one single act of his, since he had been in the government, which was not done on the purest motives; that he had never repented but once the having slipped the moment of resigning his office, and that was every moment since; that by God he had rather be in his grave than in his present situation; that he had rather be on his farm than to be made emperor of the world; and yet that they were charging him with wanting to be a king!"

Washington, like Grant—the father of his country like the savior of it—was accused of "Cæsarism." It is not so very strange that three millions of people just emerged from monarchy should be jealous of imperial designs. But it is passing strange that forty millions just swaggering into the second century of freedom should be scared by so soft a spook!

No one expected to dissuade President Washington from the retirement he so passionately coveted beyond the expiration of his second term. He was sixty-one years old when that term commenced. He was sixty-five when it ended. The infirmities of which he complained at sixty were aggravated at sixty-five. He died before the next term ended. The number of his enemies had multiplied. Their hate was intensified. Jefferson had left his Cabinet. Madison was alienated from him. He had been compelled to recall Monroe from France. He yearned for rest, and he inflexibly sought it. Such was the example of our first President.

No one asked Mr. Adams to accept a third term. But few asked him to accept a second. His example, therefore, furnishes no more sanction to the Springer resolution than does the example of Mr. Washington.

Mr. Jefferson furnished a precedent more to the purpose. The Legislatures of several States formally invited him to become a candidate for a third term. He as formally declined the invitation. He stated his reasons for declining as follows: "That I should lay down my charge at a proper period is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully. If some termination to the services of the Chief Magistrate be not fixed by the Constitution, or supplied by practice, his office, nominally for years, will, in fact, become for life; and history shows how easily that degenerates into an inheritance. Believing that a representative government, responsible at short periods of election, is that which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind, I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle; and I should unwillingly be the person who, disregarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish the first example of prolongation beyond the second term of office. . . . Truth, also, requires me to add that I am sensible of that decline which advancing years bring on; and, feeling their physical, I ought not to doubt their mental, effect. Happy if I am the first to perceive and to obey this admonition of nature, and to solicit a retreat from cares too great for the wearied faculties of age."

Those reasons are satisfactory. Undoubtedly, every public functionary should lay down his "charge at a proper period." But the proper period is just as clearly that which suits the public convenience, and not that which suits the convenience of the individual. History has already exploded the assumption of Mr. Jefferson that, if the term of service for the Chief Magistrate be not fixed, he will continue to hold for life. The term of service is not fixed by any law or any practice, and yet not one half our Chief Magistrates have in fact been elected even the second time. "A representative government responsible at short periods of election" is undoubtedly wise, and "that which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind." But the right to elect government agents at short periods does not involve the necessity of electing *new* agents at each recurring period. Elections should be not only periodical but free. If the people really wished Mr. Jefferson to serve a third term and he refused to do so, then the election of 1808 was not free but re-

stricted. The people had not free choice but restricted choice, and their freedom was impaired by the act of Mr. Jefferson. But Mr. Jefferson is not exposed to that imputation. He could have assigned a better reason for declining to serve a third term than any of those he did assign. That better reason was, that he could not be elected to a third term! That fact had been made quite manifest at the time he declined to be a candidate. Nothing is clearer in history than that he waited for just that manifestation of public opinion before he did decline. The Legislature of Vermont first threw his flag to the breeze on the 5th of November, 1806. More than two years before his second term expired, the Legislature of Vermont addressed to Mr. Jefferson a formal invitation to become a candidate for a third term. In December following the Legislature of Georgia joined in that invitation. Maryland did the same in January, 1807. Rhode Island in February, and New York and Pennsylvania in March, followed their example.

Mr. Jefferson is known to have been a most diligent correspondent. During all those months he was constantly receiving letters from individuals, from municipalities, from religious societies and political organizations. He replied to such promptly, becomingly. But to the Legislatures of those great States he deigned no reply for more than a year after the first one addressed him. On December 4, 1807, the Legislature of New Jersey joined in the invitation of Vermont. Mr. Jefferson determined to wait no longer. He addressed letters to Vermont, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, declining to be a candidate for reëlection. In stating his reasons for declining, he employed the same terms in each letter. Those letters bear date the 10th of December, 1807. They were given to the public in the columns of "The Aurora," at Philadelphia, on the 19th of the same month. Up to that time no one had heard an objection to a third term. Seven States had asked Mr. Jefferson to accept a third term. Nobody had objected to his having another term because he had already enjoyed two. What he himself thought of a third term he had diligently concealed from the public during the whole agitation. Two days before his letter appeared in "The Aurora," that journal copied from the "Trenton True American" an article commencing in these words: "Will Mr. Jefferson consent to serve another term as President? is a question which almost every Republican anxiously asks, but which no one can certainly answer." The States which at that time had declared for a third term cast sixty-two electoral votes. North Carolina

subsequently joined the number. North Carolina then gave eleven votes. That would make the number of electoral votes which had declared for Mr. Jefferson, seventy-three.

But the States of Ohio, Tennessee, Kentucky, Georgia, South Carolina, and, worst of all, Virginia, where both Jefferson and Madison had their homes, obstinately refused to join in the Jefferson "boom." They were Republican States, they voted for Madison, and they were accorded fifty-five electoral votes.

Then the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware, cast thirty-nine electoral votes. They were Federal States, not Republican. They voted for Pinckney, and would not vote for Jefferson or Madison either.

Of course, when it was ascertained that there were thirty-nine votes which no Republican could secure, and fifty-five Republican votes which Jefferson could not receive, but Madison could, the former had excellent reasons for declining a third term for himself. But he had no reason for declining a third term for all his successors. When satisfied, after an active canvass of more than thirteen months, that the people did not wish to prolong his services beyond a second term, he did well to recognize the fact. He would have done better if he had not attempted to frame his disappointment into a law which should prevent any of his successors from serving longer than he did.

Since the retirement of Mr. Jefferson there has been no attempt to renominate a President to a third term. There is ground for believing that, if Mr. Van Buren had not secured the succession to General Jackson, the latter would have been retained another term. That expedient was discussed at the time. The "Herald," a Democratic newspaper of Philadelphia, then said:

"The present attitude of Judge White, of Tennessee, appears rather calculated to produce an impression of division in the Democratic ranks, of a serious character. But this danger will vanish, when we reflect that if it should appear formidable, when the National Convention meet, that body will dissipate it in a few minutes, by the *nomination of Andrew Jackson for a third term;* a measure every way calculated to avert the defeat of the Democratic party by the Whigs; and more than justifiable by every principle involved in the contest of the party, who are fighting for *popular rights and democratic government.*"

But constitutions, history, precedents, and statesmen have been misconstrued, before the era of the Springer resolution. Rarely,

however, has the human understanding been so rudely insulted as by that strange fulmination.

To tell rational creatures that "free institutions" are imperiled by the reëlection of one who for eight years has proved a faithful Magistrate, but are insured by the election of one who has never been proved at all, seems to be the extreme of audacity. That is to say, that our institutions would have been endangered by the election of George Washington to a third term, but were preserved by the election of John Adams; that is to say, that our republican system would have been threatened by a third election of James Madison or Andrew Jackson, but was preserved by the fortunate election of James Monroe and Martin Van Buren.

"I have no other lamp by which to guide my feet," said Patrick Henry, "than the light of experience."

When science fails and revelation is silent, one has no better light than that. And, if experience teaches anything, it teaches that, the longer a public servant has been faithful, the surer he is to be faithful. That is as true of the First Magistrate as of any subaltern; as true of the head of the nation as of the head of a bureau. The railway manager who should dismiss a conductor, or the banking company which should dismiss a cashier who had been faithful for eight or for eighteen years, upon the presumption that, because he had been faithful so long, it was unsafe to trust him longer, would be deemed insane.

It is even more irrational to conclude that one who has for eight years scrupulously guarded the solemn trusts reposed in an American President is for that reason to be more distrusted than a new man.

"Thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many," is the practical wisdom approved by the Saviour. The Honorable Mr. Springer teaches us that he who has been faithful over all things for eight years should be trusted with nothing thereafter. The world will make a mistake if it shall turn from Jesus of Nazareth to follow Mr. Springer, of Illinois.

When the Constitutional Convention had finally agreed to the plan of a President chosen for four years, and reëligible at the pleasure of the people, Mr. Alexander Hamilton said: "He liked the new modification on the whole better than that in the printed report. In this the President was a monster, elected for seven years and ineligible afterward; having great powers in appointments to office, and continually tempted, by this constitutional dis-

qualification, to abuse them in order to subvert the government." Mr. Springer's resolution resurrects the monster which Hamilton denounced, and which the Convention with such diligence buried.

Paul taught the Hebrews that without sacrifice there was no remission of sins. Americans are taught that not even sacrifice will save a President from rebuke after eight years' service, although he has been sinless.

TIMOTHY O. HOWE.

M. DE LESSEPS AND HIS CANAL.

THERE appears in the January number of the "Review" a contribution by M. de Lesseps, to which I feel disposed to reply. The same ideas have been more elaborated in the "Bulletin du Canal Interoceanique," published in Paris under his immediate control. I have not replied, as these articles appeared, from a willingness that he shall have it all his own way where his language is spoken, or abroad where he is regarded as especially authorized to instruct. If he can find in Europe a moneyed support, and particularly in France, it is not our affair. When he writes in English, and publishes his ideas in one of the leading periodicals of my country, he not only invites but challenges a reply.

Months ago we were informed of what he had to say before the Geographical Society of Paris; he expressed surprise and even disappointment at finding so little opposition; it was a regret to him that he could not secure a controversy on the canal question, and appeared, as the Irishman is represented at the Donnybrook Fair, most anxious "to find some gentleman who would do him the favor to step on the tail of his coat."

Without specially wishing to perform that office, I purpose pursuing my way quite regardless of other objects than a fair discussion, and shall confine myself as far as possible—1. To a review of the points presented for American consideration; 2. To some points he does not present; 3. To the general merits of the question growing out of his presentations. And I beg my readers to take note—in explanation of my frequent allusions to M. de Lesseps—that that gentleman's connection with the Panama Canal enterprise is about all that gives it importance in France.

It is gratifying to see that M. de Lesseps states that our Government for a long series of years has recognized the advantage,

and endeavored to promote the knowledge necessary to solve the possibilities of an interoceanic ship-canal; this is taking a proper step. If published in Paris it would appear as a contradiction or a revelation of what we had been about for the past quarter of a century.

On page 3 M. de Lesseps says: "In the examination made of different projects in the United States, the only plan thought of has been to make use of inland waters for constructing a maritime canal, and they have entirely neglected to study the methods by which they would secure a constant level of sea-water for the purposes of navigation in a channel from one ocean to the other."

This does not comport with M. de Lesseps's opening acknowledgments of the interest taken by our Government and people in this question; it is not only at variance with the facts, but what are known to be the facts to every intelligent American. Such an averment emanating from him might find believers in France, but with us will excite either a feeling of ridicule or of indignation. He states this in the face of his averment that we have spent five million dollars in making surveys across the isthmuses—in the face of the presentations to the Congress of our surveys, extending over the whole regions involved, without the existence of which he would have suffered the perplexities of M. Drouillet.

The assertion of M. de Lesseps is made in the full knowledge and possession of a line of levels and best location possible for a ship-canal across the Isthmus of Panama, carefully made, as he was informed, by Mr. Menocal in the Congress, without any preconceived height, if at all, above the ocean-level. The summit-level arrived at was the result of a necessity that was found apparent.

The following extract from the orders of Commander Lull shows how far M. de Lesseps is in error in his quoted assertion I am now discussing. His orders were prepared by the Commission, although signed by the Secretary of the Navy.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., *December* 29, 1874.

SIR: Upon the request of the Interoceanic Canal Commission for more specific information in relation to the Isthmus of Panama, in general in the vicinity of the line of railroad, you are detailed, and will proceed in the steamer of January 2d, from New York for Aspinwall, with the party of officers ordered to report to you.

Your thorough experience in these matters relieves the Department from preparing minute and contingent instructions. You will, however, obtain specific information on the following points, viz.:

1. In relation to water-supply and the points whence it should be drawn for an interoceanic canal, if constructed upon the Isthmus of Panama.

2. The difficulties that may exist from floods.

3. Actual locations of the most practicable line or lines, with locations of locks, if the route, upon examination, should render this advisable.

4. Observation as to whatever in the way of material or other conditions would look to the general question of construction, whether of advantage or disadvantage.

5. To obtain in advance from the Panama Railroad Company whatever information as to levels, *known to be authentic*, the company may be disposed to give you, which may form a basis for your special careful instrumental examination.

6. By the aid of a tug, and whatever other facilities may be necessary to enter the Chepo River, making such examinations of it as may be thought advisable after inspection. It is suggested, if the near approach of massive, solid ground on both sides of the Chepo should make it possible by dams to flood considerable areas and distances for slack-water navigation, that it might be found practicable in connection with a tunnel of considerable length to the Gulf of San Blas. If the prosecution of this examination should be found advisable, put it in such a shape as will not lead to doubts as to relative practicability.

It was only after a full consideration of all the routes surveyed, and the belief of the Commission that no others existed equal to those that had been developed, that it sent in its report of preference for the Nicaragua route, as the above facts abundantly establish, notwithstanding the ideas of M. de Lesseps to the contrary.

There is nothing more potent than a grievance. M. de Lesseps presents one. It is nothing less than that the Congress which he invoked had not been furnished with all of the means by which the Commission appointed by the President of the United States had arrived at a decision respecting the merits of the different routes. This "exclusively American Commission" was appointed under an act of Congress to obtain and report upon all necessary information touching the question of the practicability of an interoceanic ship-canal across this continent. To enable it to carry out the expressed objects in the progress of the work, it thought necessary to ask a personal inspection of the routes by able engineers for *its information*, in order the better to form an opinion as to the relative cost of execution, over which it was supposed actual lines of location existed. These inspections were made, and revealed the fact that the Atrato-Napipi route located by Commander Selfridge was almost wholly supposititious, and that the Nicaragua route located by

Commander Lull presented all the elements of calculation for an engineer.

The Commission endeavored in vain to get from or through the Panama Railroad surveys for a canal, said to have been made by Colonel Totten. As far as I know, only partial lines were made by him for that object.

Finding it impossible to get the information otherwise than through an instrumental survey, the Commission stated to the President of the United States its inability to arrive at a conclusion without it, and our Government immediately directed its execution in a manner quite satisfactory to the Commission, by the commanding officer and civil engineer who had executed the surveys of the Nicaragua route, thus obviating a further examination of them for comparison as to cost of execution.

The Government also directed the making of an actual line of location *via* the Atrato-Napipi route by Lieutenant Collins, U. S. Navy, a very able and reliable officer, as the results of his surveys show.

The Commission then examined carefully into all the work done, and sent to the President its report, journal of proceedings, and copies of all of the surveys and inspections, upon which it based its decision. The surveys of the Panama and Atrato routes were published especially for and sent by our Government to the Paris Congress. Our Government did not furnish the journal of the Commission nor the long reports of the engineers sent over the two routes above named, *not as a board*, but to give their individual opinions *for the information and guidance of the Commission.* The value of this information was duly acknowledged in their report, of which copies were furnished the Congress. Has M. de Lesseps a real or an imaginary grievance? Has the "exclusively American Commission" indulged in ways that are dark, as is inferred?

In due time I shall revert to his parade of the candor and ingenuousness of the Congress considering that subject, in the light of papers which I think he will agree with me are not to be found even in the libraries of the Geographical Society of Paris.

There is an old proverb that it is not polite to look a gift-horse in the mouth. There was no moral obligation on the part of our Government to furnish M. de Lesseps and his Congress with any surveys; there would have been neither reason nor object in using duplicity. He was furnished with all the information in our possession, and was at liberty to assign any value to it that he thought

proper. In relation *to the cost of these surveys*, I wish to correct an error. He gravely asserts the expenses incurred through making them was $5,000,000.

In 1870 an appropriation of $40,000 was transferred, which furnished instruments, engineers, draughtsmen, hired labor, extra rations, shelter-tents, etc., for the Tehuantepec and Nicaragua surveys, and for all those made by Commander Selfridge. The special expenses necessary for the objects above named for instrumental surveys of the Panama route by Commander Lull and for the Atra-to-Napipi route by Lieutenant Collins, amounting to about $10,000, were met by the navy contingent fund, in great part, at least, very little of the $40,000 appropriation remaining unexpended.

No expenses were entailed on the Government through the diversion of vessels of war from their ordinary duties as cruisers to "special duty" to aid in these surveys. The cost of publication was defrayed by special appropriations, probably amounting to $50,000. As M. de Lesseps's statement of the expenditures made as a consequence of these surveys is preposterous, the public would be pleased to know the source of his misinformation.

Referring to page 5, we find M. de Lesseps compliments General Türr and others, who formed an initiatory society, of which we shall know more before the close of this paper. He says, "In that company I have taken no part whatever."

In April of 1866 a M. Gogorza sought my acquaintance and informed me that he knew a low line of levels across the Isthmus of Darien. I expressed my gratification, and was informed that he sought an interview with General Grant, to lay the whole matter before him. I replied that I knew General Grant took great interest in that subject, and hoped that I could arrange this as he desired. In short, General Grant sent an officer then on his staff to see M. Gogorza, who showed partial maps, and finally said that he was unwilling to give up his great secret, as he would then be quite in the power of those who were possessed of it. Some years after I received a note from him, urging haste, without which his precious information would fall into the hands of Europeans, a calamity that he was most anxious to prevent. Perhaps somewhat in an Anglo-Saxon manner I replied that I would have nothing to do with a mere pretender. I had placed him years before in communication with General Grant, and he had failed to carry out his expressed purpose.

During the fall of 1876, after I had prepared a paper which was

read October 31st before the Geographical Society of New York, the Secretary of State presented me a pamphlet by M. Gogorza, who at length had given the world his great secret. I stated that I had a personal acquaintance with this individual, and pointed out, by the height he gave the mouth of the river Paya above the sea-level, that what was asserted as a fact was a mere fallacy. A foot-note, read before the Society referred to, exposed the pretension of Gogorza. I may as well add that the paper was prepared for the purpose of showing the sufficiency of our information respecting the Isthmus to controvert the assumptions of M. Drouillet, French engineer, and the first Secretary of the Initiatory Society. He visited our country to invoke the aid of our learned societies in a "generous attempt" to explore these (to him) unknown regions, in relation to which he had vainly endeavored to inform himself for the past five years, but could not, by reason of the information being entirely contradictory!

In addition to being possessed of "valuable information," M. Gogorza held a provisionary grant from the Colombian Government. Hence we see his title to a very considerable share of the proceeds of the Initiatory Society before alluded to—not resulting, however, from the benefit derived from his "information," for we find that Lieutenant Wyse, after all, did agree with me that the Tuyra-Tupisa route was impossible for a canal, as shown in my paper of November, 1878. Yet he compliments Gogorza on his services, and himself visited Bogota twice to secure desired amendments to the concession, which at length were obtained. In reading the papers of the Initiatory Society, it seems that M. Gogorza was like Esau, not in the matter of a hairy coat, but in the value that he attached to a mess of pottage—General Türr, the brother-in-law of Lieutenant Wyse, supplying (figuratively) the coveted article. The Paris Congress was then called—not, however, until ten days' labor in running a dozen cross-sections over the levels of the Panama Railroad had opened up that unknown region, and had established the practicability of a ship-canal *à niveau*, the plans for which received such high commendations from M. de Lesseps in that august body.

Now the intelligent reader will be prepared to compare the supposed hidden, devious ways of the American Commission with the interesting and much-vaunted preliminaries to and proceedings in the Paris Congress, as shown in the "Articles of Agreement of the International Society for cutting an Interoceanic Canal through the Isthmus of Darien" (see Appendix).

Considering M. de Lesseps's apology for us, based on the very humble ideas held by the American Commission by reason of small sailing-vessels and rudimentary steamers forming our commercial marine, and calling at the same time our attention to the grand dimensions and purposes of steam marine in Europe, it may naturally be supposed that the attention of persons who may interest themselves in the canal project will be directed to a provision for the transit of longer vessels, through the construction of sufficient locks and curves of longer radii. His ideas as to locks and lockage, however, are very crude, or, to speak with more propriety, his citation of a lock at Bordeaux as "a vast improvement; and yet, great as it is, the Congo, of the Transatlantic line, occupied an hour and a half in passing it," shows so deplorable a want of efficiency in that respect that it excites surprise.

In this country, the commerce of which, in the opinion of M. de Lesseps, is confined to small sailing-vessels and steamers of small or rudimentary development, a lift-lock is now near completion at St. Mary's, Michigan, five hundred and fifteen feet in length, sixty feet width of gate, and eighteen feet lift. The computed time of a steamer entering into and passing through the lock is *eleven minutes.* The constructor is General Weitzel, United States Engineers, who has been engaged for the past twelve years in constructing and operating locks of large dimensions. Without intending disparagement to the many able men who attended the Paris Congress, I will add that, in this department of engineering, he may be regarded as the equal of any.

M. de Lesseps found, notwithstanding the "information" and services of M. Gogorza, that only after the researches on the Isthmus of Panama "the time had arrived for realizing the wish of 1875, namely, to convene a national congress to which all the investigations made and all the plans proposed should be submitted. . . . I sent an invitation to all the chambers of commerce and scientific societies without making any appeal to governments, and on our sole invitation everybody came." Mr. Menocal and myself were ordered by our Government to attend the Congress. We met many other officers of foreign Governments who occupied the same position as ourselves. Can any intelligent person believe that our Government, without invitation or request, sent delegates to this meeting?

On May 23d M. de Lesseps addressed the Congress as follows (p. 638): "In my belief we should not make a canal with locks at

Panama, but a canal at the sea-level; that is, I believe, the public opinion of which I am the organ at this moment."

The Congress obligingly conformed to his expressed wishes; he was the organ of "public opinion," and he charged himself with the execution of the work. I am not disposed to reply either affirmatively or negatively to the question, "Can any one assert that the Nicaragua project was not sufficiently examined?" If the Congress and its President are satisfied with the examination, it would be idle and captious to dissent. If they are satisfied with the decision, we are also; the question of whether engineering considerations supported the decision is quite another question. M. de Lesseps presents the case as though there were only an American support to the canal *via* Nicaragua, and excuses us for our apparent want of comprehension of a grand idea. The question has been discussed in the Society of Civil Engineers of France; it would be simply a narrow prejudice not to recognize that body as the equal of any on the globe.

It is worth while to state with precision the character and attainments of an able civil engineer. He is a man eminently gifted with a perception of the forces of nature in their varied forms, and is thoroughly educated in the means and devices which will permit of using them as far as possible, and, when a question arises of antagonizing them, to do so with the greatest economy; he is thoroughly an economist, and supports that which is best for any proposed purpose in all its bearings. Like the jurist, he belongs to no land; knows no special pleading; recognizes and sustains only what he regards the *truth* under all conditions, and ignores the fact that his personal interests may suffer thereby. In this connection I may say no one of the five able engineers, delegates to the Congress from the Society of Civil Engineers of Paris, supports "public opinion" and its organ. They and many other eminent French engineers were *absent* when the vote was taken, or voted *no*.

On the 20th of June, in Paris, this Society was addressed by two of those delegates, M. Cotard and M. Lavalley. After hearing all this discussion, M. de Lesseps is still pleased to hold up the canal *via* Nicaragua as wholly an American idea, that existed in fact only from a want of comprehension of the grand problem solved by Wyse and Reclus, the discoverers of the possibilities of Panama. If any one will take up the journal of the proceedings of that day, he will not have to *suspect* why M. de Lesseps is silent in regard to it.

The very high and deserved compliments paid to M. Lavalley as an engineer by M. de Lesseps (see page 637 of the proceedings) would lead to the supposition that sufficient value would be attached to his opinion to insure a remembrance that it had been expressed at length, and was supported by several of the very able engineers present in the discussion referred to. I submit the question if it is quite ingenuous to present to the American public the idea that the Nicaragua project has no other than an American support, when it has the support of such eminent and able engineers in France?

It fails to have the support of M. Dauzats, Chief Engineer of the Suez Canal, who has gained his experience under the tutorage of his illustrious patron. He has recently written a pamphlet, in which, by an able and skillful adaptation of a flood that occurred on the Suez Canal, as a measure of the conditions required on the Isthmus of Panama, he has, in his belief, settled the feasibility of a canal *à niveau, via* Panama. Now, to satisfy the public at large, and especially in this country, an additional measure is suggested—that of the relative magnitude of the Suez flood and the one which submerged the Panama Railroad from the 20th to the 29th of November last, and bearing steadily in mind that the average yearly rainfall at Panama is one hundred and twenty-four inches, and Suez one inch and a third.

The "Report of Congress," a beautiful volume of 700 pages, is declared "a monument of science erected in a fortnight." I have on a former occasion spoken of the many able men whom I had the honor to meet in that assemblage; of its composition as a whole there are diverse opinions. A pamphlet published in Paris with the title of "400,000,000 à l'eau," gives the following:

"Let it be remarked that one half of the Congress were French; they had been chosen by the organizers of that assembly; thirty-four members belonged to the Geographical or the Commercial Geographical Society of Paris. What was their competency to decide between a canal with locks or on a sea-level? Fourteen other members were engineers or assistants of some sort on the Suez Canal. What was their impartiality between M. de Lesseps and others? And, among the others, if one takes count of personal friendships and of the prestige exercised by a great name, how many more will remain?" The writer is a gentleman of character and ability well known in Paris; therefore I feel at liberty to give his view.

The objection to Nicaragua, based on the destructive effects of earthquakes, is best met by the statement that a high, broken arch-

way of a ruined church in the town of Granada has stood for a quarter of a century against the action of gravitation even, due to the tenacity of the cement—a proof as well of the value of this native product, so essential in large quantities for canal construction, as that earthquakes in that region may be regarded at least without alarm. Berghaus's chart has been appealed to as a proof that the Panama region is not subject to these convulsions, yet on May 1, 1879, three shocks were so severe as to cause consternation along the line of railroad, and at least one heavy shock has occurred this fall. The fact is, the whole Central American region is well known to be subject to them, with a remote possibility of injury, the less serious in proportion as the works admit of repair. In this connection M. Lavalley said, in the discussion before referred to :

"Engineers should not fail to examine all sides of a question. An objection urged against the construction of locks is the frequency of earthquakes. It is, then, a question to consider the injuries which locks would suffer ; they would be simply fissures, and such accidents as are relatively easily repaired. On the other hand, it must be asked, what effects these same earthquakes would produce on a tunnel of forty metres' opening." (At that time the tunnel was urged, but abandoned later for an open cut more than three hundred feet deep, the side-walls almost vertical.) The reader will naturally ask, What effect would an earthquake have in shaking down these broken rocks into the canal? In short, the relative questions are to be considered as remote possibilities. All of the locks on the Nicaragua Canal, except four, are so planned as to admit of drawing off the water from them without emptying the canal, reducing to a minimum the time of delay and the cost of repair.

The idea expressed by M. de Lesseps in the Congress, that the Americans could very well afford to pay four times the tolls charged at Suez, has singularly enough been omitted in the "Review." As this is an important question, it seems strange indeed that so candid a man and so disposed to discuss the merits of a canal should have failed to present so important a subject as the rate of tolls.

Touching the matter of the "Monroe doctrine," I am disposed to support the opinion of M. de Lesseps. When a European nation enters into occupation and domination of American territory as France did under his patron, the late Emperor, during our civil war, we can properly send a polite diplomatic note that we would prefer a withdrawal of its forces, as we did on that occasion. It is

true that, in addition, a force of seventy thousand men under General Sheridan was held on the frontier of Mexico, which may have been regarded as a substantial backer to the note. M. de Lesseps, educated in Eastern diplomacy, as he states in making mention of treasured advice received from Mehemet Ali, will be able to form an opinion as to the relative values of the diplomatic note and of the disposable force.

Respecting the able presentation of the voyages of the ships of Hiram and Solomon to the land of Ophir, of Parnim and Tarshish, I have nothing to say, or, rather, I will concede all he says, and yet have to confess, after looking at the matter in all of its practical bearings respecting the construction of a ship-canal, I am still lost in the merest conjecture. Sentiment should always be respected; it can not be put in a balance and weighed like gold and silver or precious stones.

M. de Lesseps has so frequently stated that there were fewer engineering obstacles in the construction of the Suez Canal than on many of the railroads in France, that I invite attention to that fact as an answer to his several notes of admiration on page 14 respecting the execution of that work.

He has as frequently said that all the difficulties now urged against the Panama sea-level canal had been urged against the construction of the Suez Canal, so that it was only necessary to substitute Panama for Suez, and it was the same old story. So far as I am aware, no one has suggested that a rainfall of one hundred and twenty-four inches would at Suez cause great damage without the use of lockage to a sufficient height to escape the destructive effects of floods. This physical condition was brought to his notice as existing at Panama, that is to say, a rainfall one hundred times that at Suez.

We learn that M. de Lesseps, accompanied (we hope) by the able engineers "who made plans for ample drainage of the surplus water of the Chagres River," is now *en route* to Panama. Had they arrived at any time between the 20th and 29th of November, they would have had an opportunity of seeing, in the terse language of Sir John Hawkshaw, "how those showers behave."

There is an old story of Canute the Dane, who, surrounded by flatterers, was informed that even the winds and the waves would obey him. He seated himself on the borders of the rising tide and commanded it to halt, but it would not; so, after all, he found it necessary to leave, somewhat angered, it seems, as he is supposed to

have said to his followers, "Base flatterers, God alone can stay the floods!"

Soon M. de Lesseps will stand where a recent flood filled not only the bed of the stream, but the entire valley. Will his genius provide a remedy? That the floods come in their might is an inexorable fact. The "able engineers" may sing their lullabys to M. de Lesseps; he may take up the strain and give it to the world; and Mr. Nathan Appleton may tell him that after a lecture in Chicago he will get all the money he requires. Will the moneyed world join as a chorus, swelling the note to one of triumph of the mighty forces of man and the insignificance of those of Nature?

The article under discussion closes with these hopeful words: "I do not hesitate to declare that the Panama Canal will be easier to begin, to finish, and to maintain, than the Canal of Suez."

I will assume that the displacement of a shovelful of earth somewhere in the vicinity of the work is not seriously a beginning. In my view, the raising of the necessary funds is the real beginning of the work. After the Congress had formally endorsed M. de Lesseps as the organ of "public opinion," his books were opened with great *éclat* in Europe and even in America; after three days he closed them and announced that, as the amount subscribed was insufficient, the subscribers were at liberty to withdraw the money paid in. His "Bulletin" has been singularly silent respecting the number of shares of stock taken. I have seen an estimate that it amounted to about two per cent. of the sum required. In his address in Washington, Mr. Nathan Appleton expressed the belief that M. de Lesseps would come to this country after leaving Panama, lecture at Chicago, and then the money would be obtainable. Without wishing to interfere with what concerns those gentlemen, it would seem to me that the place to seek a moneyed support would be where "public opinion" demanded a canal *à niveau*—in Paris—where they are both so favorably known.

Respecting the canal *à niveau, via* Panama, Sir John Hawkshaw said, "During the construction of a canal at the sea-level, difficulties would arise in providing for drainage, which would affect both time of execution and cost to an extent that could hardly be ascertained in advance."

These difficulties will not, unhappily, be exorcised. The flood of November last was several feet higher than was indicated by Mr. Menocal in the Paris Congress, in relation to which Lieutenant Reclus asked him if he was "serious." The road-bed of the Panama

Railroad is supposed to be located with the view to secure, as far as possible, immunity from floods, yet the damage sustained, it is stated in recent dispatches, will certainly cause suspension of traffic until January 1st, and perhaps until February. How can any person continue to say that the maintenance of the Panama Canal *à niveau* would be less difficult than that at Suez, when such a flood would seem to be sufficient to almost obliterate it throughout one half of its length, were it now constructed?

It does not require an engineer to appreciate the power of floods in the transportation of silt, bowlders, trees, etc., or to make note of the vast piles accumulated at such points or sections as by reason of greater width of stream, or from a decreased velocity, favor a deposit.

There are certain relations of rainfall, difference of levels, character of bottom and of adjacent lands when submerged, which make up what is known as the *regimen* of a stream, to reëstablish which, in its entirety, requires only a sufficient number of floods, whatever temporary changes man may have effected by dredging.

The silt from the Nile far away makes the maintenance of the harbor of Port Said a matter of grave consideration; last year five hundred and sixty thousand cubic yards had to be dredged from the outer harbor of that port, yet the character of the high waters of that stream and the comparatively small descent per mile make its transporting power very small indeed as compared with the Chagres.

In addition to the physical difficulties affecting the finishing and maintenance of the canal, M. de Lesseps seems to have a concession which would weigh heavily upon the tolls, and it is said that the Panama Railroad demands and has been promised $14,000,000 in money and $40,000,000 in canal stock for the road, rolling stock, and franchise. He can very readily enlighten the public in the "Bulletin" in this regard, and as to the statement of his counsel, that the canal will cost 800,000,000 francs, and thus reduce the profits of the stockholders one half (see Appendix, "Journal of Proceedings of Initiatory Society").

In the opinion of M. de Lesseps, "sailing-vessels have come to occupy a very subordinate position in the commerce of the world." Few pass through the Suez Canal, therefore they are doomed and will soon disappear. The fact is, sixty per cent. of the English tonnage between the East and Europe still passes around the Cape of Good Hope, notwithstanding the existence of the canal, which in

1878 was used by but twenty-five sailing-vessels. The statistics of Great Britain indicate that the carrying capacity of her sailing fleet engaged in foreign commerce is double that of all steam-vessels similarly employed, and a steady yearly increase of tonnage in sailing-vessels is also shown; the statistics of the Suez Canal seem also to show that the tonnage likely to pass through it has reached a maximum.

As regards the relative merits for sailing-vessels of the Nicaragua and Panama lines, the subject has been so often and so thoroughly discussed that it hardly admits of further controversy. The opinion of Commander Maury, expressed in relation to Panama, it seems to me should be considered in a qualified sense. It was an expression of the delays that would result to vessels depending upon sailing-power only, unaided by tugs over very considerable distances. He said that if an earthquake should rend the continent asunder at Panama the strait would be unused by sailing-vessels, from the prevalence of calms in that region. It seems to me that it would lead to the employment of very many towboats and towage through this region, which in certain directions has less distance to where winds may be found than in other directions.

The region of Greytown on the Atlantic coast and Brito on the Pacific are almost exempt from calms. By reason of the winds favoring both outward and return voyages, sailing-vessels would, for a long period at least, be the most considerable factor through the Nicaraguan Canal.

I have endeavored to follow the paper of M. de Lesseps and point out certain grave errors into which he has fallen, and have done so with less chagrin, as it may enliven the canal question to him and in a measure alleviate his disappointment expressed at the absence of a serious opposition. It has been necessary to allude to points not presented by him, such as his proposed rate of tolls, and to discuss some of the general features of the question; but the intelligent reader who has no previous knowledge will be able to form only a partial and a not very intelligent opinion by reading the paper of M. de Lesseps and my reply.

Within the past three years I have prepared three papers for the American Geographical Society of New York, which contain all the information I possess touching the economy and the possibilities of an American interoceanic ship-canal.

DANIEL AMMEN.

WASHINGTON, *January* 1, 1880.

APPENDIX.

Articles of Agreement of the International Society for cutting an Interoceanic Canal through the Isthmus of Darien, August 19, 1876.

ARTICLE I. A mutual society is hereby formed by the subscribers, with the following objects: 1. To cause to be made by chosen engineers the general outline and estimates for an interoceanic canal, without locks or tunnels, across the Isthmus of Darien, following first and foremost the track indicated by M. Gogorza.

ART. IV. . . . It is now agreed that after the meeting of delegates from the Geographical Societies, under the presidency of M. de Lesseps, to take place at Paris in October, General Türr will resign in favor of M. de Lesseps the presidency of the Board of Directors, then to be elected.

ART. VIII. . . . of the six remaining beneficiary shares, two are to be placed at the disposal of General Türr, and, of the four others, two shall be allotted to M. Wyse, who will conduct the expedition, and two others are to be reserved for a purpose known to the persons interested.

Extract from the Proceedings in General Meeting of the International Civil Society of the Interoceanic Canal, held June 10 and 17, 1879.

The subscribers to the International Civil Society of the Interoceanic Canal met on the 9th inst., at Rue Mogador. . . .

The President then declared that a quorum of the Society was present, and pronounced the following words:

" . . . Whoever, then, builds the canal, our Society will have given the initiative to the work. We hoped that it would push the execution of the work under the direction of the illustrious founder of the Suez Canal; but M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, who for four years has assisted us with his advice, has now decided to prosecute in person the realization of this immense enterprise, and desires that our Society should concede to him its work and its interest, only preserving in the company which he is about to form the interest resulting from our share of the capital." . . .

A MEMBER: " Our concession stipulates that, if the route for the canal through the United States of Colombia is adopted, the share of the conceding Society shall be ten per cent. of the stock capital raised for building the canal. It being thought necessary to raise a total capital of eight hundred million francs, it will be no doubt preferable to restrain the shares to a total value of four hundred millions. In this case our right would be forty millions, if we insisted on interpreting the letter of our contract; but it is evident that this figure is too large, and that we can not maintain it. . . . I am of opinion, therefore, that our Society should demand fifteen million francs for its concessions." . . .

After a long discussion, in which all the members of the board of the conceding Society took part, the sum was fixed definitely between them at fifteen million francs.

M. Ferdinand de Lesseps then said: "Your declarations are loyal, and I take pleasure in telling you so; but I will be obliged to ask you to make me a written proposition. I said to General Türr: 'If your Society is in a position to prosecute the work, I do not seek to interfere, and I retire; but in the contrary case, as I shall have all the responsibility, I do not desire partners in what concerns the subscriptions, nor engagements with any one.'" . . .

"Two days after, in answer to our proposition, M. de Lesseps sent us an opinion, drawn up by his counsel, of which the following is an abstract:

"I. By the terms of this document, M. de Lesseps not only enters into this negotiation with his name and moral influence, but with a positive determined right of intervention.

"The act of incorporation of the conceding Society declares that the presidency shall be offered to him; therefore he might have identified himself with our Civil Society, in which he, as president, would have had the casting vote, in case of division.

"His official influence has been, nevertheless, important. Messrs. Wyse and Reclus undertook the exploration by his advice, and the confidence of capitalists was stimulated by the certainty that he would put himself at the head of the enterprise when the moment of execution should arrive. M. de Lesseps summoned the Congress and brought together the former engineers of Suez, by whom the technical and statistical problems were solved. The estimate of probable revenues, on which will be based the appeal to capital, is the work of the Congress presided over by M. de Lesseps, and the programme for the execution of the work will result from the labors of the Congress as much as, if not more than, from the investigations of the Civil Society. Finally, the vote of the Congress has conferred on M. de Lesseps a new right, inasmuch as a part of the votes were influenced by the confidence with which he inspired the electors.

"Supposing that the Society should sell its right, could it do so without remunerating M. de Lesseps and his colleagues? If M. de Lesseps claims nothing, his refusal to claim can not benefit the Civil Society, and its shareholders should reckon with M. de Lesseps.

"II. What is the real value of the concession? Ten per cent. of the capital is reserved to the Civil Society. This capital, taken at the moment of opening the negotiations for concession, was valued at four hundred million francs, which would give forty millions to the Society. At present the capital should reach eight hundred millions, which would make the society's share eighty millions. But this increase of expense would diminish and not increase the advantages reserved to the founders of the Society, which in any case can not be greater than forty million francs.

"The Civil Society, not having fulfilled the obligations which the concession imposes in compensation for the advantages ceded (since it still remains to organize the company of execution), has only accomplished the first part of its work—important, no doubt, but only partial.

"The ten per cent., say forty millions, would be conceded without con-

test if the canal were already open for navigation; but the Society's right in this claim is only proportionate to the expenses which it has incurred.

"If M. de Lesseps should express his private opinion, he would say that the cost of the enterprise having been estimated at first at four hundred million francs and the share of the Society at forty millions, but the canal costing ultimately eight hundred millions, and the profits of shareholders diminishing one half, the share of the privileged beneficiaries should be diminished in the same ratio, that is, reduced to twenty millions; and, on the other hand, the original founders of the Society being exonerated, by their concession to the company of execution, from a part of the charges equal in importance to those already incurred by them, ten millions should be given to the original members and the other ten millions reserved to the new members, who will have to bear the heavy expenses to be incurred up to the completion of the maritime canal.

"III. Whether the figure ultimately accepted by M. de Lesseps be ten or fifteen millions, the 'opinion' proposes to reserve, at the time of subscription, ten or fifteen millions of stock which shall be allotted to the founders and members of the Civil Society. This stock shall be credited with disbursements already made by the stockholders, in proportion to such disbursements, and the shares shall be delivered to the beneficiaries on the day on which they are taken up. This deposit will be a partial but effective representation of the guarantee offered by the Civil Society to the new company."

NOW AND THEN IN AMERICA.

GLANCING lately over a column of humorous items in a New York journal, I was struck by the pithy remark that an Englishman visiting the United States for the first time "writes up" the whole country in ten minutes; whereas a Frenchman compiles a voluminous account of American institutions and manners without ever having visited America at all. The statement may be somewhat paradoxical; but, as often happens with paradoxes, it contains a certain substratum of truth. English travelers on this vast continent are generally in as desperate a hurry to record in print their impressions of what they have seen as they have been to gather such impressions; and the result of this over-haste in seeing and writing is, naturally, confusion. In a neighboring republic they have a story about the agent of an English insurance company who, once upon a time, was sent out to Mexico to investigate the causes of a fire, compensation for which was claimed by the insured parties. He landed at Vera Cruz—in which city the fire had occurred—on Christmas eve, say in the year 1870. With due diligence he made his inquiries; and, these being ended, he was able to avail himself of a homeward-bound steamer, which left Vera Cruz for Havana on the 2d of January, 1871. Six weeks after his return to England he published a brace of very handsome octavo volumes, with the comprehensive title, "Mexico in 1870–'71." This may be taken, perhaps, as a fair sample of the practice of "writing up" a country in ten minutes. I do not say that such a "lightning-express" system is adopted by all English tourists in the United States. Observant travelers, thoughtful travelers, patient travelers, conscientious travelers, have come hither time and again from the shores of Great Britain. It is very probable, for instance, that Mr. Thackeray could have said, had he so chosen, a great deal that would have been cogent and pertinent concerning the great country in which

he had been so splendidly received, and the society in the most enlightened circles of which he was so cordially welcomed: only, Mr. Thackeray never chose to say anything whatever on the subject; and his silence was judiciously accepted as golden. Had the dream of his life been realized, and had he obtained a diplomatic appointment at Washington, the world might have been favored in time with a conspectus of American society from the pen of William Makepeace Thackeray as exhaustive and as impartial as the conspectus of American politics produced more than forty years since by Alexis de Tocqueville. As it is, few, I should say, will accuse Mr. Froude, or Mr. Anthony Trollope, or Mr. Goldwin Smith, or the late Mr. Maguire—although the last-named publicist only dealt with the condition of the Irish in America—with having "written up" the United States in ten minutes. On the other hand, I should be stupidly indifferent to or ignorant of the current literature of my own country were I not able to recall scores of books published in England during the last twenty years and written more or less on the "ten-minutes" principle. A young English peer or guardsman arrives here with an indistinct notion that it will be "awfully jolly" to see some buffalo and grizzly-bear shooting somewhere out West. Out West he goes, scampering thither and scampering back; and directly he is safe again in Pall Mall he, or his wife—if Nimrod has been fortunate enough to find a spouse who is a mighty huntress before the Lord, and does not shrink from accompanying him on his expedition—courts public favor with a bulky tome, beauteously printed and picturesquely illustrated, with some such attractive title, it may be, as "Bisons and Bonanzas," or "Grizzly Bears and Greenbacks," or "Terrapin and the Tariff." Alliteration's artful aid is invaluable in choosing a title for a book of travels. Again, a gentleman who thinks that he is a genius, and whose friends in England have been telling him for years that he has only to set foot in New York to be at once and unanimously acclaimed as the greatest of living geniuses, arrives here per Cunard or White Star steamship with his library or his scientific lecture, his "entertainment," his panorama, his white mice, or what not, prepared to have his olfactory organs titillated with any amount of incense, and to make fifty thousand dollars by a few months' lecturing or "entertaining" tour. Speedily he may discover, to his astonishment and dismay, that the American people have heard little, and that they care less, about him; and that at the moment they are far too much occupied by or in-

terested in Mr. Edison's discoveries, or the recent sale of New York Central stock, or Mr. Talmage and his presbytery, or the Maine election problem, or the "Frog Opera and Pollywog Chorus," to care one dime about him or his lecture, his "entertainment," his panorama, or his white mice. The man of genius goes home, minus the fifty thousand dollars which he had expected to realize, and in dudgeon. Ere long an *opusculum* appears from his pen: "Bowery Boys and Buckwheat Cakes"; "Wall Street and Waffles"; "Democracy and Delmonico's," or the like; and not unfrequently his "ten minutes'" impressions of a country which contains more than forty-five millions of people, and of which his path has covered only a very few square miles, are colored and disagreeably colored by the feelings of disappointment not unnaturally excited within his breast by the failure of the American people to appreciate him, his genius, his lectures, his panorama, or his white mice, as the case may be. After all, he may not be, when you come to read between the lines of that which he has written, a much more untrustworthy traveler than he who comes to the State with a ponderous budget of letters of introduction to the "first families," who is "put through" and passed on from agreeable coterie to agreeable coterie, be these fashionable, literary, artistic, or especially religious coteries; who lives at the best clubs and the best restaurants; who goes out to three or four balls or receptions, or tea-fights, or prayer-meetings every night; who is charmed with everything and everybody that he has met with, and who goes home to write a book in raptures: picturing America as a terrestrial paradise, and the Americans as only a little lower—if, indeed, they are not a little higher—than the angels. There is not much to choose, it strikes me, between the unreliability of too rosily-colored spectacles and of eye-glasses tinted to the hue of the yellow jaundice. But perhaps the most objectionable type of the Englishman who "writes up" the United States in ten minutes is the individual who arrives here as the temporary correspondent of a London newspaper. Our journals maintain permanent correspondents, sometimes regular and sometimes occasional, in the great transatlantic cities—writers who have been in the country for years, who have made a careful study of American politics, and who may claim to possess some substantial knowledge of the good and evil qualities, the manners and the idiosyncrasies of the nation among whom they have been for such a length of time domiciled. But in the midst of these experts there suddenly drops down a gentleman from Fleet Street or the Strand, bristling all over with pre-

judices, pachydermatous as to what is said about him, and utterly indifferent to the pain which the shafts of his ridicule or his misrepresentations may inflict on the American epidermis, and bound to fill so many columns of his newspaper at home, during his short stay in America, with his "impressions" touching a country and a people concerning which and whom he knows considerably less than he does of the political opinions and domestic economy of the savage hill tribes with whom we are fighting in Afghanistan. He may have just come from Afghanistan, whither he had been sent from Zululand or from St. Petersburg or from Constantinople. He does more harm, probably, during his "ten minutes" than is done by the mere simpleton and the disappointed genius with the lecture, the panorama, or the white mice. The simpleton and the showman wait until they get home before they inflict their books on the public; they have some time for reflection, should they happen to be capable of reflecting; and they can correct the proofs of what they have written ere their lucubrations assume the unchangeable livery of stereotype. The newspaper correspondent sees no proofs, and has rarely even the patience to read over the manuscript which falls from his rapid pen. His watch may be lying before him on the desk at which he is writing, for he is bound to "catch" the mail which goes out on the following morning. Visitors call to weary and exasperate him with futile small-talk. So soon as he is free from their importunities, he must resume his pen; so many sides of "copy" must be scribbled over, come what may; and a few hours afterward he casts his budget of blunders on the waters of the Atlantic Ocean, for the printing-press and the world to find the *farrago* after eleven days. I am able to speak somewhat feelingly of the mistakes of which such a correspondent may be guilty, and somewhat remorsefully of the mischief which he may do if the newspaper with which he corresponds happens to be one of vast circulation and great influence, because I have been, myself, the special correspondent of a great London newspaper for more than twenty-two years, and have frequently experienced the difficulty of having to make bricks without straw.

I arrived in the harbor of New York on Wednesday, the 26th of November, 1879; and ere I had been in the city thirty-six hours I had pledged myself to write a paper on things transatlantic for the "North American Review." Terminating this article now, on the morrow of Christmas, I am acutely sensible of the fact that I have been in the United States of America just one month. During the greater

portion of that time I have resided in New York City; but I have likewise made brief excursions to Baltimore, to Philadelphia, and to Washington. In the face of this deliberately candid confession it may appear to a youthful reader of these pages—or a reader who knows nothing of me as an English journalist, and may never even have heard my name pronounced in his life before—that it is an act of the grossest impertinence on my part to say anything about a country in which I am, figuratively speaking, a mere babe and suckling. Most of us have heard the story of the skipper who made this entry in his log: "Passed Cape Donahoo, twelve miles S. S. E.; natives kind and hospitable." When taxed by his owner with the imaginative character of this entry, he very fairly pleaded that certain natives of Cape Donahoo had put off in a canoe and boarded his craft; that they had brought him gifts of pigs and plantains; and that, as they had not stolen anything nor fish-speared anybody, he was entitled to laud their kindness and their hospitality. My plea in extenuation must be analogous to that advanced by the skipper in the story. Of America in 1879–'80 I necessarily know not much more than the master-mariner knew of Cape Donahoo; but from a remote offing there has put forth a canoe teeming with certain memories of the past—memories of the America which I had excellent opportunities to study during thirteen months from November, 1863, to December, 1864. I have been here before, and that is why I am so venturesome as to head this paper with the title "Now and Then in America."

I arrived in this country when it was in the midst of a bloody war, all the more terrible and the more embittered because it was a war between brethren. Exasperation characterized the combatants on either side; but in one particular they were agreed—in that of distrusting the Englishman. At home our own Lancashire operatives were starving in consequence of the cotton famine; our own councils were divided; Northern and Southern sympathizers quarreled at dinner-tables, or reviled each other in print or at public meetings; Earl Russell, one of the truest and usefulest Liberals that ever lived, had publicly declared that the North were fighting "not for Union but for empire"; and while the great mass of the intelligent working classes in England undeniably believed in the justice of the Northern cause—a cause defended with all the sturdiness and all the eloquence of John Bright—it was as undeniably accepted as "the proper thing" in polite English society to manifest either active or sentimental sympathy

for the Confederates. "Maryland! my Maryland," was a far more popular ditty in upper-class English drawing-rooms than "John Brown"; and the more emotional sections of the lower grades in the community agreed for once in a while with their superiors in station. A precisely similar phenomenon has been visible in English politics within the last three years. "Jingoism"—that is to say, a bellicose hatred of Russia—has been the creed of the aristocracy, of the military class, and of the state Church; and has found disciples as fervent among emotional mobs and half-instructed readers of the outpourings of emotional newspapers; while anti-Jingoism—that is, a sincere love of peace, and a persistent refusal to believe that the Emperor Alexander of Russia is an ogre, a vampire, and the giant Fee-faw-fum, continually smelling the blood of an Englishman—has been the faith of the English Puritans, as represented by Mr. Bright, of the majority of the non-conforming religious communities, represented by Dr. Parker and Mr. Spurgeon, and of really Liberal peers and members of Parliament, represented by the Dukes of Argyll and Westminster, the Earl of Rosebery, Sir Charles Dilke, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. Forster, and such truly genuine Liberal journals as the "Daily News" and the "Spectator," who have not hesitated to denounce Jingoism and "Imperialism," and the cutting-your-neighbor's-throat policy, at the risk of being denounced as "Anglo-Russians," "British Afghans," "St. James's Hall traitors," and the like, because they have failed to perceive the expediency of keeping a nation, whose business is peace, manufactures, and commerce, in a perpetual war ferment, or the necessity for shooting so many thousands of Russians, or hanging so many hundreds of Afghans, in order to keep a Tory Government in Downing Street. From this list of politicians I have designedly excluded the revered name of Mr. Gladstone, for the reason that I have been attempting to draw a parallel—and the drawing of a political parallel is always a perilous thing—between the conflict of opinions which divided my country in 1863 and that which distracts it in 1879; and Mr. Gladstone's political character and moods of mind do not lend themselves to the drawing of any parallels whatsoever. Geometricians know how many kinds of lines there are; and William Ewart Gladstone may be politically qualified as neither straight nor curved. He is a mixed line.

I have said enough, perhaps, to show that the position of an Englishman who came to the United States seventeen or eighteen years ago was, if he had any sort of "mission," or if he acted in any-

thing approaching a public capacity, an extremely invidious one. I remember forty years ago, when I first went to school in Paris, that I was constantly and contumeliously reproached by my French schoolmates with the crimes committed by my country against France in the year 1815. I used to be held personally responsible, to the extent of being called opprobrious names, and of having my hair pulled, my toes trodden upon, and my peg-top confiscated, for the occupation of Paris by the allied armies, the non-arrival of Grouchy instead of Blücher on the field of Waterloo, the spoliation of the art-treasures of the Louvre, and the deportation of Napoleon to St. Helena. I was warned that a signal and sanguinary reparation for these outrages would sooner or later be exacted by indignant Gaul. Thus in 1863–'64 an Englishman newly landed on this continent, although he might be courteously and hospitably received in American society—I remember very well that I was so received—was continually being reminded of his country's sins of omission and commission against the Federal Government and people, and of the imminence of a retributory Nemesis. The rendition of Mason and Slidell, the buccaneering exploits of the Alabama, the blockade-running transactions by which Liverpool was enriching herself, the alleged subscriptions of British capitalists to Confederate loans—all these were things which were assumed to lie heavy on the Englishman's conscience; all these were taken to be acts of national malfeasance on our part, for which we should eventually have to make reparation. And reparation we did eventually make; but that fact did not make the Englishman's position one whit less uneasy while the strife continued. It might be urged that the most sensible attitude to be observed by a foreigner under such circumstances was one of entire neutrality. It was more than difficult—it was next door to impossible—to be neutral. When William Cobbett, a thorough-going radical, was here in the last years of the last century, the impossibility of preserving neutrality between contending parties, and the irritation which he felt at finding his own country continually attacked, goaded him at last into professing principles of the highest Toryism, and filling his shop-window with portraits of George III., his family, and his ministers whom, nearly so soon as he had got back to England, and had resumed his thorough-going radical frame of mind again, he proceeded and continued, during the next thirty years, with unceasing vehemence to denounce. The neutrality difficulty was sufficient in 1863–'64 to convert many a genuine English Liberal temporarily resident on

American soil into a Peter Porcupine. Those English Liberals who staid at home were in much better case. They could judge the vexed question from afar off, impartially and philosophically.

Those who can remember from month to month, and from day to day almost, the social episodes of the most terrific political struggle of the nineteenth century, may not contradict me when I say that the baleful effects of that struggle were scarcely perceptible on the surface of society in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. In Washington you were constrained to remember that a war was going on, and that it was raging close to the gates of the Federal capital; for you could scarcely leave Alexandria ere you found yourselves in the midst of war; and you could not travel half a dozen miles without hearing rumors—not dark and distant, but near and articulate—of guerrillas and "bushwhackers." Washington and Baltimore again swarmed with the Federal troops, and the hospitals were crowded with wounded men. The trades of the embalmer and the maker of artificial limbs and eyes were flourishing; and the shop-windows were full of the ghastliest imaginable photographs of scenes of carnage and rapine. But coming North and East, and especially to New York, little beyond the holiday-making, the fifing and drumming, and banner-waving aspects of war were visible. The sanitary fairs held in aid of the beneficent work carried on among the Federal troops by the Sanitary Commission were festivals as brilliant, and were attended by as sparkling an array of feminine loveliness and elegance, as any that I witnessed lately at the peaceful fair of the Seventh Regiment at their armory in Lexington Avenue. Every day, almost, you heard the sounds of martial music, or saw the march-past of some regiment of dark-blue-coated volunteers, chanting, it might be, in unison, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe's magnificent "Grido di Guerra"—I quote from memory:

"For mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord;
He is trampling out the vintage where his grapes of wrath are stored;
I have seen the fitful lightnings of his terrible swift sword—
For God is marching on!"

This looked like war—bloody, bold, and resolute—in 1863: but in the middle of last month I was in Philadelphia; and I watched the eight miles and eight hours long parade in honor of General U. S. Grant. I saw battalions of the old dark-blue-gabardined veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic, and the old battle-tattered

regimental flags ; and, to my mind, the parade of Peace was quite as glittering and imposing as the parade of War had been seventeen years ago ; and (again to my mind) it was a great deal more satisfactory than the war parade of 1863, because I knew that nobody was going to be killed ; and I have in my time seen too much of war, face to face—not as a soldier, who can earn laurels, and guerdon, and pensions on the tented field, but as a humble camp-follower and scribe about whom nobody is troubled, should he happen to get hanged or shot, or to die of fever or dysentery—not in my inmost heart and soul to hate and loathe war, its dirt and disease, and squalor and depravity ; its unutterable fertility in anguish, its immeasurable wealth of wickedness. Yet "carnage is God's daughter." The poet has told us so ; the experience of history has confirmed his dictum ; and the poet, although often and unjustly calumniated as "an unpractical person," is, in the long run, generally right.

When I recur to my text of "Now and Then" in America, and especially when I mark the wonderful increase in the area and the population of the city of New York which has taken place since my first visit ; when I reflect that in my time Washington Square was a considerable way "up town," that Fourteenth Street was as fashionable as our Eaton Place, Belgravia, and that a few blocks above the Fifth Avenue Hotel the *ultima Thule* of patrician New York was almost reached, my astonishment is considerably lessened by the remembrance that a corresponding augmentation and development have taken place in London and in Paris ; and that we led tolerably comfortable and luxurious lives in the London of 1863, when we had no Holborn Viaduct, no Midland Grand Hotel, no underground railway, no Northumberland Avenue, no Criterion Restaurant, and very little South Kensington or West Tyburnia, and when in Paris we had no new Academy of Music, no Avenue de l'Opéra, no Rue du Quatre Septembre, no electric light, and especially no Atlantic cable in either country. There is more New York and there are more New-Yorkers now than there were then ; just as there are more gray hairs in my head and wrinkles on my face ; but I had plucked out the first gray hair and noticed the first apparition of crow's-feet before I came hither, and, to my thinking, society, or so much of it as existed, enjoyed itself quite as much then as it does now. The late Mr. A. T. Stewart's marble palace and his superb picture-gallery were yet to come ; still, there were private gentlemen and merchant princes in New York who pos-

sessed palatial mansions and splendid picture-galleries, in which you could feast your eyes on the masterpieces of Gérôme and Rosa Bonheur and Meissonier, of Church and Bierstadt, of Crawford and Powers. Seventeen years ago a dear friend of mine occupied a suite of rooms in University Building, copious in pictures and statuary, and old china and bronzes. I see no difference in him—chiefly, perhaps, because I fail to discern much difference between my present and my former self, abating some trifling changes connected with the use of spectacles, and disinclination to write editorials after dinner—and I see no difference in his rooms, save that he has got more pictures, more statuary, more old china, more bronzes, and enamels, and *tazze* of jade and malachite. So in particulars, so in generals. I behold in degree the same New York; only I behold it through the large instead of the small end of an opera-glass. I read of sumptuous entertainments, in the decorations for which so many hundreds of dollars have been spent in rare flowers, and of the feasting attendant on which so many more dollars have been paid to a caterer *à la mode;* while the remuneration of the Teutonic instrumentalists discoursing the dance-music has been on a corresponding scale of magnificence. I read of cohorts of faultlessly dressed young gentlemen, and of bright bands of beauteous young ladies, the latter clad in dresses of rainbow hues and with inconceivably gorgeous trimmings, all made either by the world-famous Worth or by those Franco-American *modistes*, the Madame Anybodies, who have descended upon New York as "the great bird, the ruche," described by Burton, descended on the plains of Madagascar to batten on the fat of the land, and who, each of them—if they collect their bills with regularity, and make no bad debts—ought to realize at least fifty thousand dollars a year. I am told that each of these sublime ball-dresses costs from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty dollars. I go to Tiffany's and am permitted to gaze upon the dazzling gems which are to be worn in conjunction with the sublime ball-dresses. This pearl necklace, the obliging assistant tells me, is worth six thousand pounds sterling. This diamond bracelet is cheap at twenty-five thousand dollars. I am pleased but not astounded, not overwhelmed, by the information—I have seen so many diamonds, so many ball-dresses, so many grand entertainments, the whole world over, so many years past. Only there are more pomps and vanities, and more diamonds and flowers, and suppers and *cotillons* in the New York of 1879–'80 than there were in the New York of 1863–'64. The sailor in the

story longed for all the grog and 'baccy in the world, and then—more 'baccy. And then he woke up from his longing, like Alnaschar from his dreams, to find that he had nothing at all. Persons of a timid, or a desponding, or a cynical turn of mind are apt to infer that this continuous and tremendous accretion of luxury and display, be it in London, in Paris, or in New York, must end in explosion or in collapse, and ultimately in cataclysm ; but such pessimists might do well to remember that metropolitan splendor and luxury are only phenomenal, and that we have come to attach a thoroughly abnormal and erroneous signification to the English rendering of the Greek word *φαινόμενον*, which really and simply is only the *φυσικόν*—a physical thing, plainly manifest, and therefore noteworthy.

It may be difficult for the cosmopolitan traveler, when he surveys the height of luxury which has been attained by affluent and refined New York, to avoid a comparison between the Empire City of the United States and the capital of the Russian Empire. Between New York and St. Petersburg there are, indeed, many remarkable points of similarity. Both cities are the paradise of foreign singers and musicians, cooks, confectioners, florists, caterers, and dancing-masters. The cost of elegant life in Petropolis is on a parity with that in Manhattan. In both cities the monetary unity represents a larger value than it does in the older centers of civilization. In England, that unity is substantially not the pound but the shilling sterling. In Paris it is the franc. Thus London is, on the whole, a dearer city than Paris by twenty-five centimes over and above the franc. We send a pound to a London charity or pay a pound a day for our parlor at a London hotel. To the same purposes in Paris we devote twenty francs. It might be argued that in New York the same theory of expenditure would be represented by a five-dollar piece ; but the American monetary unity is not five dollars, but one ; and, to a thousand intents and purposes, the purchasing power of the dollar in New York does not exceed that of the Parisian franc or the London shilling. In St. Petersburg the unity is the ruble, which should be worth seventy-five cents, but which may be assessed at about fifty. I never make bets, but, did I ever hazard any, I would confidently wager that living in quiet and undemonstrative comfort in New York, indulging in no excess, either in the direction of stately apartments, rare wines, or choice cigars, and hiring a carriage only when I absolutely needed one, I should spend every day nearly twice as much as I should spend in London or Paris, and only

about one third more than I should spend in St. Petersburg. This question of the relative costliness of life in great capitals is assuredly a very important one, although it is often contemptuously neglected as unworthy the attention of serious essayists on political economy. But, as Mr. Carlyle pointed out long ago, mankind is very prone to dismiss as trivial and unimportant subjects which are really of immediate and lasting concern to us all. Take the passion of sleep, for example. Once at least in the course of every twenty-four hours on an average, humanity is bound to "assume the horizontal position" and to retain that position for many hours, quite unconscious of business, pleasure, peace, or war, and "its head full of the foolishest of thoughts." General and continuous insomnia for a fortnight would make an end of humanity altogether; yet we trouble ourselves very little about the psychology of sleep; and the metaphysician has a great deal more to say about the soul, of which he can know absolutely nothing, than about sleep, and especially about dreams, concerning which he must have every night in his life practical and curious experience. So is it in a measure as respects the cost of our eating and drinking; and I know no more intricate problem than that of the excessive expensiveness of New York as compared with that of other great cities. We know why food, with the single exception of bread, is dear in London. The trade in meat, fish, poultry and game, fruit and vegetables is mainly in the hands of wealthy and powerful monopolists; we are ill supplied with markets; almost every article of food which we consume passes through the hands of and yields a profit to three or four middlemen before it reaches our mouths. Is this the case to a greater or to a lesser extent in New York? I should say, under correction, that it is not the case; that is, if I am to place any faith in the published price-lists of the markets from day to day. Those lists tell me that meat, fish, poultry, game, fruit, vegetables, and dairy produce are at least thirty per cent. cheaper in New York than in London; yet the retail prices of such articles which the guest at a first-class hotel or restaurant in New York is called upon to pay are at least forty per cent. above the charges which would be made for similar articles in analogous establishments in London. At our most fashionable watering-places, for example, Brighton and Scarborough, first-class board can be obtained at from eight to ten shillings—two to two and a half dollars—a day; but, if my American guide-books and my "Dictionary of New York" are trustworthy authorities, two dollars and a half here represent only board of a decidedly sec-

ond-class character. Again, while I can readily understand that so long as the American tariff—which I am afraid will outlive Mr. Thomas Bayley Potter, M. P., and all save the youngest members of the Cobden Club—remains the law of the land, imported articles must be very costly, I am at a loss to comprehend why articles of common use and manifestly of American manufacture should not be cheap. In particular am I amazed at the inordinate charges made for the hire of hackney-carriages. Your horses are plentiful and strong; you have as many expert drivers as you want; you are becoming the best carriage-builders in the world; horse-feed is twenty-five per cent. cheaper with you than with us: why, in the name of common sense, am I to be forced to pay a dollar—or four shillings and twopence sterling—for riding over a distance of one mile? It is quite true that I may continue to ride in the same cab for an entire hour, paying no more than one dollar; but, suppose that I and my wife are invited to dinner just round the corner or a few blocks' distance from our residence, and that I do not wish to expose a lady to the risk of catching cold by tramping over this space through snow or mud, why should I pay four shillings and twopence for that which in England I should pay just one shilling or twenty-five cents for? You may reply that I am free to take the street-cars or the Broadway stages, or that I may avail myself of the facilities of your wonderful elevated railroads. But I deferentially reply that I am a foreigner, that I am a stranger in your city; that, although you paint the names of your streets on your corner-lamps—a very admirable system, so far as the night-time is concerned, and one which we might advantageously adopt in London—you do not affix the names of your streets conspicuously at the corners thereof; and, finally, I respectfully plead that, if I have a visit to pay in a certain street and at a certain house, I prefer being driven in a cab straight up to the door of that house to being landed from the car or the staircase of an elevated railway-station right in the middle of the snow or the slush.

I can not dismiss the question of personal expenditure without noticing one or two more points which may be worthy of remark and explanation, and which I shall put interrogatively. We have usually noticed in England that where an article of consumption—bread always excepted—reaches, through some accidental or some inevitable circumstance, an excessive price, the tendency of the article is to retain that excess in price long after the circumstances which led to its aggravation in value have been aggravated. Does

such a rule—for it may fairly be called a rule—obtain here? When I came to America in November, 1863, gold was, if I remember aright, at eighty premium—that is to say, for every hundred dollars of gold value in my letter of credit my bankers credited me with one hundred and eighty dollars in paper currency. I think that ere I went away the premium on gold reached one hundred and sixty—I have even heard that it once touched one hundred and eighty; and, as the rate of gold varied from day to day, so did the prices of articles of consumption fluctuate. The figures of restaurant tariffs were subject to continual mutation; and, until you had the bill of fare before you, it was impossible to tell how much you would have to pay for your beefsteak or your mutton-cutlet. So was it with other commodities. I remember paying as much as three dollars for a pair of best Dent's (London) kid gloves, but that price to me did not mean twelve shillings and sixpence sterling. Gold being say at one hundred premium, I only really paid six shillings and threepence for my gloves—an advance of about thirty per cent. over what I should have paid in Piccadilly, London; and I had not the slightest reason to grumble in this connection, remembering, as I was bound to do, that the United States revenue was entitled to its toll, and the importer and retailer were entitled to their respective profits. But on the instant (December, 1879), if I go to a fashionable hosier on Broadway, New York, and ask him for a pair of the best Dent's (London) kid gloves, he charges me two dollars, which, at the present rate of exchange, means eight shillings and fourpence sterling, whereas in Piccadilly, London, I can still buy the same gloves at the old price of four shillings—that is, one dollar. My contention is, that prices in America have not retained precisely the same swollen proportions which they reached when the inflation of the currency during the war was at its highest, but that they have not decreased in anything approaching a corresponding ratio with the gradual equalization of paper currency with gold. Things, owing to the inevitable circumstances of the war, became dear, and dear they have remained—not so costly as they once were, but still a great deal costlier than, according to the doctrines of sound political economy, they should be. It may be, again, paradoxical to assert that the prices of commodities are as imitative in their nature as human beings are. But such seems to be the case, since I note a marked spirit on the part of native American manufacturers to imitate, so far as they can, the high prices of imported goods.

There are possibly few things more curiously interesting to a

stranger in America—when that stranger has been in the country before—than to observe the strong disinclination which is felt by the people at large to make use in the daily transactions of life of a metallic currency. Specie payments, we all know, have been resumed; and the United States Treasury has accumulated an enormous reserve in gold; but the public still cling with apparent fondness to their old greenbacks, and not only prefer a five-dollar bill to a five-dollar gold-piece, but (so it strikes me) would much rather have a one-dollar note than a dollar in silver. I grant that the latter is, albeit a handsome, somewhat of a cumbrous coin. In England we contumeliously call our five-shilling pieces, which are even more cumbrous specimens of mintage, "cartwheels," and make haste to change them, whenever we have involuntarily taken them, for smaller currency; but when did you ever hear a Frenchman complain of having a pocketful of five-franc pieces? And the five-franc piece is to all intents and purposes your dollar. A Frenchman has a modified respect for a note of the Bank of France for twenty francs; but bills for smaller denominations he utterly loathes—remembering the unredeemed *assignats* of 1793—and from the bottom of his soul abhors. In England we admire and revere the five-pound Bank of England note and its higher denominations; but an attempt to force a currency of one-pound notes or of five-shilling notes on the nation in time of peace would lead to a revolution. No Londoner will have anything to do with an Irish one-pound note, or for one issued by the few provincial banks which are still authorized to emit such securities. We believe only in gold, silver, and "flimsies," or notes above the value of five pounds. The American does not seem to care for gold, and he seems to dislike a silver coinage in the higher denominations intensely. I have been more than once reminded by American friends to whom I have mentioned the (to me) puzzling persistence with which printed promises to pay, instead of solid bullion, are adhered to, that the public have yet to be educated to the employment of a metallic currency, and that there are millions of young Americans of both sexes who until they were fourteen or fifteen years old had never set eyes on an American gold or silver coin. But I remember to have read that in the beginning of this century we in England, during the continuance of our great wars with France, a period of about fifteen years, were afflicted with an irredeemable paper currency—never, however, of a lower denomination than twenty shillings, for we had always plenty of silver, and that the general disfavor with

which the suspension of cash payments was regarded found its embodiment in a song which obtained immense popularity, and which began—

"I'd rather have a guinea than a one-pound note."

The resumption of specie payments at the conclusion of the war was hailed with almost delirious enthusiasm by the public at large; and he would be a bold statesman indeed who attempted to withdraw from circulation that gold which is held sacred among us and to substitute for it irredeemable paper.

Here I pause, not for lack of materials for further remarks on "Now and Then in America," but simply through a desire in the first place not to weary my readers, and in the next place not to be adjudged guilty of impertinence in dwelling at large on matters with which, looking at the brief duration of my stay on this continent, I can have only a very imperfect and superficial acquaintance.

GEORGE AUGUSTUS SALA.

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

THE Emancipation Proclamation is the most signal fact in the Administration of President Lincoln. It marks, indeed, the sharp and abrupt beginning of "the Great Divide" which, since the upheaval produced by the late civil war, has separated the polity and politics of the *ante-bellum* period from the polity and politics of the *post-bellum* era. No other act of Mr. Lincoln's has been so warmly praised on the one hand, or so warmly denounced on the other; and perhaps it has sometimes been equally misunderstood, in its real nature and bearing, by those who have praised it and those who have denounced it. The domestic institution against which it was leveled having now passed as finally into the domain of history as the slavery of Greece and Rome, it would seem that the time has come when we can review this act of Mr. Lincoln's in the calm light of reason, without serious disturbance from the illusions of fancy or the distortions of prejudice.

In order to give precision and definiteness to the inquiry here undertaken, it seems necessary at the threshold to distinguish the true purport and operation of the Emancipation Proclamation from some things with which it is often confounded in popular speech. In the first place, it is proper to say that the Proclamation, in its inception and in its motive, had nothing to do with the employment of slaves as laborers in the army. Fugitive slaves were so employed long before the utterance of such a manifesto had been contemplated, or the thought of it tolerated by the President. Just as little was the Proclamation a necessary condition precedent to the enlistment of fugitive slaves as soldiers in the army. Mr. Lincoln was averse to the employment of negroes as soldiers at the time he issued the preliminary Proclamation of September 22, 1862, and he remained in this state of mind until the final edict was issued on the first of January following. It was not until the 20th of Janu-

ary, 1863, that Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, received permission to make an experiment in this direction.

We learn from the diary of Mr. Secretary Chase that at a meeting of the Cabinet held on the 21st of July, 1862, the President "determined to take some definite steps in respect to military action and slavery." A letter from General Hunter having been submitted, in which he asked for authority to enlist "all loyal persons without reference to complexion," it appears that Messrs. Stanton, Seward, and Chase advocated the proposition, and no one in the Cabinet spoke against it; but, adds Mr. Chase, "the President expressed himself as averse to arming negroes." On the next day the question of arming slaves was again brought up, and Mr. Chase "advocated it warmly"; but the President was still unwilling to adopt this measure, and proposed simply to issue a proclamation based on the confiscation act of July 17, 1862, "calling on the States to return to their allegiance, and warning the rebels that the provisions of that act would have full force at the expiration of sixty days, adding, on his own part, a declaration of his intention to renew at the next session of Congress his recommendation of compensation to States adopting the gradual abolishment of slavery, and proclaiming the emancipation of all slaves within States remaining in insurrection on the 1st of January, 1863." * So the first intimation made to the Cabinet of a purpose to proclaim the liberation of slaves in the insurgent States was made in connection with the President's avowed opposition to the arming of negroes.

Writing from memory, Mr. Secretary Welles states, in his "History of Emancipation," that the President, "early in August"—he thinks it was the 2d of August—submitted to the Cabinet "the rough draft" of a proclamation to emancipate, after a certain day, all slaves in States which should then be in rebellion, but that Mr. Seward argued against the promulgation of such a paper at that time, "because it would be received and considered as a despairing cry, a shriek from and for the Administration, rather than for freedom." † He further records that the President, impressed with this view, closed his portfolio, and did not recur to the subject until after the battle of Antietam, which was fought on the 17th of September.

Writing in his diary under date of August 3d, but referring, doubtless, to the discussions held in the Cabinet on the previous

* Warden's "Life of Chase," p. 440. † "Galaxy," December, 1872, p. 845.

day,* Mr. Chase records that, "for the tenth or twentieth time," he urged the adoption of a vigorous policy against slavery in the seceded States by "assuring the blacks of freedom on condition of loyalty, and by organizing the best of them in companies and regiments." He further records that Mr. Seward "expressed himself in favor of any measures which could be carried into effect *without proclamation*, and the President said that he was pretty well cured of objection to any measure, except want of adaptedness to put down the rebellion, but did not seem satisfied that the time had come for the adoption of such a plan as I had proposed." †

On the 22d of August, just one month after Mr. Lincoln had first opened the subject of emancipation to his Cabinet, he proceeded to take the whole country into his confidence on the relations of slavery to the war. On that day he wrote "the Greeley Letter" —a letter written in reply to an earnest and importunate appeal in which, assuming to utter the "Prayer of Twenty Millions," Mr. Greeley had called on the President, with much truculence of speech, to issue a proclamation of freedom to all slaves in the Confederate States. As this letter was the first as well as the most pithy and syllogistic public discussion which the President ever gave to the subject in hand, it seems proper not only to insert it here in its entirety, but, as a matter of literary curiosity, to reproduce it in its original form. The following is a fac-simile of the letter:

Executive Mansion,

Washington, August 22d. 1862

Hon. Horace Greely:

Dear Sir=

=I have just read yours of the 19th addressed to myself through the New-York Tribune. If there be in it any statements, or assumptions of fact, which I may know to be erroneous I do not, now and here, controvert

* The meeting was held on a Saturday, according to Mr. Welles, and the 3d of August, 1862, was a Sunday.

† Warden's "Life of Chase," p. 446.

them. If there be in it any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not now and here, argue against them. If there be perceptable in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend, whose heart I have always believed to be right.

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing" as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was". ~~If there be any who hope to save the Union by destroying the Constitution, and the liberty with it, in any part of the country, they are wholly mistaken.~~ If there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the

Union without freeing any slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. What I do about slavery, and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

Yours,

A. Lincoln.

This letter appeared for the first time in the "National Intelligencer" of August 23, 1862.*

* The letter came into my hands from the fact that I was one of the editors of the "Intelligencer," to which Mr. Lincoln sent it for publication. The omitted passage—

In his interview with the Representatives of the Border States, held on the 10th of March, 1862, Mr. Lincoln had said that, as long as he remained President, the people of Maryland (and therefore of the other Border States) had nothing to fear for their peculiar domestic institution "either by direct action of the Government or by indirect action, as through the emancipation of slaves in the District of Columbia or the confiscation of Southern property" in slaves. In that same interview, while making a confidential avowal of these friendly sentiments, he had protested against their public announcement at that juncture, on the ground that "it would force him into a quarrel with 'the Greeley faction' before the proper time." He twice intimated that such a quarrel was impending, but added that "he did not wish to encounter it before the proper time, nor at all if it could be avoided." *

It was no more than natural, therefore, that these Representatives, on the appearance of "the Greeley Letter," should have read between its lines a supposed indication of the President's purpose to break with "the Greeley faction" at an early day. They believed that the President, at the bottom of his heart, was in sympathy with them, and with their theory of the war. They were not entirely disabused of this impression even after his interview with them on the 12th of July, when he made a last ineffectual appeal to them in behalf of "emancipation with compensation to loyal owners," and when he reënforced his appeal by urging that the acceptance of such a policy would help to relieve him from "the pressure" for military emancipation at the South.

The Representatives from the Border States were strengthened in their delusion by a corresponding delusion of the Radical Republicans,† who weakly supposed the President at this juncture to be a nose of wax in the hands of what they called "the pro-slavery faction." As late as the 10th of September, ten days before the preliminary Proclamation of emancipation was issued, we find Mr.

"Broken eggs can never be mended, and the longer the breaking proceeds the more will be broken"—was erased, with some reluctance, by the President, on the representation, made to him by the editors, that it seemed somewhat exceptionable, on rhetorical grounds, in a paper of such dignity. But it can do no harm, at this late day, to reveal the homely similitude by which Mr. Lincoln had originally purposed to reënforce his political warnings.

* McPherson, "Political History," p. 211.

† The word "Radical" throughout this paper is used historically, and not in any invidious sense. It is the term by which Mr. Lincoln called the "Stalwarts" of that day, and by which they called themselves.

Chase lamenting in his diary that the President "has yielded so much to Border State and negrophobic counsels that he now finds it difficult to arrest his own descent to the most fatal concessions."* And this impatient insistence of his Radical friends was repaid by the President with gibes and sneers, as when, for instance, on this same 10th of September, he taunted Mr. Chase with "the ill-timed jest" that some one had proposed, in view of the Confederate invasion of Pennsylvania, which was then believed to be impending, that he (the President) should issue a proclamation "freeing all apprentices in that State"—on the ground of military necessity!

It was with a like festive humor that, on the 13th of September, he parried the arguments of the Chicago clergymen who had come to Washington in order to press for a proclamation of freedom. To their representation that the recent military disasters "were tokens of divine displeasure, calling for new and advanced action on the part of the President," he shrewdly replied that, if it was probable that God would reveal his will to others on a point so intimately connected with the President's duty, it might be supposed that he would reveal it directly to the President himself. To the argument that a proclamation of freedom would summon additional laborers to help the army, he replied by asking what reason there was to suppose that such a proclamation would have more effect than the late law enacted by Congress to this end; and, if they should come in multitudes, how, he asked, could they all be fed? To the suggestion that the able-bodied among them might be armed to fight for the Union, he ironically replied, "If we were to arm them, I fear that in a few weeks the arms would be in the hands of the rebels." To the plea that emancipation would give a holy motive and a sacred object to the war, he replied by saying that "we already had an important principle to rally and unite the people, in the fact that constitutional government was at stake—a fundamental idea going down about as deep as anything."

It is true that at the close of his interview the President assured the Chicago committee that he had not "decided against a proclamation of liberty to slaves," and that "the subject was on his mind by day and night more than any other;" but this statement only served to bring into bold relief the little faith he then seemed to

* Warden's "Life of Chase," p. 471.

have in a measure for which, considered as a means to the ends proposed by its patrons, he could, with all his meditations, find no good and sufficient reasons. It is true that, on the preceding 22d of July, Mr. Lincoln had said that he was pretty well cured of objection to any measure against slavery except "want of adaptedness to put down the rebellion"; and now, too, he publicly announced that he "did not want to issue a document which the whole world would see must necessarily be inoperative, like the Pope's bull against the comet." It is true that he had previously sketched "the rough draft" of an emancipation proclamation, but he had put it back in his portfolio on the suggestion of Mr. Seward that practical measures against slavery could be carried into effect "without proclamation." It is true that only a few days previously ("when the rebel army was at Frederick" *) he had registered a vow in heaven that he would issue a proclamation of emancipation so soon as the Confederates should be driven out of Maryland; but this was the conduct either of a man who, in a perplexing state of incertitude, resolves his doubts by "throwing a lot in the lap" and leaving "the whole disposing thereof to be of the Lord," or, as I prefer to believe, it was that prudent and reverent waiting on Providence by which the President sought to guard against the danger of identifying the Proclamation in the popular mind with a panic cry of despair, in which latter case the hesitation of Mr. Lincoln only serves to set in a stronger light the significant fact that other than considerations of military necessity were held to dominate the situation, for, if they alone had been prevalent, the Proclamation could never have come more appropriately than when the military need was greatest.

The proximate and procuring cause of the Proclamation, as I conceive, is not far to seek. It was issued primarily and chiefly as a political necessity, and took on the character of a military necessity only because the President had been brought to believe that if he did not keep the Radical portion of his party at his back he could not long be sure of keeping an army at the front. He had begun the conduct of the war on the theory that it was waged for the restoration of the Union under the Constitution as it was at the outbreak of the secession movement. He sedulously labored to keep the war in this line of direction. He publicly deprecated its degeneration into a remorseless revolutionary struggle. He culti-

* September 6th.

vated every available alliance with the Union men of the Border States. He sympathized with them in their loyalty, and in the political theory on which it was based. But the most active and energetic wing of the Republican party had become, as the war waxed hotter, more and more hostile to this "Border State theory of the war," until, in the end, its fiery and impetuous leaders did not hesitate to threaten him with repudiation as a political chief, and even began in some cases to hint the expediency of withholding supplies for the prosecution of the war, unless the President should remove "pro-slavery generals" from the command of our armies, and adopt an avowedly antislavery policy in the future conduct of the war. Thus placed between two stools, and liable between them to fall to the ground, he determined at last to plant himself firmly on the stool which promised the surest and safest support.

I am able to state with confidence that Mr. Lincoln gave this explanation of his changed policy a few days after the preliminary Proclamation of September 22d had been issued. The Hon. Edward Stanly, the Military Governor of North Carolina, immediately on receiving a copy of that paper, hastened to Washington for the purpose of seeking an authentic and candid explanation of the grounds on which Mr. Lincoln had based such a sudden and grave departure from the previous theory of the war. Mr. Stanly had accepted the post of Military Governor of North Carolina at a great personal sacrifice, and with a distinct understanding that the war was to be prosecuted on the same constitutional theory which had presided over its inception by the Federal Government, and hence the Proclamation not only took him by surprise, but seemed to him an act of perfidy. In this view he hastily abandoned his post, and came to throw up his commission and return to California, where he had previously resided. Before doing so he sought an audience with the President—in fact, held several interviews with him—on the subject, and knowing that, as a public journalist, I was deeply interested in the matter, he came to report to me the substance of the President's communications. That substance was recorded in my diary as follows :

September 27th.—Had a call to-day at the "Intelligencer" office from the Honorable Edward Stanly, Military Governor of North Carolina. In a long and interesting conversation Mr. Stanly related to me the substance of several interviews which he had had with the President respecting the Proclamation of Freedom. Mr. Stanly said that the President had stated to him that the Proclamation had become a civil necessity to prevent the Radicals from openly

embarrassing the Government in the conduct of the war. The President expressed the belief that, without the Proclamation for which they had been clamoring, the Radicals would take the extreme step in Congress of withholding supplies for carrying on the war—leaving the whole land in anarchy. Mr. Lincoln said that he had prayed to the Almighty to save him from this necessity, adopting the very language of our Saviour, "If it be possible, let this cup pass from me," but the prayer had not been answered.

As this frank admission, in the length and breadth here given to it, will doubtless wear an air of novelty to many readers, and may excite suspicions in some minds with regard to the accuracy of my chronicle, the faithfulness of Mr. Stanly's report, or the sincerity of Mr. Lincoln in making his statements, it seems proper to vindicate the authenticity of the record by an appeal to other facts which abundantly corroborate its truth.

In his interview with the Border State Representatives on the 12th of July, 1862, the President had implored them to relieve him from the Radical "pressure" by espousing, with him, the policy of emancipation with compensation. This "pressure," he said, was even then "threatening a division among those who, united, are none too strong." On the next day, after the failure of this interview to make any impression on the Border State Representatives, the President, for the first time, opened the subject of military emancipation in a private conversation with two members of his Cabinet—Mr. Seward and Mr. Welles. The President then said, as Mr. Welles reports, that emancipation "was forced upon him as a necessity," "was thrust at him from various quarters," but "*had been driven home to him by the conference of the preceding day.*" * On the 28th of the same month he wrote to Mr. Cuthbert Bullitt, of New Orleans, that it was "a military necessity to have men and money, *and we can not get either in sufficient numbers or amount if we keep from or drive from our lines slaves coming to them.*" † Even at this date, when the enlistment of colored troops was not meditated, it will be seen that Mr. Lincoln confessed himself obliged to make concessions to the antislavery sentiment of his party in order to procure supplies of men and money, and thus early it was that, as a wary political pilot, he kept his weather eye fixed on the thickening clouds that rose higher and higher in the Northern sky—clouds full of muttered wrath against him so long as

* "Galaxy," December, 1872, p. 843.

† Raymond, "Life and State Papers of Abraham Lincoln," p. 484.

he seemed to hold in leash the thunderbolt they were ready to discharge on slavery. For he prefaced this statement by saying that what he did and what he omitted about slaves "was done and omitted on the same military necessity"—the necessity of having men and money to carry on the war. And the President's apprehensions were not entirely groundless on this score. As early as in the month of May, 1862, Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, had not hesitated to say "in writing" that the people of that State had come to "feel it a heavy draft on their patriotism" that they should be asked "to help fight rebels" without being allowed "to fire on the enemy's magazine." And, in the very act of submitting the preliminary Proclamation of September 22d to the consideration of his Cabinet, the President avowed that it was issued under the menacing frown of this "pressure"; for when Mr. Montgomery Blair argued against the timeliness of the measure, on the ground that it might "put the patriotic element of the Border States in jeopardy," and even "carry those States over to the secessionists," Mr. Lincoln replied that "the difficulty was as great *not to act* as to act"*—that is, by not acting in the way proposed he feared a disaffection among his party friends at the North which would be as dangerous to the Union as the disaffection likely to be produced by the Proclamation among the Unionists of the Border States. The President remembered that the Massachusetts Republican Convention, held less than two weeks before, had omitted to pass a vote of confidence in his Administration, but *had* voted that "slavery should be exterminated." Even the Radical members of his own Cabinet had come to think of him and to speak of him as a political recreant. On the 12th of September, ten days before the preliminary edict was issued, Mr. Chase wrote of him as follows: "He has already separated himself from the great body of the party which elected him; distrusts most those who represent its spirit, and waits—for what?"†

The Proclamation when it came put an end, of course, to all this "pressure." Indeed, Mr. Chase admitted, when the President read the paper to his Cabinet, that it went "a step further than he had ever proposed." He had proposed that each commander of a department at the South should be instructed to proclaim emancipation within his district, assuring the blacks of freedom *on condition*

* "Galaxy," December, 1872, p. 847.
† Warden's "Life of Chase," p. 471.

of loyalty, and organizing the best of them in companies and regiments.* But Mr. Lincoln promised and threatened that, on the 1st of January, 1863, "all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof should then be in rebellion against the United States, should be *then, thenceforward, and for ever free*"—a declaration which promised the largesse of freedom alike to the "loyal blacks" who escaped within our lines, and to the slaves who voluntarily stood by their masters, because they were unwilling to strike a blow for their own liberty.

If the Proclamation disarmed for a time the bitter opposition of the Radicals, its other political and practical effects were such as abundantly justified the long hesitation of the President in issuing it. It precipitated a crisis which threatened to divide the friends of the Union at the North by a new line of cleavage. If Governor Andrew and his political associates had previously found it a "heavy draft" on their patriotism to sustain the President in his constitutional theory of the war, it now became a heavy draft on the patriotism of conservative Republicans and of war Democrats to sustain him in his new departure. New elective affinities suddenly struck through the seething mass of public opinion, and led to new political formations. A spirit of political giddiness and revolt was shed upon the people in the loyal States. In the ensuing autumnal elections the Republican party was defeated in great States like New York, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. When Congress met in December the political signs of the times were full of portents. There was "uneasiness in the popular mind." The attitude of Europe toward us was "cold and menacing" where it did not express itself "in accents of pity" for a people "too blind to surrender a hopeless cause." These are not my words, but the words of Mr. Lincoln himself when, one year afterward, he was called to review the political, civil, and military situation created by the Emancipation Proclamation. The utterance of the Proclamation, he said, "was followed by dark and doubtful days."†

The Emancipation Proclamation united the South, where, however, there was but little room for further consolidation. Leading citizens in that section who had previously stood aloof from the war, so long as it was conducted at the South in the name of secession against the constitutional Government at Washington, now

* Warden's "Life of Chase," pp. 440, 446.

† Raymond, "Life and State Papers of Abraham Lincoln," p. 454.

hastened to give in their adhesion to the Richmond authorities. In his message of December, 1861, Mr. Lincoln had said that "in considering the policy to be adopted for suppressing the insurrection," he had been "anxious and careful that the inevitable conflict for this purpose should not degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle. . . . All indispensable means," he added, "must be employed," but "we should not be in haste to determine that radical and extreme measures, which may reach the loyal as well as disloyal, are indispensable." The Emancipation Proclamation was accepted by these halting Unionists at the South as an indication that the time for "radical and extreme measures" had come in the judgment of the President, and they acted accordingly. "For a time," says Mr. Welles, the proclamation "failed to strengthen the Administration in any section." *

Its effect on the slaves at the South was such as Mr. Lincoln had predicted in his interview with the Chicago deputation. Sanguine advocates of emancipation by edict of the President had risked the confident prophecy that it would be followed by a simultaneous exodus of negroes from the South, and that such an exodus would end the war by a *coup de théâtre*. As one of them wrote, "The plow would stand still in the furrow, the ripened grain would remain unharvested, the cows would not be milked, the dinners would not be cooked, but one universal hallelujah of glory to God, echoed from every valley and hill-top of rebeldom, would sound the speedy doom of treason." † This bubble was pricked by the pen that wrote the Proclamation.

In all *these* respects the manifesto was comparatively a failure. But it accomplished at once the great end to which it was most immediately directed by the President—it consolidated the Republican party, and made it more intensely than ever "the war-party of the country." It is true that veteran Republicans, like Thurlow Weed, shrank in dismay from the measure; but in the great body of the party it kindled a new flame of martial enthusiasm, albeit the "roads" in New England did not "swarm" with volunteer soldiers, as Governor Andrew had promised and predicted, during the "pressure" period, would be the case, provided the President would allow them to fight "with God and human nature on their side." The antislavery passions of the North, which had hitherto been kicking in the traces, were now effectively yoked to the war-chariot of the

* "Galaxy," December, 1872, p. 848.

† "National Intelligencer," July 31, 1862.

President. The Proclamation lessened for a time the number of his supporters, but it gave to them almost the compactness of a Macedonian phalanx. It put an end to political vacillation and *atermoiement*. Not that the measure in either matter or form was entirely satisfactory to the zealots of emancipation, and not that the President, as Lord Lyons wrote to his Government, "had thrown himself in the arms of the Radicals." While still refusing to walk altogether in the ways of these extremists, he established such a hold on the rank and file of the Republican army that they followed him without faltering through the shadow of the dim eclipse which obscured their fortunes in the autumn of 1862. A year later, after the victory at Gettysburg and after the fall of Vicksburg, when the shock of arms on a hundred battle-fields had come to supply the country with a new set of emotions, Mr. Lincoln was able to say, "We have the new reckoning."

Doubtless there are those who, on the view here presented, will tax Mr. Lincoln with undue subserviency to party. But it is only just to remember that he tried to avoid its necessity, as with strong crying and tears; that he was called in his political geometry to deal with problems, not theorems; and that he was a tentative statesman, who groped his way *à tâtons*, not a *doctrinaire*. If there be heroes, as Carlyle conceives them, bathed in the eternal splendors, and projected out of the eternities into the times and their arenas, Lincoln did not profess to be of their number.

I pass to consider the force and effect of the Proclamation viewed in the light of constitutional and of public law. And here, again, it is necessary to guard against a confusion of ideas. The question at issue does not concern the right of a belligerent to liberate slaves, *flagrante bello*, by military order accompanied with manucaption, or the right to enlist such liberated slaves in his army, so long as the war lasts. The employment of colored troops, as has been shown, did not depend on the Emancipation Proclamation, for the President was opposed to the arming of negroes when he first embarked on his emancipation policy. The questions presented by the Proclamation of January 1, 1863, in the shape actually given to it by Mr. Lincoln, are these:

Firstly. Had the President of the United States, in the exercise of his war powers, a right, under the Constitution and by public law, to decree, on grounds of military necessity, the emancipation and perpetual enfranchisement of slaves in the insurgent States and parts of States?

Secondly. Did such proclamation work, by its own vigor, the immediate, the unconditional, and the perpetual emancipation of all slaves in the districts affected by it?

Thirdly. Did such proclamation, working *proprio vigore*, not only effect the emancipation of all existing slaves in the insurgent territory, but, with regard to slaves so liberated, did it extinguish the status of slavery created by municipal law, insomuch that they would have remained for ever free, in fact and law, provided the Constitution and the legal rights and relations of the States under it had remained, on the return of peace, what they were before the war?

Unless each and all of these questions can be answered in the affirmative, the Emancipation Proclamation was not authorized by the Constitution or by international law, and so far as they must be answered in the negative it was *brutum fulmen.* It remains, then, to make inquiry under each of these heads:

1. As everybody admits that the President, in time of peace and in the normal exercise of his constitutional prerogatives, had no power to emancipate slaves, it follows that the right accrued to him, if at all, from the war powers lodged in his hands by public law when, as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, he was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with insurgents, whose number, power, and legal description, gave them the character of public enemies. It is, therefore, to public law, as enfolded in time of war and for war purposes in the bosom of the Constitution, that we are primarily to look for the authority under which the President assumed to act.

Of international law no less can be said than has been said by Webster: "If, for the decision of any question, the proper rule is to be found in the law of nations, that law adheres to the subject. It follows the subject through, no matter into what place, high or low. You can not escape the law of nations in a case where it is applicable. The air of every judicature is full of it. It pervades the courts of law of the highest character, and the court of *pie poudre*, ay, even the constable's court."*

This international law, with all its belligerent rights, was everywhere present as a potent force in the civil war between the United States and the Confederate States, so soon as that war had assumed such character and magnitude as to give the United States the same

* Webster's "Works," vol. vi., p. 122.

rights and powers which they might exercise in the case of a national or foreign war, and everybody admits that it assumed that character after the act of Congress of July 13, 1861. But international law, in time of war, is present with its belligerent *obligations* as well as with its belligerent *rights*, and what those obligations are is matter of definite knowledge so far as they are recognized and observed in the conduct and jurisprudence of civilized nations.

The law of postliminy, according to which persons or things taken by the enemy are restored to their former state when they come again under the power of the nation to which they formerly belonged, was anciently held to restore the rights of the owner in the case of a slave temporarily affranchised by military capture. And, if it be admitted that, as regards slaves, this fiction of the Roman law has fallen into desuetude under the present practice of nations, it is none the less true that the Government of the United States has earnestly contended, in its intercourse with other nations, for the substantial principle on which the rule is based. We insisted on restoration or restitution in the case of all slaves emancipated by British commanders in the War of 1812–'15, and the justice of our claim under the law of nations was conceded by Great Britain when she signed the Treaty of Ghent, and when, on the arbitration of Russia, she paid a round sum, by way of indemnity, to be distributed among the owners of slaves who had been despoiled of their slave property.* In the face of a precedent so set and so adjudicated by these great powers acting under the law of nations (and one of them subsequently known as the leading antislavery power of the civilized world), it would seem that, as a question of law, the first interrogatory must be answered in the negative. Slaves temporarily captured to weaken the enemy and to conquer a peace are not lawful prize of war by military proceedings alone—proclamation, capture, and deportation. The more fully it be conceded that international law, in time and fact of war, knows the slave only as a person, the more fully must it be conceded that this law, by purely military measures, can take no cognizance of him as a chattel, either to preserve or to destroy the master's property right under municipal law. It leaves questions about the chattel to be settled in another forum, and by another judicature than the wager of battle.

Nor does it help the matter to say that in a territorial civil war

* Lawrence's "Wheaton," pp. 612, 659.

the Federal Government is clothed with the rights of a constitutional sovereign in addition to those of a belligerent; for, though this statement is entirely true, it is not true that both of these jurisdictions apply at the same time, or that it is lawful to import the methods and processes of the one into the domain of the other. A government, for instance, may proceed against armed rebels by the law of war—killing them in battle if it find them in battle array; by public law, confiscating their property; by sovereign constitutional law, condemning them to death, for treason, after due trial and conviction. But each of these proceedings moves in a sphere of its own, and the methods of the one sphere can not be injected into the sphere of the other. It would, for example, be a shocking violation of both constitutional and public law to shoot down insurgent prisoners of war, in cold blood, because they were "red-handed traitors," and because they might have been lawfully killed in battle. The military capture of a slave and the confiscation of the owner's property rights in him fall under separate jurisdictions, and they can not both be condensed into the hands of a military commander any more than into the hands of a judge.

2. No principle of public law is clearer than that which rules the war rights of a belligerent to be correlative and commensurate only with his war powers. "To extend the rights of military occupation or the limits of conquest by mere intention, implication, or proclamation, would be," says Halleck, "establishing a *paper conquest* infinitely more objectionable in its character and effects than a *paper blockade*." * It is only so far as and so fast as the conquering belligerent reclaims "enemy territory" and gets possession of "enemy property" that his belligerent rights attach to either. And hence, when Mr. Lincoln, on the 1st of January, 1863, assumed authority, in the name of "military necessity," but without the indispensable *occupatio bellica*, to emancipate slaves in the territory held by the enemy, he contravened a fundamental principle of the public law—a principle equally applicable to the relations of a territorial civil war and of a foreign war. It is important to observe that where this principle was guarded by the rights and interests of foreign nations, as in the case of the Southern ports of entry while they were under the power of the Confederate authority, it was sacredly respected by our Government. And in the light of this doctrine it follows that the second of the questions formulated above

* Halleck, "International Law," chapter xxxii., § 2. Cf. 2 Sprague's "Reports," p. 149.

must also be answered in the negative; for as to large parts of the South Mr. Lincoln had no *de facto* power when he assumed to liberate slaves both *de facto* and *de jure* within all the "enemy territory" at that date.

3. Since the decision of Lord Stowell in the case of the slave Grace,* it has been an accepted doctrine of jurisprudence that the slave character of a liberated slave—liberated by residing on free soil—is redintegrated by the voluntary return of such slave to the country of the master. Unless, therefore, the Proclamation of Freedom is held to have extinguished the status of slavery in the States and parts of States affected by it, it would have conferred a very equivocal boon on its beneficiaries. For, unless the municipal law of slavery were wiped out by the Proclamation, and by conquest under it, what prevented a reënslavement of such emancipated blacks as should return to their homes after the war? And this fact was made apparent to Mr. Lincoln and to the whole country as soon as an occasion arose for bringing the matter to a practical test.

On the 18th of July, 1864, when the famous "peace negotiations" were pending at Niagara Falls between Mr. Greeley and certain assumed representatives of the Confederate States, Mr. Lincoln wrote that he would receive and consider "any proposition which embraced the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole country, *and the abandonment of slavery*, and which came by and with an authority *that can control the armies now at war against the United States*." It was seen that the emancipation of individual slaves, even of *all* individual slaves in the insurgent States, was worth nothing without an abandonment of slavery itself—of the municipal status in which the slave character was radicated, and in which it might be planted anew by a voluntary return to the slave soil. It was seen, too, that the Proclamation of Freedom, considered as a military edict addressed to "rebels in arms," had created a misjoinder of parties as well as a misjoinder of issues, for the authority which controlled the Confederate armies was not competent to "abandon slavery" in the insurgent States, though it *was* competent to restore "peace and union" by simply desisting from further hostilities. A misjoinder of issues was also created, for each State, under the Constitution as it stood, had a right, in the matter of slavery, to order and control its own domestic institutions accord-

* 2 Haggard's "Reports," p. 94.

ing to its own judgment exclusively; and the nation, by the conquest of its own territory, "could acquire no new sovereignty, but merely maintain its previous rights."* The Proclamation proposed to leave the institution of slavery undisturbed in certain States and parts of States, while destroying it in certain other States and parts of States. Hence, on the supposition that the paper was to have full force and effect after the war, while our civil polity remained the same, a new distribution of powers as between certain States and parts of States on the one hand, and the Federal Government on the other, would have been created by edict of the Executive.† Without any express change in the constitution of the United States, and without any express change in the constitutions of the insurgent States, the status of persons on one side of a State line, or even on one side of a county line, would have depended on municipal law; on the other side of such State or county line it would have depended on a military decree of the President. In this strange mixture of what Tacitus calls "*res dissociabiles—principatum ac libertatem*," it would have been hard to tell where the former ended and the latter began; and to suppose that the civil courts, in the ordinary course of judicial decision, could have recognized such anomalies, while the rights of the States under the Constitution were still defined by that instrument, is to suppose that judges decree justice without law, without rule, and without reason. It is safe, therefore, to say that the third question above indicated must equally be answered in the negative.

And even if it be held that the President's want of power to issue the Proclamation without the accompanying *occupatio bellica* and that the consequent want of efficacy in the paper to work emancipation *proprio vigore* were cured by actual conquest under it on the part of the Government, and by actual submission to it on the part of the seceded States, insomuch that it would have operated the extinction of the slave status in those States, it still remains none the less clear that, without a change in the Constitution of the United States prohibiting slavery in the South, the Proclamation must have failed, with the rights of plenary conquest limited by the Constitution, to insure the perpetual freedom of the slaves liberated under it; for what, under the rights still reserved to the States, would have prevented the future reëstablishment of slavery at the South after the return of peace?

* 2 Sprague's "Reports," p. 148.

† 2 Hurd, "Law of Freedom and Bondage," p. 787.

Nobody was more quick to perceive or more frank to admit the legal weakness and insufficiency of the Emancipation Proclamation than Mr. Lincoln. Determined though he was never to retract the paper, or by his own act to return to slavery any person who was declared free by its terms, he saw that, in itself considered, it was a frail muniment of title to any slave who should claim to be free by virtue of its vigor alone. And therefore it was that, with a candor which did him honor, he made no pretense of concealing its manifold infirmities either from his own eyes or from the eyes of the people, so soon as Congress proposed, in a way of undoubted constitutionality and of undoubted efficacy, to put an end to slavery everywhere in the Union by an amendment to the Constitution. Remarking on that amendment at the time of its proposal, he said: "A question might be raised whether the Proclamation was legally valid. It might be added that it aided only those who came into our lines, and that it was inoperative as to those who did not give themselves up; or that it would have no effect upon the children of the slaves born hereafter; in fact, it could be urged that it did not meet the evil. But this amendment is a king's cure for all evils. It winds the whole thing up."*

In the light of these facts, of these principles, and of Mr. Lincoln's own admissions, it would seem that the Emancipation Proclamation was extra-constitutional—so truly outside of the Constitution that it required an amendment to the Constitution to bring the President's engagements and promises inside of the Constitution. And surely it will not be pretended that the President, even on the plea of military necessity, has a right to originate amendments to the Constitution, or to wage war on States until they agree to adopt amendments of his imposing. This would be to "theorize with bayonets, and to dogmatize in blood." This would be to make it competent for the President in time of war to alter the fundamental law of the land by *pronunciamiento*—a mode of proceeding which falls not only outside of the Constitution, but outside of the United States—into Mexico.

The Proclamation fell also outside of the jural relations of slavery under international law. Conceding that slaves, in time of war, are known under international law only as persons, we still have to hold that, as residents of "enemy territory," the slaves here in question were, by the terms of that code, as much "enemies" of the

* Raymond, "Life and State Papers of Abraham Lincoln," p. 646.

United States as their masters.* But the Proclamation treated them as friends and allies. In the eye of municipal law, they were property, and the Proclamation acknowledged them as such in the act of declaring them free; but, as such, they were confiscable only by due process of law, after manucaption; and, whether they were confiscated under public law, or under sovereign constitutional law, would simply depend on the nature and terms of the confiscation act adopted by Congress. If they were confiscated as "enemy property" in order to weaken the enemy, the act would fall under public law. If they were confiscated in order to punish the treason of their owners, whereof such owners had been duly convicted, the act would fall under sovereign constitutional law. But the Proclamation assumed to confiscate the property rights of the slave-owners without any process of law at all; and so it fell as much outside of public law as it fell outside of constitutional law and of municipal law. Nor has any amendment of public law as yet brought within the sanctions of international jurisprudence the pretension of a belligerent to alter and abolish, by proclamation, the political and domestic institutions of a territory within which he has, at the time, no *de facto* power. On the contrary, the pretension is traversed by the latest codifications of international law,† and by the latest publications of our own State Department.‡ And hence it is no matter of surprise that the first international lawyers of the country, like the Honorable William Beach Lawrence, and the first constitutional lawyers of the country, like the late Benjamin R. Curtis, have recorded their opinion as jurists against the legality of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Lawyers, as Burke said at the beginning of the American Revolution, "have their strict rule to go by," and they must needs be true to their profession, but "the convulsions of a great empire are not fit matter of discussion under a commission of Oyer and Terminer." The Emancipation Proclamation did not draw its breath in the serene atmosphere of law. It was born in the smoke of battle, and its swaddling-bands were rolled in blood. It was in every sense of the word a *coup d'état*, but one which the nation at first condoned, and then ratified by an

* "In war, all residents of enemy country are enemies."—Chief-Justice Waite (2 Otto, p. 194), in common with all the authorities.

† Bluntschli, "Das Modern Völkerrechts," p. 306. (Lardy's French version obscures and misinterprets the text of the original on this point.)

‡ Cadwalader, "Digest," pp. 56, 57, 148, 151.

amendment to the Constitution. As Mr. Welles says, "It was a despotic act in the cause of the Union"—an act, he adds, "almost revolutionary," and it was *almost* and not *altogether* revolutionary, simply because it fell short of the practical and legal effects at which it was nominally aimed. It was, in fact, martial law applied to a question of politics and of polity; and of martial law, Sir Matthew Hale has said that "in truth and reality it is no law at all, but something indulged." If we would look for its fountain and source, we must look to an institute which makes small account of all human conventions and charters—the *lex talionis*. The Proclamation was the portentous retaliatory blow of a belligerent brought to bay in a death-grapple, and who drops his "elder-squirts charged with rose-water" (the phrase is Mr. Lincoln's), that he may hurl a monstrous hand-grenade, charged with fulminating powder, full in the faces of the foe. The phenomenon is as old as the history of civil war; and because he saw it was likely to reappear, so long as human nature remains the same, Thucydides had a presage that his history of the civil war between Athens and Sparta would be "a possession for ever." "War," he wrote, "is a violent master, and assimilates the tempers of most men to the condition in which it places them." So Cromwell, in the hour of his political agony, exclaimed against "the pitiful, beastly notion" that a government was to be "clamored at and blattered at," because it went beyond law in time of storm and stress.

And there *is* something worse than a breach of the Constitution. It is worse to lose the country for which the Constitution was made; but, if the defense of the Proclamation can be rested on this ground, the fact does not require us to teach for doctrine of law that which is outside of law and against law. Mr. Jefferson held the Louisiana purchase to be extra-constitutional, but he did not try to bring it inside of the Constitution by construction. That he left to others. It seems a waste of logic to argue the validity of Mr. Lincoln's edict. It moved above law, in the plane of statecraft. Not that its author, in so proceeding, moved on the moral plane of the insurgents. He wrought to save, they to destroy, the Union. Not that he acted in malice, for, as he protested, the case "was too vast for malicious dealing." And not that he clearly foresaw the end of his step from its beginning. The fateful times in which he acted the foremost part were larger than any of the men who lived in them, tall and commanding as is the figure of the benign war President, and the events then moving over the dial of

history were grander than the statesmen or soldiers who touched the springs that made them move. It was a day of elemental stir, and the ground is still quaking beneath our feet, under the throes and convulsions of that great social and political change which was first definitely foreshadowed to the world by the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln.

JAMES C. WELLING.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

I. Sacred Books of China and India.
II. Machiavelli and his Times.
III. The Home of the Eddas.

I.

Now that the chief religions of the East have become the theme of frequent allusion and comparison in current literature, it is time their texts should be accessible to the mass of cultivated persons through the medium of authentic and literal translation. Not, of course, that the perusal of a fragment of Vedic or Confucian literature will enable us to form an independent opinion, but it will help us to classify, to verify, or to correct our derivative impressions, and to discriminate between the cautious, qualified affirmance of the scholar, and the loose or disingenuous assertions of the sciolist. If it did no more than to dislodge the misconceptions which have warped our current notions on these topics, a trustworthy and readable version of the leading Oriental classics would be of signal utility. Some of these fundamental errors have, hitherto, proved difficult to extirpate. It is common, for instance, to hear Confucius spoken of, in popular lectures and polemical writings, as an inventor or innovator—as if he had propounded a new scheme of ethics in the sense that Jesus Christ or Mohammed propounded one. The truth is, that he originated almost nothing, being, as he said of himself, a transmitter and not a maker. So, too, we find persons, who would be incapable of blunders in connection with the religious systems of Greece or Rome, referring to the Zoroastrians as fire-worshipers, whereas the true followers of Zoroaster abhor that very name. Again, the religious notion of sin is repeatedly alleged to be wanting in the "Rig-Veda," and important conclusions are based on this supposed fact; yet the gradual growth of the concept of guilt is one of the most interesting lessons of those

ancient hymns. Those, moreover, who imagine that the Brahmans, like Roman Catholic priests, keep their sacred books from the people, will doubtless profit by the opportunity of reading the many passages in the Brahmanas, the Sûtras, and even in the laws of Manu, where the duty of learning the Veda by heart is inculcated for every Hindoo above the grade of Sûdra.

The publication of the series of translations projected three years ago, by Max Müller in conjunction with a large number of Oriental scholars, has at last been begun, and we are now able to forecast the scope and method of the undertaking. The scheme contemplates a conspectus of the six so-called book-religions, exhibiting the most important writings of the Brahmans, the Buddhists, the Zoroastrians, the followers of Confucius, of Lâo-tze, and of Mohammed. The versions are to be made from the original texts, or, where good translations exist already, these will be subjected to careful and competent revision. As regards the principle controlling the execution of the work, the capital aim will be a severe literalness, so far as such a result can be compassed in the case of texts three thousand years old. Wherever old thought can not be transmuted into modern speech without violence to one or the other, our idiom, rather than the truth, is to be sacrificed, and the reader, therefore, must expect to encounter some ruggedness of expression. What is of decisive moment, the translators engage to refrain from those curtailments and embellishments in which the eulogists of these early literary records have too often indulged themselves. It will doubtless require an effort to spoil a beautiful sentence by a few discordant words, which might easily be expunged, but, if they are there in the original, they must be taken into account, quite as much as the pointed ears in the beautiful Faun of the Capitol. We want to know the ancient religions as they really were, not their wisdom only, but their folly also—in a word, we want the whole truth, whether it makes for Christianity or for the atheistic philosophy on whose side so many philologists have, more or less avowedly, been ranged. In such an arsenal it may be that thinkers of all schools will find weapons, and certainly all will approve the purpose and pledge of these translators to suppress nothing and varnish nothing, however hard it seems to write it down.

Of the initial ventures in this series, two are now before us, the first being a translation by Max Müller of the Upanishads,* which

* Sacred Books of the East, edited by Max Müller. Vol. I. Upanishads. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

are, we need not say, theosophic treatises of superlative interest and beauty. In no way could the general reader be more happily introduced to the sacred books of India. Undoubtedly these philosophical expositions are much later in point of time than the hymns and the liturgical books of the Veda. They fulfill the educational function of a catechism and a commentary. They contain the inmost kernel and vital spirit of the Veda, being to the Samhitas and the Brahmanas what the so-called Proverbs of Solomon are to the Psalms and the Levitical books of the Hebrews. It was for this reason that Rammohun Roy, the modern Hindoo reformer, translated the Upanishads in preference to the earlier documents, pointing out that the adoration of an invisible Supreme Being was exclusively prescribed by these treatises, and by the so-called Vedânta. Another fact will be likely to have more weight with American readers, viz., that one of the most honest thinkers and speakers of our time, Schopenhauer, has proclaimed his own philosophy to be powerfully impregnated by the fundamental doctrines of the Upanishads. He declares the access to this compendium of the Vedic philosophy the greatest privilege which this century may claim over previous ages. "How does every line," he writes, "display its firm, definite, and throughout harmonious meaning! From every sentence, deep, original, and sublime thoughts arise, and the whole is pervaded by a high and holy and earnest spirit. Indian air surrounds us, and the unborrowed thoughts of kindred spirits. And oh, how thoroughly is the mind here washed clean of all early, ingrafted Jewish superstitions, and of all philosophy that cringes before them! In the whole world, there is no study so beneficial and so elevating. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death." Schopenhauer was the last man in the world to be suspected of any natural predilection for Indian mysticism, and we know of nothing better calculated than his rapturous language about the Upanishads to secure a considerate reception for these relics of ancient wisdom.

An introduction to the Confucian literature is contributed to this series by the well-known sinologue, James Legge, in the shape of a translation of the Shû King, the religious portions of the Shih King, and the Hsiâo King.* Of the five great "Kings" or classics recognized by his followers we owe but one to Confucius himself, and this, which he called the "Spring and Autumn" (a

* Sacred Books of the East, edited by Max Müller. Vol. III. The Shû King, Shih King, and Hsiâo King, translated by James Legge. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

brief chronicle of the annals of his native state), does not figure in the present volume. We have, however, in the Hsiâo King, or Classic of Filial Piety, a short, ethical treatise which has come down to us—not like the historical compend just named, as directly from the pencil of the sage—but in the form of conversations between him and a disciple, precisely as the utterances of Socrates are preserved in Xenophon's "Memorabilia." Merely noting that this tract is commonly regarded as an attempt to construct a religion on the basis of the cardinal virtue of filial piety, we pass at once to the most important work here printed, and that is the book of historical documents called the Shû, and since the period of the Han dynasty, when they were officially stamped as classic, the Shû King. Here we have, not even a compilation, much less a composition of Confucius, but a part of the text-books which he had before his eyes, and to whose exposition he addressed himself with reverential self-effacement. We can perhaps gain an approximative idea of the attitude of Confucius, and of the movement to which he gave a controlling and abiding impulse, by conceiving his epoch as a kind of Chinese Renaissance. The dynasty of Kâu, toward the close of which he lived, had witnessed the break-up of the old centralization and all the disintegrating influences of a loosely organized feudality, which curiously prefigured the state of things in the Europe of the middle ages. Amid the fast-crumbling vestiges of a superior civilization, men like Confucius looked back to the laws and precedents, the ethics and the manners belonging to the powerful and brilliant dynasties of Hsiâ and Shang, very much as scholars and thinkers in fifteenth-century Italy fixed their eyes upon Greek culture and the Roman jurisprudence. To neither could invention seem other than impertinence, whereas rescue and reproduction were the paramount duties of the hour. Accordingly, we find that Confucius made it an invariable rule never to affirm or relate anything for which he could not adduce some document of acknowledged authority. Still another analogy may be noted. It was a profane and not a sacred literature and science to which the men of the Renaissance turned back for guidance and enlightenment. Neither did the ancient books of China, to which Confucius incessantly directed the attention of his disciples, profess to have been inspired, or to contain what we should call a revelation. In them, as in the surviving records of Greece and Rome, we find that historians, poets, and legislators wrote—without any claim to supernatural prompting—as they were moved in their own minds.

In the one case, however, as in the other, the student may fashion for himself, from the numerous references to religious views and practices, an outline of the early faith and ritual of the people.

The Shû has come down to us in a mutilated condition, and, even as it existed in the time of Confucius, it did not profess to offer a consecutive history of China, but was simply a collection of disconnected historical memorials. Its surviving documents are referred to various dates, ranging from about B. C. 2357 to B. C. 627. There seems to be no difference of opinion among competent sinologues as to the sufficiency of the proof of the composition in very ancient times of the contents of this classic. Dr. Legge can find no reason for rejecting the affirmance of the native Chinese scholars that a compilation of documents began immediately with the invention of written characters, and that the latter event could have occurred no later than the time of Hwang Tî (B. C. 2697). As is well known, many of the dates have been verified by the solar eclipses recorded in the text. It is true that one remarkable piece of evidence, on which great stress used to be laid, seems for the present unavailable. We refer to the solar eclipse, mentioned in the fourth of the Books of Hsiâ as having occurred in the reign of Kung Khang. It was discovered by P. Gaubil that such an event did actually occur in B. C. 2156 (which, according to Chinese chronology, would be the fifth year of that monarch), and was visible at his capital at $6^{h.}$ 49′ A. M. Subsequently, however, two astronomers went over these calculations with the help of improved lunar and solar tables, and found that there was indeed an eclipse on the day stated, but before the rising of the sun, at the then capital of China. If, however, the reader will turn to the translation of the ancient document in this volume, he will find that the particular year is not mentioned (though it is implied that the event took place early in the reign), and that nothing whatever is said about the eclipse being visible at the capital. We need not, therefore, give up the hope that with the further perfecting of the lunar tables the alleged eclipse may be identified. The exactness of the date ascribed to another and still earlier document seems to be indisputably established. According to the Chinese historians, the Emperor Yâo began to reign B. C. 2357, and in the so-called "Canon of Yâo," with which the Shû King begins, that personage gives directions to his astronomers how to determine the equinoxes and solstices. He names the stars which then culminated at dusk in China at the equinoctial and solstitial seasons, and European astronomers, com-

puting backward the places of the constellations, have found in the directions a sufficient confirmation of the received date for Yâo's accession. It is certain that the directions could not have been forged in relatively modern times. The precession of the equinoxes was not known in China until more than twenty-five hundred years after the time assigned to Yâo, so that the culminating stars at the equinoxes and solstices of his remote period could not have been computed back scientifically from the epoch of Confucius, when we know the collection of the Shû existed. Very likely the text in its present form may not be contemporaneous with the alleged dates, but its compiler must have had before him ancient records, one of them containing the facts about the culminating of the stars.

Among the documents here translated, which will be scanned with peculiar interest, is the so-called "Tribute of Yû," which, if we could fully credit it, would constitute a sort of domesday-book of China in the twenty-third century B. C. According to some sinologues, we should recognize in the statements of the narrative an organized exploration and colonization of the outlying parts of the Chinese world. Another remarkable document is entitled "Lü's Punishments," and sets forth the Chinese penal code, as it was formulated in the tenth century B. C. At this time the principle of accepting a money commutation for punishments was first introduced, and this is one of the many signs that the epoch covered by the feudal dynasty of Kâu was a period of decided deterioration and collapse. In the so-called "Great Plan" we have the original groundwork of the Confucian philosophy, this treatise—to whose substance, by the way, a great antiquity is ascribed—dealing at once with physics, astrology, divination, morals, politics, and religion. In the "Announcement about Drunkenness" will be found some curious data bearing on the use of alcoholic compounds in ancient China. It is a question whether the term Kiû, here employed, means wine, or beer, or ardent spirits. Dr. Legge, however, has no doubt that the latter translation is correct. He affirms that the grape was not introduced into China before the time of the first Han (B. C. 202), and he can find no evidence that malt liquors have ever been made there, whereas the process of distillation from rice is mentioned four centuries after the death of Confucius, and its invention attributed to the twenty-third century. Another interesting document is called "The Metal-bound Coffer," and recounts a pleasing episode in the history of the Kâu dynasty. The hero of the narrative is the Duke of Kâu, a name in Chinese

history only second to that of Confucius. The latter held his memory in peculiar reverence, and spoke of it as a sign of his own failing powers, that the Duke of Kâu no longer appeared to him in his dreams.

This version of the Shû is substantially the same as that in Dr. Legge's large edition of the Chinese classics, although it has been written out afresh, and with the assistance of a much larger apparatus of native commentaries. Among the few verbal alterations only one merits notice. This is the substitution of the untranslated Chinese character Tî (formerly rendered Emperor) when applied to the ancient monarchs Yâo and Shun. Tî was originally used in the sense of God, but came, it appears, by a process of deification, to be given to the great names, fabulous and legendary, of antiquity. The first entirely historical sovereign of China who used the title of Hwang Tî (august Deity—"uniter of the virtues of the Hwangs and of the Tîs") was the founder of the revolutionary Khin dynasty, who made a strenuous and wellnigh effectual attempt to destroy by fire all the documents and expository literature on which the old order rested. He assumed the title in B. C. 221, when he had subjugated all the vassal states into which the feudal kingdom of Kâu had become divided, and was instituting the despotic empire that has since subsisted. After the lapse of two thousand years, it may well be that the title Hwang Tî, applied by a Chinese to the present Emperor, no longer calls up to his mind any other idea than that of a human ruler. Like the name of Kaiser to German ears, it has wholly lost its primitive associations.

II.

In the floating impressions which make up the popular conception of the man, Machiavelli's name is still synonymous with a sinister duplicity, while those who have climbed the hill of learning high enough to read and remember Macaulay's essay, rather pique themselves on rejecting the current opinion, and see in the vilipended Florentine a well-meaning public servant who, by way of irony and satire, composed a clever *tour de force*. It turns out that the common notion, transmitted as it is from the instinctive repulsion of Machiavelli's fellow citizens, is correct, after all. We know more about the man, and a great deal more about the times, than could be easily ascertained when Macaulay propounded his ingenious paradox. It is safe to say that the bulk of documentary evidence and the whole apparatus of elucidation bearing on the Italian Re-

naissance have been multiplied a hundred-fold within the past thirty years. Burckhardt's book alone, for instance, contains more information than could have been gleaned by the most painstaking English student of the last generation, and the works of other original investigators in the same field almost require a catalogue. Each has had something to say about Machiavelli, either in deliberate judgment or in cursory allusion, and a substantial unanimity has characterized their verdicts. Machiavelli was indeed a bad man, not because his life was vicious, but because he recognized no duty, and no beauty in virtue. He was detestable, not so much for anything he did, but for what he pronounced it right to do. In his practice he moved rather above than below the normal level of his age, but he fully shared its principles; and, because he did not hesitate to formulate them scientifically, the sins of an epoch are not unreasonably associated with his name. Even his fellow burghers of Florence, who could hardly have been shocked by any concrete instance of depravity, were stung to indignation by the flagrant purport of his doctrines. The men of the Renaissance beheld, so to speak, their own faces in a mirror, and they recoiled with loathing. The Church had made a Borgia Pope—that fact it could not efface, but it could testify to the poignancy of its self-reproach, and its abhorrence of the Borgian statecraft, by anathematizing its expounder and condemning its atrocious formulas to be burned by the common hangman.

Of Professor Villari's biography * only two volumes have appeared, and they bring us no further than to the time when Machiavelli ceased to be the Secretary of the Ten—when, in other words, his official career ended, and his literary achievements began. The first of these volumes is wholly devoted to a survey of the time, and, although a version of Burckhardt's book is now accessible to English readers, this, too, may be commended as an interesting and admirable picture. In the sketch of Machiavelli's early years, domestic relations, and diplomatic functions, which occupies the second volume, we can see that his new biographer is neither accuser nor apologist. His sober, incisive judgment is no more warped by a horror of his subject's principles, or, on the other hand, by a sympathetic reaction from the verdict of posterity, than would be that of a physicist scanning some morbid outgrowth of the animal econ-

* Niccolò Machiavelli and his Times, by Professor Pasquale Villari, translated by Linda Villari. Vols. I. and II. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.

omy whose ante-natal and environing conditions were exhaustively known. He has scrutinized his subject's life, his surroundings, and his writings, in order to know and describe the man precisely as he was, with all his merits and demerits, his vices and his engaging qualities. The biographer is not one of those who think a problematic character may be solved by the glib statement that he bore the imprint of his age and disclosed it in his writings, for, after all, the capital question is, How came Machiavelli to be the only man of his time who ventured to formulate principles which, however generally practiced, were certainly not avowed? Here we detect the contribution of hereditary proclivities and energies, the pressure of individual character. The truth is, that in a century there is space for many men, many ideas, many different iniquities and different virtues, and it is the nice admeasurement of social and individual factors, the equation, so to speak, of the epoch and the personality, which is the business of the historian.

From Professor Villari's appreciation of the graphic dispatches penned by the subject of these volumes during his diplomatic career, we can forecast the acumen, the breadth of view, and the candor with which Machiavelli's literary achievements will, by and by, be discussed by his present biographer. If he accuses the Florentine philosopher of wanting a moral sense, he will, no doubt, charge the fault in some measure on the atmosphere which he breathed, on an age which knew no sanctions, had lost its standards, and had not even the cold comfort and slender help derivable from our inchoate science of altruistic ethics. But he will not exonerate his subject upon that plea. He will recognize, meanwhile, in Machiavelli a wonderfully agile and penetrating intellect, the habit of patient and accurate observation, and the command of a sinewy and pellucid style. It is clear, too, that Professor Villari will give him his veritable rank as one of the founders of the new historical method, as one of the first men to discern that social phenomena must be studied quite apart from theological theories, and that there are unvarying, omnipresent laws of human action.

III.

It is noteworthy how large an infusion of Scandinavian legend and rhapsody has entered into the common fund of knowledge, shared by cultivated persons, through version, or paraphrase, during the past quarter of a century. Even those who can not read the

Skald poetry in the Norse tongue are by this time keenly alive to the import and the charm of that North-Gothic mythology which equals in beauty and interest, and in some respects excels, that of ancient Greece and Rome. Such fragmentary and vagrant acquaintance with a romantic literature needs, however, for due insight and sympathy, to be localized, so to speak—to be identified with the place, the scenery, and the atmosphere in which it was evolved. If we would catch, through the dense and inelastic medium of translation, some faint and fugitive echo of Scandinavian minstrels, if we would seize at least the spirit of their song, we must be able to conceive them in their works and lives, must be helped to reproduce in fancy "The Home of the Eddas."* It is precisely this which Mr. Lock has sought to do for us in the record of his sojourn for twelve full months in Iceland. The distinctive merit of his narrative is not an obvious utility to the future tourist, although the hints and counsels are minute and copious, nor the crisp and lively sketches of social intercourse and housekeeping practiced amid the harsh conditions of an Arctic climate, but the patience with which it traces myth and legend to their birthplace, and the felicity with which he detects, beneath the crust of physical transformation and social decline, the Iceland of the Norse heroic age. This task of local identification and resurrection he has been enabled to carry out through his indefatigable industry and fervid enthusiasm for the persons and the scenes of Scandinavian story. What was equally essential to success, he is saturated with an erudition which, so far as we can judge, is accurate, and which certainly infects the reader with a touch of the author's relish.

Interesting and suggestive of profound social metamorphosis is the author's comparison of ancient with modern Icelandic architecture. All the heathen Scandinavian buildings were of timber, lined with paneling inside, and the interstices packed with dry moss to keep out the piercing draughts. These houses were spacious, comprising a number of apartments, including a bath-room—to which there is, at present, no equivalent in Iceland—and all of the rooms were then provided with fireplaces, the early colonists having no lack of fuel. Now, on the other hand, recourse is had by builders to lava-blocks and turf-sods, for, except among the Danish settlers, and a few government houses, there are not a dozen timber-framed

* The Home of the Eddas, by C. G. W. Lock. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co.

dwellings in the country. The old hall, with its broad spaces and lofty rafters, has shrunk into a hovel of turf, on whose small stone hearth a peat-fire is lighted at rare intervals for cooking purposes alone. To the destruction of the Icelandic woods or shaws, Mr. Lock, like all other writers on the subject, attributes almost all the evil that has befallen the island and her sons.

M. W. HAZELTINE.

All applications for or information in reference to Advertising in "THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW" must be addressed to HENRY W. QUIN, Advertising Department, D. Appleton & Co., 549 & 551 Broadway, N. Y.

Thayer Academy, Braintree, Mass.—Designed to furnish instruction of the highest order in English, Modern Languages, and the Classics; fitting boys for the best colleges, and girls for the Harvard examinations and colleges for women. Address J. B. SEWALL, Head-Master, South Braintree, Mass.

BRAIN AND NERVE FOOD.

VITALIZED PHOSPHATES,

COMPOSED OF THE NERVE-GIVING PRINCIPLES OF THE OX-BRAIN AND WHEAT-GERM.

Physicians have prescribed 193,420 packages with the best results in all forms of impaired vitality, mental exhaustion, or weakened digestion. It is the best preventive of Consumption and all diseases of debility. It gives strength, rest, and sleep, by feeding the brain and nerves. It acts by feeding the brain with its necessary food, not as a medicine. For sale by Druggists.

F. CROSBY, 666 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

GREAT SINGERS:

FAUSTINA BORDONI TO HENRIETTA SONTAG.

By GEORGE T. FERRIS,

Author of "The Great German Composers," "The Great Italian and French Composers," etc.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

FAUSTINA BORDONI, CUZZONI, FARINELLI, ETC.
CATARINI GABRIELLI, CAFFARELLI, PACCHIEROTTI, ETC.
SOPHIE ARNOULD, MADAME ST. HUBERTY, THE VESTRISES, ETC.
ELIZABETH BILLINGTON, MARA, GRASSINI, ETC.
ANGELICA CATALANI, JOHN BRAHAM, THE DAVIDES, ETC.
GIUDITTA PASTA, HENRIETTA SONTAG, ETC.

"Great Singers" will be followed shortly by a companion volume, entitled "Later Great Singers: from Malibran to Titiens."

One vol., 18mo. (Forming No. 48 of Appletons' "New Handy-Volume Series.") In paper cover, price, 30 cents; cloth, 60 cents.

For sale by all booksellers; or sent, post-paid, to any address in the United States, on receipt of price.

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, New York.

THE RUSSIAN ARMY,

AND ITS

Campaigns in Turkey in 1877–'78.

By F. V. GREENE,

First Lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army, and lately Military Attaché to the U. S. Legation at St. Petersburg.

One vol., 8vo. Cloth. With Atlas containing 26 Plates of Maps, Plans, etc., printed (with a few exceptions) in colors. Price, $6.00.

Extract from a Letter of General SHERMAN to Lieutenant GREENE.

"The first part, which treats of the Russian military establishment, . . . is, in my judgment, more comprehensive and satisfactory than any other I have heretofore seen in print. . . .

"The second part, 'Campaign in Bulgaria,' is, however, the most vital and interesting to the general reader, because you were on the spot, saw with your own eyes, and therefore described localities and events as none can save an eye-witness. . . . These movements are given with sufficient precision, and with such lifelike reality, that I commend this part especially to the perusal of every gentleman of liberal education. . . .

"The third part, 'Campaign in Armenia,' is evidently compiled by you from authentic and official sources, is very much condensed, and yet is sufficiently graphic. . . .

"The fourth and last part contains your 'Conclusions,' or lessons established by these campaigns. To this part, which is purely professional, I shall invite the close study and attention of our military schools, and of the army generally, as well as the militia and volunteers of our country, who should keep up with the progress of military science.

". . . . In conclusion, I assure you of my perfect satisfaction at the manner in which you have fulfilled an important public duty.

"Truly your friend, W. T. SHERMAN, General."

From Count HEYDEN,
Chief of Staff of the Russian Army.

"It is my agreeable duty to inform you that the Russian press has been unanimous in saluting the appearance of your work with its entire approbation."

From Captain KORWAN,
Professor in the Military School at Metz.

"The German army welcomes your work. Would you kindly permit me to translate it? Your permission would enable me to render a great service to the German army."

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"The work will be invaluable, not only to professional soldiers, but equally to all readers who wish to make anything like a close study of the operations of the war."—*N. Y. Ev'g Post.*

"The wisdom of the War Department officials in selecting Lieutenant Greene, an officer of engineers, to observe the military operations on the Russian side in the late war, has been fully demonstrated by this admirable book, alike valuable to the professional soldier and interesting to the general reader. It is not taking any risks to predict that Lieutenant Greene's book will be immediately and widely recognized as one of the most valuable works of its class, clear and impartial as a record of events, and comprehensive and accurate in its information upon the military power and organization of Russia."—*New York World.*

"The narrative is highly interesting not only to those who study war as an art, but to all to whom the study of contemporary history is more than a pastime, and worthy of serious application. Its attractiveness for this wider circle of readers it owes chiefly to its plain and good style, its lucidity of statement, and the clearness and fullness of the maps which accompany it."—*The Nation.*

"Lieutenant Greene has shown so much zeal, intelligence, and energy, that we are glad to see him honored and rewarded in every way. He has proved himself to be an intelligent and acute observer, and what he says has the value of the most recent observations of warfare upon a large scale, under the conditions that are rendering obsolete much that has hitherto been accepted."—*Army and Navy Journal.*

(SEE NEXT PAGE.)

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.—(*Continued.*)

"Although he has not attempted anything more ambitious than a report, Lieutenant Greene has made one that should serve as a model to succeeding writers on military subjects. Without going into picturesque details, he has given us a volume that may be read with interest by any one, and has made a valuable addition to the literature of war. His statements are made with frankness and with justice, and he has avoided technicalities and made a clear and graphic story of the Russian campaign in Turkey, that is not only an honor to himself, but which reflects credit upon the Government which was wise enough to choose him for this delicate mission."—*New York Herald.*

"The author of the present work is fortunate in possessing more than one important qualification for his difficult task. As an engineer, he is peculiarly fitted to criticise a conflict in which intrenchments and siege-works played so prominent a part. As an eye-witness of several of the leading battles of the war, he has the priceless advantage of speaking from direct personal experience. As an attaché to the St. Petersburg Legation, he has had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Russians in peace as well as sharing their fortunes in war; and in all these capacities he has unquestionably done his work well. We heartily commend both the text and the atlas to any one wishing for a clear idea of one of the most remarkable conflicts of modern times."—*New York Times.*

"The book is sumptuously printed, and is accompanied by an atlas containing twenty-six plates, showing all the important situations of the two armies, the principal passes, and general views of the seat of war. Lieutenant Greene was sent abroad to observe this war as General McClellan was to report on the Crimean war. The report of the former can hardly fail to attract as much attention as that of the latter did. In military circles Greene's book will, in all probability, long be a text-book, and a source of constant discussion as well as of instruction to students of the art of war."—*Chicago Tribune.*

"Lieutenant Greene was a witness of the principal military operations of the war in Bulgaria and Roumelia, embracing every phase of modern warfare; and the signal ability displayed in recording these events in the compilation of this work, the clear, comprehensive, and yet concise analysis of each progressive step in the great drama, with the marked absence of anything indicating the personality of the author, will cause this report to be extensively sought and read by military men, as well as by the public at large."—*Baltimore American.*

"A painstaking and useful account of the recent military operations in the Balkan Peninsula and in Armenia; . . . with this proviso, that the writer's leanings seem to us on the wrong side, we are able to commend the general treatment of the theme."—*New York Sun.*

"This is certainly one of the most important contributions to military history which have appeared for many years. Lieutenant Greene brings to the task of relating the Russo-Turkish war the advantage of having been present at a great many of the most important operations, including the third battle of Plevna, the bloody actions of Shipka at the end of August, 1877, and the passage of the Balkans with Gourko's column in the following winter. He appears to have had full access to all the field orders issued, and to have been on intimate terms with many of the principal staff officers, and has thus been enabled to prepare a strictly accurate account of the war as seen from the Russian side. But to these advantages his book shows that Mr. Greene adds the possession of special qualifications for undertaking the office of a military critic and historian. The work he has now published is a singularly clear and complete record of the war, which ought to be carefully studied by every officer in the British army, for it contains a great many most important lessons which both our army and Government would do well to lay to heart, although, from our usual carelessness in such matters, it is not to be expected that we shall do so."—*Saturday Review.*

"Possessed of keen powers of observation, sharpened by a scientific military education, Lieutenant Greene was well qualified to fill the honorable position for which he was selected by the United States Government. His book stamps him a military historian of the first class. Having a thorough grasp of his subject, he marshals his facts before us with military conciseness, brushes away the cobwebs of personal achievements with which other narratives of this war are clouded, follows the movements of the Russian armies with painstaking exactness, lays bare the failings of the commanders, and criticises with no unfriendly yet with an unsparing hand. To the general reader this work can not fail to be of interest; but to the military student it will be simply invaluable. The book is one which should be in every regimental library."—*The London Times.*

"Lieutenant Greene's book is especially acceptable, as it contains the opinions of one who, from his nationality and training, may be expected to take a cosmopolitan view of matters. He was favorably placed for observing the campaign, on the Russian side, and was qualified to act as a critic. His book possesses the advantage of being drawn up at leisure, and corrected by Russian official documents."—*The Athenæum.*

"Based upon official reports, corrected by his own personal observations of events, and with the excellent atlas which is issued separately, Lieutenant Greene's work deserves to rank as *the text-book* of the late Russo-Turkish war, from the Russian point of view."—*Broad Arrow.*

"A most valuable, indeed, in some respects, invaluable treatise. Apart from the accompanying volume of maps, which, for excellency, surpass any we have ever seen to illustrate a campaign, both in number and in accuracy, Mr. Greene's work is one of the most valuable contributions to our military knowledge published during the present generation. Mr. Greene has in this work conferred a boon upon his brother soldiers all over the world, and shows himself to be one of the foremost military critics of this our day."—*Allen's Indian Mail.*

☞ For sale by all booksellers; or sent by mail, post-paid, to any address in the United States, on receipt of price.

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, New York.

THE GREATEST LIVING AUTHORS, such as Professor Max Müller, Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, James A. Froude, Professor Huxley, R. A. Proctor, Edward A. Freeman, Professor Tyndall, Dr. W. B. Carpenter, Frances Power Cobbe, the Duke of Argyll, William Black, Miss Thackeray, Mrs. Mulock-Craik, George MacDonald, Mrs. Oliphant, Jean Ingelow, Matthew Arnold, Henry Kingsley, W. W. Story, Turguenief, Carlyle, Ruskin, Tennyson, Browning, and many others, are represented in the pages of

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE.

January 1, 1880, THE LIVING AGE entered upon its **144th Volume,** admittedly unrivaled and continuously successful. A WEEKLY MAGAZINE, it gives more than

Three and a Quarter Thousand

double-column octavo pages of reading-matter yearly. It presents in an inexpensive form, considering its great amount of matter, with freshness, owing to its weekly issue, and with a *satisfactory completeness attempted by no other publication*, the best Essays, Reviews, Criticisms, Serial and Short Stories, Sketches of Travel and Discovery, Poetry, Scientific, Biographical, Historical, and Political Information, from the entire body of Foreign Periodical Literature.

It is therefore invaluable to every American reader, as the only satisfactorily fresh and COMPLETE compilation of an indispensable current literature—*indispensable* because it embraces the productions of the

ABLEST LIVING WRITERS

in all branches of Literature, Science, Politics, and Art.

"*It covers the whole field of literature, and covers it completely, thoroughly, and impartially.*"—Times, Cincinnati.

"*It affords the best, the cheapest, and most convenient means of keeping abreast with the progress of thought in all its phases.*"—North American, Philadelphia.

"*Gives the best of all at the price of one.*"—New York Independent.

"*It is, by all odds, the best eclectic published.*"—Southern Churchman, Richmond.

"*It so fully supplies the wants of the reading public that through its pages alone it is possible to be as thoroughly well informed in current literature as by the perusal of a long list of monthlies.*"—Philadelphia Inquirer.

"*To read it weekly is a liberal education.*"—Zion's Herald, Boston.

"With it alone *a reader may fairly keep up with all that is important in the literature, history, politics, and science of the day.*"—The Methodist, New York.

"*There is no other way of procuring the same amount of excellent literature for anything like the same price.*"—Boston Advertiser.

"*It is* INDISPENSABLE TO EVERY ONE *who desires a thorough compendium of all that is admirable and noteworthy in the literary world.*"—Boston Post.

"*The prince among magazines.*"—New York Observer.

"*The best literature of the day.*"—New York Times.

THE LIVING AGE is published weekly, at $8.00 a year, *free of postage;* or, for $10.50, THE LIVING AGE and *either one* of the American $4 Monthlies (or *Harper's Weekly* or *Bazar*) will be sent for a year, *both post-paid;* or, for $9.50, THE LIVING AGE and the *St. Nicholas*, or *Appletons' Journal.*

Now is the time to subscribe, beginning with the *New Year.*

☞ EXTRA OFFER FOR 1880. ☜

To all new subscribers for 1880 will be sent gratis SIX numbers of 1879, which contain, besides other interesting matter, the first chapters of two new serial stories recently begun in THE LIVING AGE, from advance sheets, viz.: "HE WHO WILL NOT WHEN HE MAY," by MRS. OLIPHANT, and "ADAM AND EVE," by the author of those remarkably attractive stories, "Dorothy Fox" and "Hero Carthew."

Address **LITTELL & CO., Boston.**

D. APPLETON & COMPANY

HAVE JUST PUBLISHED:

I.

Progress and Poverty.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE CAUSE OF INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSIONS AND OF INCREASE OF WANT WITH INCREASE OF WEALTH: THE REMEDY. By HENRY GEORGE. 1 vol., 12mo, 512 pages. Cloth. Price, $2.00.

Extract from Introduction.

"I propose to seek the law which associates poverty with progress, and increases want with advancing wealth; and I believe that in the explanation of this paradox we shall find the explanation of those recurring seasons of industrial and commercial paralysis which, viewed independently of their relations to more general phenomena, seem so inexplicable."

II.

The Art of Speech.

STUDIES IN POETRY AND PROSE. By L. T. TOWNSEND, D. D., Professor in Boston University. 1 vol., 18mo. Cloth. Price, 60 cents.

CONTENTS: History of Speech; Theories of the Origin of Speech; Laws of Speech; Diction and Idiom; Syntax; Grammatical and Rhetorical Rules; Style; Figures; Poetic Speech; Prose Speech; Poetic-Prose Speech.

III.

Memoirs of Madame de Remusat.

1802–1808. With a Preface and Notes by her Grandson, PAUL DE RÉMUSAT, Senator. Translated from the French by Mrs. CASHEL HOEY and JOHN LILLIE. 8vo, paper. In three volumes. Volume I. now ready. Price, 50 cents.

Madame de Rémusat was maid of honor to Josephine from 1802 to 1808, and these memoirs are derived from a diary which, though afterward destroyed, yet formed the foundation of the present work, which was carefully guarded by her son, and is now published by her grandson. The value of the memoirs rests on the general pictures which they give of the character of Napoleon, his relatives, and his favorites, and of the life of the court.

"It would be easy to multiply quotations from this interesting book, which no one will take up without reading greedily to the end; but enough has been said to show its importance as illustrating the character and the policy of the most remarkable man of modern times, for appreciating which Madame de Rémusat is likely to remain one of the principal authorities."—*London Athenæum.*

IV.

A Class-Book History of England.

Illustrated with numerous Woodcuts and Historical Maps. Compiled for Pupils preparing for the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations, and for the Higher Classes of Elementary Schools. By the Rev. DAVID MORRIS, Classical Master in Liverpool College. First American from fifteenth English edition. 1 vol., 12mo. Cloth. Price, $1.25.

V.

The English Language,

AND ITS EARLY LITERATURE. By J. H. GILMORE, A. M., Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and English, in the University of Rochester. 1 vol., 12mo. Cloth. Price, 60 cents.

For sale by all booksellers; or sent, post-paid, to any address in the United States, on receipt of price.

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, New York.

FOR NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES,

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN.

Send for our Catalogue, **1880**, now ready for distribution.
☞ EVERYTHING AT CLUB-RATES.
☞ EVERYTHING SENT BY THE PUBLISHER.
☞ EVERYTHING FREE OF POSTAGE.

Our list for 1880 gives the titles and club-prices for ALL PROMINENT PERIODICALS, American and English. The $4.00 Magazines at $3.45, and others in proportion.

☞ Harper's YOUNG PEOPLE, the *best juvenile weekly*, $1.35.

We make the import of Foreign periodicals, by mail or otherwise, a specialty. The following are samples of our rates:

Illus. London News or Graphic	per year,	$8 80	London Art Journal or Portfolio	per year,	$9 00
Spectator or Saturday Review	"	7 56	(Sent without folding.)		
Athenæum or Academy	"	4 30	Cornhill, Temple Bar, or Belgravia.	"	4 00
Punch	"	4 50	Contemporary Review or Nineteenth Century	"	7 00
Weekly London Times	"	3 25			

☞ LIBRARIANS and Managers of BOOK CLUBS and READING ASSOCIATIONS are especially requested to notice this. TIME, LABOR, and MONEY are saved by ordering through our agency.

☞ Catalogue sent free to any address for single stamp. Address

ALBERT H. ROFFE & CO., 11 Bromfield St., Boston, Mass.

SEBASTIAN STROME.

A NOVEL.

By JULIAN HAWTHORNE,

AUTHOR OF "GARTH," "BRESSANT," ETC.

From the London Athenæum.

"Taken merely as a work of art, 'Sebastian Strome'—which is not so exaggerated as 'Idolatry,' and does not drag like 'Garth'—may be pronounced the most powerful novel Mr. Hawthorne has ever written. Indeed, we may go further, and say that not many more remarkable novels by any author have appeared of late. The story is interesting, and, moving swiftly and strongly along, it carries the reader with it. The force and vigor of some of the scenes are balanced by the grace and tenderness of others. There are some delightful descriptions of external nature, and there are strange glimpses into human nature, which have rather surprised us."

From the London Spectator.

"This is a story marked by very irregular power, but very powerful throughout. . . . It is not easy to conceive any sketches finer and more subtly drawn than those of Mr. and Mrs. Strome, and of Sebastian's friend Smillet. These three are not common pictures. They are painted without the smallest straining after effect, but with the vividness of real genius; and this it is which makes a tale of very irregular power, and one composed of very dark and sometimes, indeed, revolting elements, produce on the whole a single effect on the mind—the effect of the delicate golden sunset seen after a combination of earthquake, dust-storm, and hurricane, has passed in succession over the land."

8vo. Paper cover. ("*Appletons' Library of American Fiction.*") *Price, 75 cents.*

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, New York.

THE ART JOURNAL
FOR 1880.

NEW FEATURES.

WITH THE ART JOURNAL FOR 1880 WILL BE GIVEN

SUPPLEMENTS,

Containing Original Designs for copying on Plaques, Tiles, Panels, Screens, Vases, Fans, etc., or for other purposes in which the amateur may desire suggestions for Decorative Drawing and Painting. Each design will be accompanied with suggestions for treatment.

ILLUSTRATED PAPERS, Etc.

LEAVES FROM PAINTERS' PORTFOLIOS.—We shall begin in an early number a series of papers of an eminently interesting and artistic character, consisting of reproductions on wood of studies, sketches, out-of-door snatches of scenes or objects, from the portfolios of our artists. We can promise subscribers in this unique series drawings of singular freshness and charm.

PRINCIPLES OF DECORATION.—We have begun in the January number a series of papers explaining and illustrating the principles of Decorative Art, prepared by Mrs. SUSAN N. CARTER, Superintendent of the Woman's Art School, Cooper Union, New York.

STUDIO-LIFE IN NEW YORK. With Illustrations.

PRIZE DESIGNS FOR ART-MANUFACTURE.

THE MOSQUES OF EGYPT. By E. T. ROGERS and M. E. ROGERS. Illustrated by G. L. Seymour.

OTHER EGYPTIAN SUBJECTS. By the same authors and artist.

AMERICAN PAINTERS.—Examples of the current productions of AMERICAN ARTISTS, engraved in an artistic manner.

BRITISH AND CONTINENTAL PAINTERS.—Examples, engraved on wood, of the works of leading artists abroad.

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE.—A series of papers giving instruction in and designs for the erection of rural cottages, suburban villas, etc.

RIVER SCENERY. By Professor ANSTED.

CAUSES OF VARIETIES OF ARCHITECTURE IN SYRIA. By M. E. ROGERS. With Illustrations.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ART-MANUFACTURES.

VIEWS OF NEW CHURCHES, BUILDINGS, AND MONUMENTS.

STEEL ENGRAVINGS.

Each number of THE ART JOURNAL contains three Steel Engravings or Etchings, from Paintings by distinguished artists, or subjects in Sculpture.

THE ART JOURNAL *contains the Steel Plates and Illustrations of the* LONDON ART JOURNAL *(the exclusive right of which, for Canada and the United States, has been purchased by the undersigned), with additions specially prepared for the American edition, mainly relating to American art.* It contains features that render it invaluable to artists, amateurs, and all persons interested in PAINTING, SCULPTURE, ARCHITECTURE, DECORATION, FURNISHING, ORNAMENTATION, ENGRAVING, ETCHING, or DESIGNING in any of its branches. It is a record of Progress in the Arts; affords instruction to amateurs and students; furnishes designers with innumerable suggestions; gives examples of what is doing in Europe and America in the different arts; is a choice gallery of engravings in both steel and wood.

Published monthly. *Sold only by Subscription.* Price, 75 cents per number (payable to the carrier), or $9.00 per annum, in advance, postage prepaid by the publishers.

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, New York.

AGENCIES: Boston, 6 Hawley Street; Philadelphia, 922 Chestnut Street; Baltimore, 22 Post-Office Avenue; Pittsburg, 10½ Sixth Street; Rochester, 42 State Street; Cincinnati, 200 Main Street; Chicago, 61 Washington Street; St. Louis, 320½ North Third Street; New Orleans, 20 St. Charles Street; San Francisco, 207 Dupont Street.

Appletons' Journal:

A MAGAZINE OF GENERAL LITERATURE.

APPLETONS' JOURNAL is devoted to literature of a sterling and general character. Fiction occupies a place, and Descriptive Papers appear; but large place is given to articles bearing upon Literary and Art Topics, to discussions of Social and Political Progress, to papers addressed distinctly to the intellectual tastes of the public, or upon subjects in which the public welfare or public culture is concerned.

It is the growing habit of the leading minds in all countries to contribute their best intellectual work to the magazines and reviews; and, in order that APPLETONS' JOURNAL may adequately reflect the intellectual activity of the time thus expressed, it admits to its pages a selection of the more noteworthy critical, speculative, and progressive papers that come from the pens of these writers.

25 cents per number; $3.00 per annum, in advance, postage included. A club of five will be sent one year for $12.00.

The volumes begin January and July of each year. Subscriptions received for any length of time.

The Popular Science Monthly.

Conducted by E. L. and W. J. YOUMANS.

Containing instructive and interesting articles and abstracts of articles, original, selected, and illustrated, from the pens of the leading scientific men of different countries; accounts of important scientific discoveries; the application of science to the practical arts; the latest views put forth concerning natural phenomena, by *savants* of the highest authority.

Prominent attention is given to those various sciences which help to a better understanding of the nature of man, to the bearings of science upon the questions of society and government, to scientific education, and to the conflicts which spring from the progressive nature of scientific knowledge.

THE POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY *was enlarged, beginning with the issue for January*, 1879. It is handsomely printed on clear type, and, when necessary to further convey the ideas of the writer, fully illustrated.

TERMS: $5.00 per annum; or, 50 cents per number.

The volumes begin May and November of each year. Subscriptions may begin at any time.

THE POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY and APPLETONS' JOURNAL, together, for $7.00 per annum, postage prepaid. (Full price, $8.00.)

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, New York.

1880.

THE FOUR QUARTERLY REVIEWS

AND

BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE.

THE LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY,

41 Barclay Street, New York,

CONTINUE THEIR AUTHORIZED REPRINTS OF

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW (*Whig*),
THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW (*Liberal*),
THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW (*Conservative*),
THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW (*Evangelical*),
AND **BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE.**

The REVIEWS are published Quarterly, and dated January, April, July, and October.

BLACKWOOD is Monthly.

Volumes commence in January and July. Subscriptions may begin at any time.

TERMS FOR 1880 (INCLUDING POSTAGE),

PAYABLE STRICTLY IN ADVANCE.

For any one Review	$4 per annum.	For Blackwood and one Review	$7 per annum.
For any two Reviews	7 "	For Blackwood and two Reviews	10 "
For any three Reviews	10 "	For Blackwood and three Reviews	13 "
For all four Reviews	12 "	For Blackwood and the four Reviews	15 "
For Blackwood's Magazine	4 "		

☞ These reprints, which have been established in this country for nearly half a century, are sanctioned by the British Publishers, who receive annually a large amount for early sheets; they are NOT SELECTIONS; they give the originals IN FULL, and the whole five are supplied at about ONE-THIRD the price of the English editions. The LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY are the legitimate successors of the founders of this series, which from the outset up to the present time has been received with favor by the press and the public generally, on the ground of presenting the *best foreign periodicals* in a convenient form and at a reasonable price, without abridgment or alteration.

Their edition of BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE is a fac-simile of the original. This magazine is still published by the descendants of the founder.

The Reprints of the Reviews have a page slightly larger than that of the foreign copy; but the type and paper are clear and good (with the January numbers there will be further improvement), and the numbers can be handled without inconvenience, and make handsome volumes when bound. Indexes are given to each volume.

THE LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY,
41 Barclay Street, New York.

Appletons' Journal:

A MAGAZINE OF GENERAL LITERATURE.

APPLETONS' JOURNAL is devoted to literature of a sterling and general character. Fiction occupies a place, and Descriptive Papers appear; but large place is given to articles bearing upon Literary and Art Topics, to discussions of Social and Political Progress, to papers addressed distinctly to the intellectual tastes of the public, or upon subjects in which the public welfare or public culture is concerned.

It is the growing habit of the leading minds in all countries to contribute their best intellectual work to the magazines and reviews; and, in order that APPLETONS' JOURNAL may adequately reflect the intellectual activity of the time thus expressed, it admits to its pages a selection of the more noteworthy critical, speculative, and progressive papers that come from the pens of these writers.

---

25 cents per number; $3.00 per annum, in advance, postage included. A club of five will be sent one year for $12.00.

The volumes begin January and July of each year. Subscriptions received for any length of time.

The Popular Science Monthly.

Conducted by E. L. and W. J. YOUMANS.

Containing instructive and interesting articles and abstracts of articles, original, selected, and illustrated, from the pens of the leading scientific men of different countries; accounts of important scientific discoveries; the application of science to the practical arts; the latest views put forth concerning natural phenomena, by *savants* of the highest authority.

Prominent attention is given to those various sciences which help to a better understanding of the nature of man, to the bearings of science upon the questions of society and government, to scientific education, and to the conflicts which spring from the progressive nature of scientific knowledge.

THE POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY *was enlarged, beginning with the issue for January*, 1879. It is handsomely printed on clear type, and, when necessary to further convey the ideas of the writer, fully illustrated.

TERMS: $5.00 per annum; or, 50 cents per number.

The volumes begin May and November of each year. Subscriptions may begin at any time.

THE POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY and APPLETONS' JOURNAL, together, for $7.00 per annum, postage prepaid. (Full price, $8.00.)

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, New York.

1880.

THE FOUR QUARTERLY REVIEWS

AND

BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE.

THE LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY,

41 Barclay Street, New York,

CONTINUE THEIR AUTHORIZED REPRINTS OF

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW (*Whig*),
THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW (*Liberal*),
THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW (*Conservative*),
THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW (*Evangelical*),
AND **BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE.**

The REVIEWS are published Quarterly, and dated January, April, July, and October.

BLACKWOOD is Monthly.

Volumes commence in January and July. Subscriptions may begin at any time.

TERMS FOR 1880 (INCLUDING POSTAGE),

PAYABLE STRICTLY IN ADVANCE.

For any one Review	$4 per annum.	For Blackwood and one Review	$7 per annum.
For any two Reviews	7 "	For Blackwood and two Reviews	10 "
For any three Reviews	10 "	For Blackwood and three Reviews	13 "
For all four Reviews	12 "	For Blackwood and the four Reviews	15 "
For Blackwood's Magazine	4 "		

☞ These reprints, which have been established in this country for nearly half a century, are sanctioned by the British Publishers, who receive annually a large amount for early sheets; they are NOT SELECTIONS; they give the originals IN FULL, and the whole five are supplied at about ONE-THIRD the price of the English editions. The LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY are the legitimate successors of the founders of this series, which from the outset up to the present time has been received with favor by the press and the public generally, on the ground of presenting the *best foreign periodicals* in a convenient form and at a reasonable price, without abridgment or alteration.

Their edition of BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE is a fac-simile of the original. This magazine is still published by the descendants of the founder.

The Reprints of the Reviews have a page slightly larger than that of the foreign copy; but the type and paper are clear and good (with the January numbers there will be further improvement), and the numbers can be handled without inconvenience, and make handsome volumes when bound. Indexes are given to each volume.

THE LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY,
41 Barclay Street, New York.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS'

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Emotions. By JAMES MCCOSH, D. D., LL. D., President of Princeton College. 1 vol., 8vo. $2.00.

Communism and Socialism IN THEIR HISTORY AND THEORY; a Sketch. By THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, D. D., LL. D., lately President of Yale College. 1 vol., 12mo. $1.50.

The Autobiography of Prince Metternich. Edited by his Son, Prince METTERNICH. Translated by Robina Napier. 2 vols., 8vo. With Portrait and Fac-similes. $5.00.

The Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart. By GEORGE C. MASON. Containing ten reproductions of Stuart's Portraits, printed in Paris, by the photogravure process of Messrs. Goupil & Company; a superb print in pure line by Burt of the "Gibbs Washington"; an etched fac-simile by Duthie of Stuart's pen-and-ink Portrait of Himself; and an engraving by Cole of Miss Goodridge's miniature of the artist. 1 vol., 4to. $10.00.

Brazil: the Amazons and the Coast. By HERBERT H. SMITH. Illustrated from Sketches by J. Wells Champney and others. 1 vol., 8vo. Extra cloth, $5.00.

History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France. By HENRY M. BAIRD, Professor in the University of the City of New York. With Map. 2 vols., 8vo. Cloth, gilt top, $5.00.

The Letters of Charles Dickens. Edited by his Sister-in-Law and his Eldest Daughter. With several Fac-simile Letters. 2 vols., 12mo. Cloth, $3.00.

The Boy's Froissart. Edited, with an Introduction, by SIDNEY LANIER. With Illustrations by Alfred Kappes. 1 vol., crown 8vo. Extra cloth, $3.00.

The Serpent-Charmer. A Tale of the Indian Mutiny. By LOUIS ROUSSELET, author of "India and its Native Princes." Translated from the French by Mary de Hauteville. 1 vol., crown 8vo, extra cloth, numerous Illustrations, $2.50.

The Exploration of the World. FAMOUS TRAVELS AND TRAVELLERS. By JULES VERNE. 1 vol., 8vo, extra cloth, with more than 100 full-page Engravings, $3.50.

*** *These books are for sale by all booksellers, or will be sent, prepaid, upon receipt of price, by*

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS,

NOS. 743 & 745 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

Published Monthly. Volume 130. Number 3.

SIXTY-FIFTH YEAR.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITED BY ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

March, 1880.

I. The Third Term: Reasons against it. .....Judge J. S. Black.

II. The Third Term: Reasons for it.....E. W. Stoughton.

III. The Communism of a Discriminating Income-Tax...D. A. Wells.

IV. Civil-Service Reform.....Rev. Dr. Henry W. Bellows.

V. Our Political Dangers.....Professor Simon Newcomb.

VI. Mr. Froude's Historical Method.....Bishop J. L. Spalding.

VII. Recent Biography.....Eugene L. Didier.

I. The Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart.

II. The Letters of Charles Dickens.

III. Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY.

LONDON: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington.—PARIS: The Galignani Library.—
BERLIN: A. Asher & Co.—GENEVA: J. Cherbuliez.—ROME: Loescher & Co.—
MELBOURNE: W. Robertson.—YOKOHAMA and SHANGHAI: Kelly & Walsh.

TERMS.—Five Dollars a year. Single number, Fifty Cents.

ered at the Post-Office at New York, and admitted for transmission through the mails as second-class matter.

Volume 129 of the North American Review,

NOW READY, COMPLETE.

CONTENTS.

JULY.

Our Success at Paris in 1878. Richard C. McCormick.
The Revolution in Russia. A Russian Nihilist.
The Public Schools of England. Part II. Thomas Hughes.
The True Story of the Wallowa Campaign. General O. O. Howard.
The Psychology of Spiritism. George M. Beard.
The Education of Freedmen. Part II. Harriet Beecher Stowe.
Recent Essays. Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

AUGUST.

The Work and Mission of my Life. Part I. Richard Wagner.
The Diary of a Public Man.
Garrison. Wendell Phillips.
The Power of Dissolution. Edward A. Freeman.
The Founder of the Khedivate. The late John L. Stephens.
The Future of Resumption. An Old Financier.
Recent Works on Ancient History and Philology. John Fiske.

SEPTEMBER.

The Genius of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Anthony Trollope.
The Standard of Value. Professor Simon Newcomb.
The Work and Mission of my Life. Part II. Richard Wagner.
The Diary of a Public Man. Part II.
Confession of an Agnostic. An Agnostic.
Intrigues at the Paris Canal Congress. A. G. Menocal.
Three Important Publications. Mayo W. Hazeltine.

OCTOBER.

The Woman Question. Francis Parkman.
Science and Humanity. Frederic Harrison.
Louis Napoleon and the Southern Confederacy. Owen F. Aldis.
The Railway Problem. Robert Garrett.
The Diary of a Public Man. Part III.
Spencer's Evolution Philosophy. Professor E. L. Youmans.
Recent History and Biography. A. K. Fiske.

NOVEMBER.

The Other Side of the Woman Question. Julia Ward Howe, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Wendell Phillips.
Malthusianism, Darwinism, and Pessimism. Professor Francis Bowen.
A Page of Political Correspondence: Stanton to Buchanan.
The Diary of a Public Man. Part IV.
Tariff Reactions. Professor Arthur L. Perry.
Some Recent Works of Fiction. Edward Eggleston.

DECEMBER.

Romanism and the Irish Race in the United States. Part I. James Anthony Froude.
Young Men in Politics. George S. Boutwell.
The Religion of To-day.
Is Political Economy a Science? Professor Bonamy Price.
English and American Physique. George M. Beard, M. D.
The Permanence of Political Forces. Part I. Cuthbert Mills.
Recent Literature. John R. G. Hassard.

Price, unbound, $2.50; bound in cloth, $3.50; in half morocco, $4.00.

Sent by mail on receipt of price.

Address THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, New York.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

MARCH, 1880.

No. 280.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY.
1880.

COPYRIGHT BY
ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.
1880.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

MARCH, 1880.

Art.		Page
I.	The Third Term: Reasons against it. By Judge J. S. Black	197
II.	The Third Term: Reasons for it. By E. W. Stoughton	224
III.	The Communism of a Discriminating Income-Tax. By David A. Wells	236
IV.	Civil-Service Reform. By the Rev. Henry W. Bellows, D. D.	247
V.	Our Political Dangers. By Professor Simon Newcomb	261
VI.	Mr. Froude's Historical Method. By the Right Rev. J. L. Spalding, D. D., Bishop of Peoria	280
VII.	Recent Biography. I. The Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart. II. The Letters of Charles Dickens. III. Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat. By Eugene L. Didier	300

THE Editor disclaims responsibility for the opinions of contributors, whether their articles are signed or anonymous.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCLXXX.

MARCH, 1880.

THE THIRD TERM: REASONS AGAINST IT.

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this House the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States, in retiring from the Presidential office after their second term, has become, by universal consent, a part of our republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions."

This is a resolution passed by the House of Representatives on the 15th day of December, 1875. It was offered by Mr. Springer, of Illinois, after consultation with leading friends of the principle, and was carried immediately and almost unanimously, being opposed by the votes of only eighteen members out of two hundred and fifty-one. It received the support and approbation of all parties. Men who quarreled bitterly upon all other political subjects were of one heart and one mind, when it came to be a question whether the custom established by Washington and other Presidents, of retiring after their second term, ought to be respected or could be safely departed from.

And now here, to wit, in the pages of this Review, comes Mr. Howe, of Wisconsin, and on the part of General Grant, for whom he appears, denounces the resolution aforesaid, impugns the doctrine embodied in it, and assails the integrity of its supporters in the most violent manner. I am asked, "Under which king, Bezonian?" Do I give in my concurrence? If not, what grounds of

opposition can I presume to stand on? Believing in the resolution of the Representatives, and dissenting from Mr. Howe's article, the readers of the Review shall have the why and the wherefore: not because my individual opinions are worth a rush, but because, on a subject so important, truth is entitled to every man's defense; because this faith is shared, in our time, by the most respectable citizens of all classes; and because it is delivered to us from a past generation strongly stamped with the approbation of the best men that have lived in all the ages.

A President of the United States may legally be elected and re-elected for an indefinite number of terms; there is nothing in the Constitution to forbid it; but the two-term precedent set by Washington, followed by his successors, consecrated by time and approved by all the public men of the country, ripened into a rule as efficient in its operation as if it had been a part of the organic law. A distinguished and very able Senator of the Grant party, who had carefully inquired into the state of popular feeling, told me in 1875 that the sentiment which opposed a third term was stronger than a constitutional interdict; the people would more readily assent to a breach of positive law textually inserted into the Constitution than to any disturbance of an unwritten rule which they regarded as so sacred.

Certainly it was adhered to by all parties, with a fidelity which some of them did not show to the Constitution itself, down to 1875, when the first attempt was made to contravene it by putting up General Grant for a third election. This was everywhere received by the rank and file with mutterings of mutiny, and the most devoted partisans responded with curses which if not loud were deep. The movement, as Mr. Howe tells us, was met by solemn warnings from the newspaper press, by strong protests from political conventions, and finally by the resolution quoted at the head of this article, which was a rebuke so overwhelming that the supporters of the third-term candidate fled from him in fear, deserted him utterly, and left him without a single vote in the nominating convention of his own party.

Mr. Howe has no doubt that this resolution was the sole cause of Grant's defeat in 1876. He is equally certain that it was all wrong. He gives the Republicans who supported it no credit for sincere belief in the principle they professed. He says they were not "brave and conscientious" enough to "stake the post-offices" on Grant's election; he charges that they were moved only by a

base and dishonorable dread of losing the spoils when they abandoned their chief in the midst of his struggle. It is not for me to say whether this imputation of cowardice and dishonesty is or is not a slander on the Republicans, but I think I know a good many of the gentlemen accused who are at least as brave and conscientious as Mr. Howe himself. It is doubtful if even the contractors and office-holders under General Grant were quite so godless a crew as Mr. Howe represents them to be.

However that may be, the present intent of Mr. Howe is to rally the routed third-termers, and restore the courage of the recreants by the assurance that the jobs and offices are safe, after all. To that end he tells them that their panic was caused by a "spook," they were frightened by a "strange fulmination," they were "scared by a senseless clamor," and by "reiterated vociferations," and the Springer resolution, he says, was "a champion piece of charlatanry enacted in the House of Representatives." This is loud calling to the fugitives, and perhaps it may bring some of them back. But it proves nothing against the Springer resolution, and to destroy the effect of *it* is the task which Mr. Howe has set himself. His ultimate design is to elect General Grant, and no true lover of American liberty can vote for Grant with a safe conscience if he believes that a departure from the Washington precedent is "fraught with peril to our free institutions." For this sufficient reason, and with this end in view, Mr. Howe goes seriously about the work of blackening the character of the Springer resolution and bringing it into public infamy, contempt, and hatred.

He makes *four* specific and distinct charges against the resolution, and avows that the aim and intent of his article is to make these charges good. He "thunders in the index" and opens upon the resolution with these appalling threats:

> It is, therefore, the purpose of this article to show that in those few lines quoted from the Journal of the House of Representatives are comprised —(1) a grave impeachment of the Federal Constitution; (2) a gross libel upon its framers; (3) a base counterfeit of our political history; and (4) a wanton insult to our common sense.*

These are grave accusations. If the resolution is guilty of all this, it ought to be not only expunged, but cut out of the record and burned by the common hangman. It is worth while, therefore,

* The parenthetic numerals are mine.—B.

to see whether Mr. Howe's arguments and proofs do accomplish the declared purpose of his article:

I. I am not sure that I know what he means by *impeachment of the Constitution.* He certainly does *not* mean the *violation* of it. The wildest orator on a Western stump would not say that we are *commanded* by the Constitution to elect the same person three times. Mr. Howe himself goes no further than to say that the Constitution "clearly permits it." He has some misty and confused idea in his head that we dishonor the Constitution, or fly in the face of it, if we fail to do whatever it does not forbid. "The fundamental law," he says, "puts no limit to the number of terms for which the people may elect the same man to the Presidency," and from this proposition he jumps to the conclusion that the Constitution is impeached (whatever that may mean) when the representatives of the people affirm the danger and impropriety of giving more than two terms to the same person. A gentleman who has occupied the seat of a Senator in Congress ought to know that the Constitution "clearly permits" many things which, nevertheless, ought not to be done. Without encountering any prohibition, we might make the criminal code as bloody as that of Draco; or keep a standing army of half a million of men in time of peace; or starve labor by taxation to stuff capital with bounties. But is it any impeachment of the Constitution to say that such measures would be "unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions"?

Mr. Howe alleges loudly, learnedly, and with great solemnity, that General Grant was eligible in 1876, and is now eligible—that is to say, capable of being elected notwithstanding his two previous elections. To show this he has spread himself over many pages of dreary and commonplace writing. His success is perfect, if success it can be called to prove what no human being in the world ever thought of denying; but from this conceded truth, so elaborately set forth, he draws the absurd inference that we can not refuse to elect him without an *impeachment* of the Constitution. This kind of logic, if we adopt it, will lead to curious consequences. If one citizen *must* be elected because he is eligible, what are we to do with the millions of others who are equally eligible? We can not elect every male native over thirty years of age, but, if we do not make them all Presidents at once, we impeach the Constitution, which provides that any one of them may be chosen. The Constitution "clearly permits" us to elect a third-term candidate or a

new man; but, if permission implies obligation, we violate duty by rejecting one as much as the other. The fifteenth amendment makes an African eligible; therefore we impeach the amendment every time we elect a white man, and we impeach the original instrument if we choose a negro; "either way we're sped."

The logic of Mr. Howe will apply to State officers and to subordinate officers of the United States with as much force as to the President. Mr. Robinson was Governor of New York, a candidate for reëlection, and clearly eligible; his defeat was, in the opinion of many good men, most improper, unwise, and unpatriotic, but neither his friends nor his enemies thought the Constitution impeached by the election of his competitor. Mr. Howe was a Senator, and when his term expired he was anxious above all things to be reëlected, but for some reason, of which I know nothing, he was rather badly beaten. He himself may have believed that the Legislature of Wisconsin impeached the Constitution when it chose Mr. Carpenter in his place, but it is very certain that nobody else did.

The friends of a third term may complain that I am taking an unfair advantage of Mr. Howe's loose language. Perhaps his meaning may be more precisely expressed thus: The Constitution permits the same man to be elected three times or oftener; the Springer resolution declares it unwise, unpatriotic, and dangerous to elect any one more than twice; and this is an impeachment of the Constitution, because, in effect, it affirms that the Constitution "sanctions an act malevolent in its tendencies." But, after all the help we can give him in stating and restating his view, it remains as preposterous as ever. The Constitution leaves to the people an unlimited discretion in the choice of their Chief Magistrate. To any man's pretensions they have a legal right to say *no* as well as *yes*. They and their representatives may certainly deliberate and determine how that discretion shall be exercised, and to put their decision into the form of a general rule or political principle which will exclude classes of men from their favor as well as particular individuals. Thus we might resolve against the propriety of electing a drunkard or a gambler, though there is nothing in the Constitution which makes a sot or a blackleg ineligible. The Constitution "clearly permits" one who is or has been an officer of the army to be made President; but, when General Jackson was a candidate, all the anti-Democrats of that day resolved and re-resolved that the election of a military chieftain would be not only unwise, unpatriotic, and dangerous, but a calamity to the country worse than war, pestilence, and

famine combined. This was false, no doubt, but it was not suspected then or since of being an impeachment of the Constitution. All, or nearly all, citizens of the South who fought for their "lost cause" are eligible to the Presidency, but Mr. Howe would concur without hesitation in a resolution declaring the election of a Confederate brigadier "unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions," and it would never strike him that he was thereby impeaching the Constitution "which sanctions an act so malevolent in its tendencies."

This allegation that the Constitution has been impeached is so weak and so shallow that it would not deserve refutation if it were not the main objection of the leading *third-termer* to a wise and salutary rule, established by the fathers of the republic and concurred in by all parties of the present day; for this two-term rule is not only recommended by its intrinsic soundness, it is orthodox according to St. Augustine's definition of orthodoxy: "*Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est.*" That which is believed to be right everywhere, always, and by all persons, must be defended by the faithful even against the puniest assaults of interested and ill-natured schismatics.

II. It is asserted, in the second place, that the resolution of Congress is a *gross libel* upon the *framers* of the Constitution; that is to say, it slanders the character of the men who made the Constitution, and maliciously injures or attempts to injure their good repute.

Who are the "framers" wronged by this "gross libel"? General Washington, "the foremost man of all this world," presided at their deliberations, and, next after Washington, the most conspicuous member of the body was Madison, who took so large a part in framing the Constitution that he has ever since been called the father of it. These two illustrious men afterward became President under the Constitution which was the work of their hands. Although they were not required to lay down their charge at any specified period of their service, yet both of them did voluntarily retire after serving two terms. During all their subsequent lives they were followed by the approving benedictions of their countrymen; and their graves are hallowed ground. They rested from their labors, and their righteous works did follow them, time-honored, through later generations.

When the Romans desired to honor a deceased benefactor, they went up to the Capitol and publicly crowned his statue with laurels:

the Representatives of the American people, in December, 1875, did for Washington and Madison what was more than equivalent—they solemnly and with one voice commended their example as worthy of all imitation. This commendation, expressed in language implying love and admiration as perfect as could be on this side of idolatry, is what Mr. Howe calls a *gross libel* on them and all the framers of the Constitution! Can the absurdity of mortal man go further?

III. Besides this, the resolution, according to Mr. Howe, is a *base counterfeit of our political history.* Here he takes me entirely out of my depth. I can not form the remotest conjecture of what he would be at. I have fairly tried to comprehend him, but I give it up. Congress expressed its belief in a certain political principle or rule of action, and Mr. Howe calls the expression a counterfeit of history! When an ex-Senator undertakes to be a public teacher, his utterances ought to have some kind of meaning in them, but this appears to be mere "sound and fury signifying nothing."

IV. He has another objection to the resolution: he says it is *an insult to our common sense.* This is the ordinary style of a disputant who knows he is angry but does not know why; it is the usual explosion of rage without reason; it was Mrs. Moriarty's objurgation upon O'Connell when he told her the fish was not sound; it is the commonest kind of scolding, for which there is no answer and no punishment except the ducking-stool.

It was the express purpose of Mr. Howe's article to show these four allegations against the Springer resolution to be good and true. He has ignominiously failed at all points, and therefore the article itself is such a manifest abortion that it might be allowed to pass without further notice. But he has other arguments for a third term. They are not true or powerful or even plausible, but they are curious enough to invite attention and, perhaps, to reward examination.

From the conceded fact that the Constitution does not forbid reëlection, he reasons that in practice reëlections should go on without limit; and he thinks he strengthens this argument if he shows that reëligibility was a part of the plan very much favored by the men who framed and adopted it. Therefore he says: "No one idea was so prominent or so universal in the Constitutional Convention as this: *Presidents must be reëligible.*" He emphasizes this in screaming italics, and follows it immediately by citing at great length certain proceedings of the Convention—votes, speeches, reports, and

propositions—which, instead of supporting, flatly contradict the assertion with which he started out. They prove incontestably that in fact and truth there was no one idea about which there was so much difference, doubt, hesitation, and change of mind. The idea, supported for a long time, and with great firmness, by a large majority, was exactly the reverse. That Presidents must *not* be reeligible—never at all—but confined strictly to one single term, was a proposal not only made and debated, but adopted and carried time and again, though earnestly opposed by Gouverneur Morris, Roger Sherman, and Rufus King. It was not until the very close of the Convention, the last day but one before its final adjournment, that the present plan of choosing the President by electors coupled with reëligibility was agreed to. And all this is made manifest by Mr. Howe's own citations from the debates and journals. Other partisans before now may have been as reckless in assertion as he; but I am not aware that any one has so incontinently refuted himself.

He says, "The records of that great debate do not preserve the name of a single man of judgment so debauched as to object to the reëligibility of Presidents, if only the choice could be preserved from legislative control." Here he measures his words with a caution he does not often use. He wishes it to be understood that the *only* opposition to reëligibility was grounded on the mode of election by the Legislature, and to make this impression he declares that no other objection was urged *in the debate* which took place while legislative election was a part of the plan. This can be contradicted only at the expense of examining all the speeches. But it is not worth a contradiction; for the allegation, even if true literally, is substantially false. That was not the only nor even the principal objection. There was a general desire to limit the time during which the office might be held by the same person, irrespective of the mode in which he should be elected. Nobody—certainly no undebauched man of that day—professed a wish to see the executive power in one hand continually. They were founding a free republic, to last not for a day, but for all time, and they knew very well that a republic with executive power and patronage perpetually wielded by the same person would soon cease to be a republic either in form or in substance. That this was the general if not universal sentiment is shown by the specific declarations to that effect of the most eminent and best informed among them, and by the practical action of all in the formation of their State governments, which uniformly provided for short limitations upon the

tenure of their principal magistrates. Besides all this, here is another fact which Mr. Howe ought to have known, but probably did not—namely, that the objection to reëligibility was kept up *after* the present mode of election had been agreed to and settled: New York proposed that the President should not be eligible a third time; Virginia and North Carolina expressed their wish that he should be made incapable of serving more than eight years in any term of sixteen.

Mr. Howe's allegation on this point is true so far, and so far only, that the opponents of reëligibility ceased their determined struggle against it when the present plan of electing the President became a fixed part of the Constitution. Their fears were in a great measure quieted when the power to control the choice was taken away from the Legislature and put into the hands of electors appointed by the States; for that was virtually leaving it to the people, and the people, under the great chief who had led them through the perils of the Revolution and surrendered his commission at the close of it, could be trusted to act rightly without being bound up by express legal obligation. Washington, first in the hearts of his countrymen, would certainly be first in the administration of the new government, and sure to set an example which none of his successors would ever depart from. The event justified their faith. Washington was the first President. He was elected and reëlected unanimously. No name could stand for a moment before the competition of his. But at the end of his second term he retired to private life. This gave the crowning glory to his character, called forth the plaudits of the civilized world, and all men with joint acclamation agreed that nothing in his great public career became him better than the ending of it. Those who succeeded him did likewise, and strengthened the authority of his example by repeating it. So it came to pass that no President who reached a second term, from the organization of the Government to the centennial year of Independence, asked for a third term, or suffered himself to be named as a candidate again.

But in Mr. Howe's estimation all these examples go for nothing. Nay, they are accounted worse than nothing; in his opinion they are pernicious and fit only to be the cause of senseless clamor and popular panic. His manner of depreciating the value of the precedents and belittling the characters of the men who set them is worth looking at.

He argues that Washington's conduct in retiring ought not to

be imitated because his reasons were "not patriotic," but personal. Washington had an intense desire for the rural tranquillity of Mount Vernon, and Mr. Howe cites against him his passionate declaration, that he "would rather be on his farm than be made emperor of the world." A man of such sentiments, Mr. Howe thinks, ought not to influence the behavior of another who has no taste for agriculture; and he professes his total inability to see why the refusal of a third term by Washington, who did not want it, should be quoted nearly a century later against Grant, who does want it very much. Washington longed to lay aside the trappings of power, "which galled him while they glittered"; but why should that balk the ambition of Grant, who would gladly wear them for life?

Popular veneration for the men who built up our institutions is the strongest support for the institutions themselves. It is not only a great good intrinsically, but also the motive principle to other virtues which are indispensable in a government like ours. Anything, therefore, which unjustly detracts from their reputation is a grievous public injury. This applies most especially to Washington, who is acknowledged, not only by us, but by every nation, tongue, and kindred under heaven, to have been incomparably the greatest man that any country ever produced. An indecent criticism upon him shocks and shames us like blasphemy. Nevertheless, we would not abridge the liberty of speech. A raging third-termer has as good a right to sneer at the Father of his Country as an independent Hottentot has to beat his mother. But Mr. Howe's censure of the Washington precedent is based upon a false morality. It supposes that the virtuous act of a public man is not to be imitated if the doer took pleasure in it; it may be treated with total contempt by any successor whose personal inclinations are averse to it. This leaves no distinction between right and wrong, except what is made by the passions and interests of each individual. Cincinnatus assumed the dictatorship of Rome at the urgent call of his country, drove away the Gauls and relieved the city from its imminent danger as rapidly as possible; then, laying aside the lictors and the fasces, and the curule-car, and the purple robe, he hastened immediately home to his plowing, which he had reluctantly left unfinished. By the influence of this example the Romans were saved from slavery a score of times, and their liberties were finally lost by disregarding it; but, according to Mr. Howe's notion, it was not binding on any subsequent dictator, unless he was, like Cincinnatus, particularly fond of plowing. Very

probably the sycophants of Marius and Sylla and Cæsar presented to them exactly this view of the subject. General Grant may accept it at the suggestion of Mr. Howe, but the American people will hardly believe that a point has been made against Washington strong enough to do the cause of third term much good.

Mr. Howe appears to be under the erroneous impression that Mr. Adams the elder was twice elected; but, inasmuch as nobody asked him to be a candidate for a third term, his example "furnishes no more sanction to the Springer resolution than does the example of Mr. Washington." Mr. Howe's habitual want of precision may sometimes make him seem to be ignorant when he is not; but, if he had known that Mr. Adams was defeated when a candidate for a *second* term, and, therefore, could not possibly be cited as an example for or against a *third* term, he would certainly have spared us the irrelevant and pointless assertion that the examples of Adams and Washington are *alike* worthless as a sanction to the doctrine which favors retirement *after* a second term.

Jefferson also comes under review. His precedent, whether good or evil, is at least "to the purpose." In letters addressed to the Legislatures of Vermont, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, dated on the 10th of December, 1807, and printed in the "Aurora" at Philadelphia on the 19th of the same month, he solemnly and publicly announced to the country that he would not disregard the precedent of his illustrious predecessor by accepting another election. His reasons are brief, simple, and clear, like all the productions of that master-hand, and expressed in language so transparently truthful and dignified that no man of rightly constituted mind can read the paper without being stirred by the strongest emotions of respect and admiration for its author. It compresses into a few sentences all that needs to be said in favor of the two-term limitation, and is at the same time a perfect answer to all objections. Mr. Howe is fair enough to take a passage from it and incorporate it with his article; it shines there like a piece of solid gold set in a shapeless mass of lead. Confined as I am in time and space, and unnecessary as it may seem, I can not resist the temptation to adorn my own page by quoting entire the letter of which Mr. Howe has given a part. In these times, when the subject is up for renewed consideration, this letter should be read again and again; every citizen ought to have it by heart and teach it to his children, write it on the lintels of his door, bind it as a frontlet between his eyes, and make it the subject of his meditation day and night:

December 10, 1807.

To the Legislature of Vermont.

I received in due season the address of the Legislature of Vermont, bearing date the 5th of November, 1806, in which, with their approbation of the general course of my Administration, they were so good as to express their desire that I would consent to be proposed again to the public voice on the expiration of my present term of office. Entertaining as I do for the Legislature of Vermont those sentiments of high respect which would have prompted an immediate answer, I was certain, nevertheless, they would approve a delay which had for its object to avoid a premature agitation of the public mind on a subject so interesting as the election of a Chief Magistrate.

That I should lay down my charge at a proper period is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully. If some termination to the services of the Chief Magistrate be not fixed by the Constitution, or supplied by practice, his office, nominally for years, will in fact become for life; and history shows how easily that degenerates into an inheritance. Believing that a representative government responsible at short periods of election is that which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind, I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle; and I should unwillingly be the person who, disregarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish the first example of prolongation beyond the second term of office.

Truth also requires me to add that I am sensible of that decline which advancing years bring on, and, feeling their physical, I ought not to doubt their mental effect. Happy if I am the first to perceive and to obey this admonition of nature, and to solicit a retreat from cares too great for the wearied faculties of age.

For the approbation which the Legislature of Vermont has been pleased to express of the principles and measures pursued in the management of their affairs, I am sincerely thankful; and should I be so fortunate as to carry into retirement the equal approbation and good will of my fellow citizens generally, it will be the comfort of my future days, and will close a service of forty years with the only reward it ever wished.

Two days after the publication of the foregoing letter, to wit, on the 21st of December, 1807, he wrote to the Appomattox Association (Baptist) thus:

Believing that a definite period of retiring from this station will tend materially to secure our elective form of government, and sensible, too, of that decline which advancing years brings on, I have felt it a duty to withdraw at the close of my present term of office; and to strengthen by practice a principle which I deem salutary. That others may be found whose talents and integrity render them proper deposits of the public liberty and

interests, and who have made themselves known by their eminent services, we can all affirm of our personal knowledge.

February 3, 1808, he told the citizens of Philadelphia, in town meeting assembled: "Your approbation of the motives for my retirement from the station so long confided to me is confirmation of their correctness. In no office can rotation be more expedient; and none less admits the indulgence of age."

On the 16th of the same month he said to the citizens of Wilmington, Delaware: "It is a consolation to know that the motives for my retirement are approved; and although I withdraw from public functions I shall continue an anxious spectator of passing events, and offer to Heaven my constant prayers for the preservation of our republic, and especially of those its best principles which secure to all its citizens a perfect equality of rights."

Similar expressions are scattered all through his correspondence as long as he remained in office, and after he retired to Monticello he continued to repeat them. His conviction deepened, as the years rolled on, that the principle of two terms was the only safe one, and he constantly expressed his gratitude for the universal approval of his conduct in adopting it.

How is this met by the late Senator from Wisconsin? Mr. Jefferson's reasons for retiring are opposed by objections none of which rises to the dignity of a quibble. The best specimen of hypercriticism that can be selected from among them is embodied in the charge that Mr. Jefferson's declination deprived the people of the right to choose whom they would for President. The very words of the article are these: "The people had not free choice but restricted choice, and their freedom was impaired by the act of Mr. Jefferson." If this oracular judgment be correct, we must take it hereafter as settled law that whosoever declines being a candidate for the Presidency commits a crime against the freedom of elections.

Nevertheless, Mr. Howe is constrained to acknowledge that Mr. Jefferson's "reasons are satisfactory." Still he is not satisfied. Having demolished General Washington, he does not think it well to let Mr. Jefferson stand. Therefore he sets about the serious work of making Jefferson altogether infamous. He avers (in his own loose way, of course, but still intelligibly enough) that Mr. Jefferson was an impostor, utterly faithless and insincere through all this business; that, so far from wishingto retire, a ccording to

the precedent he professed to believe in, he was actually a busy candidate for a third term ; that he engaged for thirteen months in an active canvass to get himself elected ; that there was a Jefferson boom in which Virginia, his own State, obstinately refused to join ; that he gave up the chase only when he found himself beaten by Madison, and then he falsely pretended that he did not want a third term ; that his tardy declination was merely an attempt to frame his disappointment into a law which should prevent any of his successors from serving longer than he did. From these premises, if they were true, the conclusion would be natural and just, that a precedent made or a practice established by Jefferson deserves only the disdain of honest people.

But every well-informed man in the country, except Mr. Howe, knows this whole accusation to be false in every point and circumstance. Mr. Jefferson never sought a third election, or engaged in any canvass with that object, or expressed by act or word any desire to be chosen again. On the contrary, Mr. Madison, then his Secretary of State, and always his devoted friend, was a candidate with his fullest approbation, and received from him all the support which he could becomingly give. The charge now made, that he was unfaithful to his friend, his country, and his own expressed convictions of public duty, is unsupported by a single spark of evidence. Mr. Howe's belief in it pretends to rest on nothing except the naked and solitary fact that Mr. Jefferson published his declination, and gave the reasons for it, only a year before the election at which his successor was to be chosen, although one of the addresses on the subject (that from the Legislature of Vermont) was dated a year previous. This has not the slightest tendency to prove it, or even to suggest a suspicion of it, in the mind of any fair man who considers how many and how proper might be the reasons for delicate silence about everything concerning the Presidential election of 1808 until the State elections of 1807 were overpassed. But the charge becomes a scandal and a shame when we look at Mr. Jefferson's own explanation of his delay, as given in that part of the Vermont letter which Mr. Howe has not published. It is worse still—it is an outrage upon truth—when it is seen to be inconsistent with every material fact which the history of the time discloses.

This is a fresh calumny upon Jefferson—the latest of many thousands. I do not impugn the personal veracity of Mr. Howe when I say that his party, at all times and under all of its many

names, has taken a fierce delight in defaming the great Apostle of Democracy. It has not forgiven, and it will never forgive him, for maintaining the rights of the States and the liberties of the people, while he preserved the powers of the General Government in their whole constitutional vigor. It seems a useless labor to vindicate him; for the enemies of the free system which he did so much to sustain are continually reviving old slanders or fabricating new ones. The spider, whose web is broken by the broom, invariably reconstructs it or spins another from his bowels:

> "Destroy his fib or sophistry—in vain;
> The creature's at its dirty work again."

But Madison also adopted the principle of his two predecessors, and retired at the end of his second term. Can nothing be urged against the Father of the Constitution to depreciate his authority or make his example worthless? Was not he also unpatriotic and selfishly fond of his farm? This could be as easily said, and is not harder to believe, of him than of Washington. The charge might also be made that he was an actual candidate for a third term, declining only upon the failure of a Madison boom; and history would not contradict it more emphatically than it contradicts the story of Jefferson's boom. But not a word have the third-termers to say about him in the way of detraction, except that he is libeled by the praise of Congress. Except for that, we are graciously permitted to take his precedent and follow it with respect undiminished.

And there was Monroe, apparently "so clear in his great office" that rivalry itself shrunk from his presence, and he was elected a second time without effort, without opposition, without one vote against him. Is it nothing to the purpose that he acknowledged the value of the Washington precedent? Concede that he, the most popular of all Presidents, except the first one, could not have got a third term if he had asked for it, then his retirement proves not only that the two-term practice was right in his individual opinion, but that the general judgment of the nation was in its favor. It is true, in point of fact, that at that time, and for long before, the precedent set by Washington "had become by universal consent a part of our republican system of government," and the whole people, much as they loved Mr. Monroe, would have frowned him out of countenance if he had attempted to resist it. Still, it is odd that the abuse by the Federalists of Mr. Monroe, or even the

vituperation of Burr, should not have been fished up and reproduced to show that his example is as worthless as that of the other Presidents. Perhaps Mr. Howe, as a matter of literary taste, thinks it proper to deal only in *original* slanders.

General Jackson does not get off so easily. We are told that "there is ground for believing that if Mr. Van Buren had not secured the succession to General Jackson the latter would have been retained for another term." This is like the account we have of Jefferson's boom. If there was any practice of Jackson's great predecessors in which he acquiesced with more deference than another, it was their voluntary retirement after a proper period of service. He was wholly opposed to the indefinite continuance of power in the same hand, and he expressed his opinions on that, as on other subjects, with an emphasis which left no chance for misapprehension. The ground for believing that "in a certain contingency he would have been retained another term" is not anything he ever did or forbore to do—nothing that he ever wrote or spoke—nothing that ever was authorized by him or by the party which supported him, or by any representative of either. Mr. Howe has found somewhere an old newspaper, of date not given, but called the "Herald," and printed at Philadelphia, no one knows by whom, which was so obscure while it lasted, and ceased to exist so long ago, that nobody living recollects anything about it—and this paper (a Democratic paper, if Mr. Howe is correct) said, at some time or another, on its own irresponsible motion, and by way of prediction, that, if there should be serious division in the Democratic ranks, the National Convention would nominate Jackson for a third term. This prediction, which it is not pretended that Jackson ever saw or heard of, is "the ground for believing" that Jackson would have been retained, and constitutes the head and front of that great man's offending against the Washington precedent which he believed in so devoutly and acted upon so faithfully. It is impossible to take such idle trash into serious consideration. We let it go for what it will fetch, assuring Mr. Howe that, though patience is not our special virtue, we are able, by the grace of God, to endure this harmless kind of nonsense about General Jackson without losing our temper.

Such is the outcome of Mr. Howe's assault upon the line of our great retiring Presidents, from Washington to Jackson inclusive. It must be admitted that, if the predetermined object of the attack was to make himself ridiculous, it is a marked success; but if it was an effort in real earnest to diminish their fame, lower their stand-

ing, or shake the confidence of the country in their virtue, then it is the flattest failure in his essay—and that is saying a great deal.

It is not simply the unworthiness of those Presidents who have adopted the two-term practice which makes it so odious in the eyes of Mr. Howe; their authority, he thinks, is overruled by the different and inconsistent practice of others. He says that "a majority of our Presidents have retired after a first term," and then puts the very pertinent question, "Why should the two-term precedent become a part of our governmental system more than the one-term system?" The answer is, that Mr. Howe is mistaken about the fact. A majority did *not* retire after a first term. Previous to the time of General Grant, fourteen citizens had been elected to the office of President. *Five* of them—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson—were elected twice and retired after their second term. *Two*—Harrison and Taylor—were elected once and died in office. *One*—Lincoln—was elected twice and died during his second term. *Four*—John Adams, J. Q. Adams, Van Buren, and Pierce—were elected only once. They did not retire after their term expired, but were candidates for a second term. *Only two* of all the fourteen—Polk and Buchanan—retired upon one term without asking a reëlection. It is exclusively the last two named that can be quoted as examples of retirement after a first term. Where, if not in Louisiana, did Mr. Howe learn that two were a majority of fourteen?

But, suppose it to be true that a majority of our Presidents had voluntarily and actually retired after their first term, setting aside the two-term precedent, and substituting in its place the one-term principle "as a part of our governmental system," how would that help Mr. Howe's argument? He is opposed to the two-term rule, and wants to prove that three terms are better; thereupon he asserts that the highest authority is in favor of only *one*. He does not see that this is a logical contradiction of himself and cuts up his case by the roots.

In the article we are reviewing, the author, after denouncing the Washington rule, tries to evade its operation upon his candidate by saying: "It only enjoins retirement after a second term. Grant retired at the end of the second term in strict accord with the precedents and the resolution." This is a dodge, and not a very artful one either. Grant never retired. He was, according to Mr. Howe's own testimony, a candidate in 1876, defeated by the influence of the Springer resolution and the cowardice of his party friends; he has

been a candidate ever since, and is a candidate now. Call you that retirement "in strict accord with the precedents and the resolution"? He was compelled to forego his claim to a third term when his second expired; but he stood back for the time, only to thrust himself forward again at the first opportunity. How does that accord with the precedents? An obligation is not measured merely by its literal terms; it must be met in good faith according to its sense, spirit, and equity. It is held under every code of morals and of law, in all civilized countries, that a performance which keeps the word of promise to the ear and breaks it to the hope is no performance at all. For instance, an agreement to discontinue a pending action is not complied with by formally dismissing the suit and then immediately bringing another; a contract to deliver a certain quantity of cloth in pieces is broken if it be cut into pieces so small as to make them useless; a covenant to retire from the possession of land is not fulfilled when the occupant goes out to-day and comes back to-morrow. This principle of private and public morality, which detests shams, might be supported by innumerable cases if it were not too plain to need illustration. It will certainly be acknowledged by every candid man that, if General Grant, after two elections, kept himself in the field as a persistent candidate for a third term, the pretense that he retired agreeably to the precedents is untrue and fraudulent. But the imposture is not chargeable upon him. He does not pretend to have retired. He is a candidate for another term in contempt of the precedents. He does not evade, but boldly defies the authority of his predecessors. He has, and is entitled to, some credit for obtuseness of moral perception, but still he is conscious that equivocation is as bad as direct falsehood; and we have no right to suppose that he ever adopted the Know-nothing philosophy, which teaches its disciples to

> "Palter with us in a double sense,
> And lie like truth."

Thus far I have been answering objections to the two-term rule, and to the character of the men who made it. I think it may be affirmed with some confidence that Washington was not unworthy of the profound veneration in which he is held in this country and throughout the world; that succeeding Presidents, when they followed his footsteps, not only acknowledged his wisdom and patriotism, but showed their own; that the American people of our day, when they refused a third term to a candidate who had already

served for two, were not behaving like cowards scared by a senseless clamor, but doing what a prudent regard for their true interests required; that when the House of Representatives, in obedience to the universal sentiment of its constituents, unanimously and without distinction of party, put upon its records and published to the world its solemn declaration that the example of Washington must be adhered to in the future as in the past, they did not enact *charlatanism* or repeat a *vociferation*, or issue a *strange fulmination*, or *impeach* the Constitution, or *libel* its framers, or *counterfeit* history, or *insult* common sense, but spoke what they at least believed to be the words of truth and soberness.

But perhaps it is not enough to have negatived Mr. Howe's allegations. We are not to set up political dogmas or invoke a blind faith even in the founders of the republic. The mere authority of names, however great, ought not to command our assent. We should have reasons for our belief, and be instant in season and out of season to give them when asked for. But a fundamental doctrine, self-evidently true, though easy to defend, is the hardest of all things to support by affirmative argument. We can not help but sympathize with the indignation of Pitt when he thundered out his refusal to look at books or listen to logic in defense of English liberty. In a free country, the man who would be faithful to his fellows is necessarily inclined to take as a postulate whatever manifestly tends to the preservation of the public right.

In the matter before us, it should be plain to every "reasonable creature *in esse*" that long continuance of supreme executive power in one hand is not only perilous to free institutions, but perfectly certain to destroy them. Some fixed time there ought to be when the people will not only have the right, but exercise it, to displace their Chief Magistrate and take another. If they do not possess this right, they are political bond-servants by law; if, holding it, they forego the use of it, they make themselves, *quoad hoc*, voluntary slaves, and they soon come to be governed in all things by the will of their superior. A lease for years, renewable and always renewed, gives the tenant an estate without end, and makes him lord of the fee.

Where the Chief Magistrate is vested, as ours is, with great power liable to gross abuse, if there is no law or practice which forbids him to be reëlected, he can remain in office for life as easily as for a term. He has the appointment of all officers, the making of all public contracts, and a veto upon all legislation, besides the com-

mand of the army and navy. By an unscrupulous use of these means he can coerce not only his horde of immediate dependents, but he can control the corporations and become the master of all the rings, put the business of all classes under his feet, corrupt the venal, frighten the timid, and check all ambitions but his own. He can force the elections of every State he desires to carry by the bayonets of his army. If that fails, he can order a false return, and pay for it out of the public Treasury. The people would soon perceive opposition to be useless and accept the situation; elections would be as mere a matter of form as they were in Rome when such consuls as Nero and Domitian were elected regularly every year under the supervision of the pretorian guards.

If these were no more than remote possibilities, prudence should guard us against them. But they are near probabilities; the signs of the times warn us that the peril to our institutions is imminent; the danger is already on the wing. It is vain to remind us that the President swears to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution and see the laws faithfully executed. That is true; and it is also true that, if there be no perjury in the case, the Constitution, laws, and liberties of the country are safe. But the last twenty years have given us ample proof that an oath is not much restraint upon a President who is incited by ambition, rapacity, or strong party feeling, to break it.

It is true that this presupposes a people much degenerated and a magistrate animated mainly by the vulgar love of power for its own sake; but exactly such a conjunction of things has always been feared with good reason, and hence comes the desire to put every check on that tendency to "strong government" which is now manifesting itself in many quarters.

What is the remedy? How shall we avert the dire calamities with which we are threatened? The answer comes from the graves of our fathers: By the frequent election of new men. Other help or hope for the salvation of free government there is none under heaven.

If history does not teach this, we have read it all wrong. In the republics of ancient and modern times the chief magistrate was intrusted with only temporary power, and always went out of office at the end of a short period, fixed and prescribed by law or custom. It was this, indeed, which made the substantial distinction between them and the monarchies around them. An unpunished transgression of the customary limitation was uniformly followed by destruc-

tion. Everywhere and always it was the fatal symptom of decay —the sure forerunner of ruin. When Cæsar refused to lay down his consulship, as his predecessors had done, at the end of a year, and was reëlected time after time with the acquiescence of the Senate and the people, all that was real in Roman freedom ceased to exist. Two republics in France were brought to an end in the same way. Napoleon began by being Consul for a term, then was elected for life, and finally became Emperor, with the powers of an absolute despot. The last Bonaparte was President for four years, was reëlected for ten, and ended, like his uncle, in grasping the imperial crown.

"May this be washed in Lethe and forgotten"? Shall these lessons be lost? Shall the lamp which guided our forefathers be extinguished? Shall the broad daylight of all human experience be closed up in a little dark lantern manufactured at Milwaukee? I think this can not be done; "the eternal verities" are against it. The most powerful third-termer may as well try to blow out the sun, as he would a tallow candle, with the breath of his mouth.

Moreover, the two-term principle ought to be adhered to by us and by those who come after us (if there were no other reason), simply because it was a practice of those who went before us. It is to the traditions of the fathers that we owe our civilization. All that we have which is holy in religion, pure in morals, or perfect in politics, is so derived and so transmitted. Without that, we could not be a nation in any proper sense of the term, but a mere collection of barbarians, tame or savage according to circumstances. The practice of one generation is and ought to be law for another. In England every custom favoring civil liberty, once adopted by general consent, became binding upon prince and people. These customs make up the body of the common law, and the English Constitution itself is but a collection of them. "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land":—this command was addressed to a *people*, and it was length of *national* life that God promised as the reward of obedience. The later prophets spake as they were moved when they warned that same people that their institutions would perish if they were given unto change, and exhorted them to be conservative—to "look at the old paths and stand upon the ancient ways."

I do not expect anything I can say to be received as a vindication of the two-term rule. Nor is it necessary. All the support it requires was long ago furnished by another, the latchet of whose

shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose. Jefferson, the stainless citizen, the sterling patriot, the unequaled statesman—at once the greatest apostle and the truest prophet that human freedom ever had—gave his judgment not only at the time he acted upon the rule, but expressed his convictions after they were strengthened by many years of later reflection. His brief autobiography, written in the retirement of Monticello, contains the following passage :

This Convention met in Philadelphia on the 25th of May, 1787. It sat with closed doors, and kept all its proceedings secret until its dissolution on the 17th of September, when the results of its labors were published all together. I received a copy early in November, and read and contemplated its provisions with great satisfaction. As not a member of the Convention, however, nor probably a single citizen of the Union had approved it in all its parts, so I too found articles which I thought objectionable. The absence of express declarations insuring freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of the person under the uninterrupted protection of the *habeas corpus*, and trial by jury in civil as well as in criminal cases, excited my jealousy, and the reëligibility of the President for life I quite disapproved. I expressed freely in letters to my friends, and most particularly to Mr. Madison and General Washington, my approbations and objections. How the good should be secured and the ill brought to rights was the difficulty. To refer it back to a new Convention might endanger the loss of the whole. My first idea was, that the nine States first acting should accept it unconditionally, and thus secure what in it was good, and that the last four should accept on the previous condition that certain amendments should be agreed to; but a better course was devised, of accepting the whole and trusting that the good sense and honest intuitions of our citizens would make the alterations which should be deemed necessary. Accordingly, all accepted, six without objection and seven with recommendations of specified amendments. Those respecting the press, religion, and juries, with several others of great value, were accordingly made; but the *habeas corpus* was left to the discretion of Congress, and the amendment against the reëligibility of the President was not proposed. My fears of that feature were founded on the importance of the office, on the fierce contentions it might excite among ourselves, if continuable for life, and the dangers of interference, either with money or arms, by foreign nations to whom the choice of an American President might become interesting. Examples of this abounded in history; in the case of the Roman Emperors, for instance; of the Popes, while of any significance; of the German Emperors; the Kings of Poland, and the Deys of Barbary. I had observed too, in the feudal history, and in the recent instance particularly of the Stadtholder of Holland, how easily offices or tenures for life slide into inheritances. My wish, therefore, was that the President should be elected for seven years and be ineligible afterward. This term I thought sufficient to enable him, with the concurrence of the Legislature, to carry through and establish any system of improvement he should propose for the general good. But the practice

adopted, I think, is better, allowing his continuance for eight years, with a liability to be dropped at half-way of the term, making that a period of probation. That his continuance should be restrained to seven years was the opinion of the Convention at an earlier stage of its session, when it voted that term by a majority of eight against two, and by a simple majority that he should be ineligible a second time. This opinion was confirmed by the House so late as July 26th, referred to the committee of detail, reported favorably by them, and changed to the present form by final vote, on the last day but one of their session. Of this change three States expressed their disapprobation—New York by recommending an amendment that the President should not be eligible a third time, and Virginia and North Carolina that he should not be capable of serving more than eight in any term of sixteen years; and, though this amendment has not been made in form, yet practice seems to have established it. The example of four Presidents voluntarily retiring at the end of their eighth year, and the progress of public opinion that the principle is salutary, have given it in practice the form of precedent and usage; insomuch that should a President consent to be a candidate for a third election, I trust he would be rejected on this demonstration of ambitious views.

It is time now that we come to the concrete part of the subject. The practical object of Mr. Howe's article is to make General Grant President for another term. It is not for an abstraction that he denounces the two-term precedent and vilifies the Springer resolution. The rule might stand if Grant could be elected without breaking it down. But Mr. Howe thinks that the superiority of his candidate is so very great that all authorities which oppose him should be disregarded, and he supports this opinion by assertions so extravagant that we only wonder how any man in his sober senses could have made them.

He pictures Grant as "the foremost man of his age"; says "he stands upon the mountain-top," and declares that "the eager world has set the seal of its primacy" on him. Grant's competitors—Blaine, Conkling, Bristow, Hayes, and the rest of them—are described as "mere metallic calves," and all his opponents are scared miners, with candles in their caps, "going into subterranean depths to quarry out a President." This imagery is bold and original, though not highly poetic nor very gracefully turned. It is Mr. Howe's way of saying that he will be very wroth if Grant is not made President a third time, in spite of the salutary principle which forbids it. But we are more afraid of General Grant than we are of Mr. Howe; we would infinitely rather be scolded by the one than scourged by the other; and therefore we, the yeomanry of the country, driven to a choice of evils, presume to withstand Mr. Howe,

and tell him in his senatorial face that his master shall not be ours if we can help it. When it comes to the tug, General Grant may be too much for the nation, but it shall not be said that we are frightened by this preliminary blast of mere wind.

A third term for Grant does not mean a third term only, but any number of terms that he chooses to demand. The imperial method of carrying all elections by corruption or force, or of declaring them to be carried when they are not, is to be permanently substituted for the system of free, popular choice.

The figure of Grant standing with the seal of primacy on the mountain-top and looking down on the inhabitants of the plain below gives a measure of the elevation which his sycophants flatter him with the hope of attaining. They urge the necessity of a strong government almost in the very words used by the adherents of Cæsar and the two Napoleons. Strong government, in their sense, means weak laws and a strong ruler—in other words, a substantial monarchy, powerful in its scorn of all legal restraints. If Mr. Howe does not know this to be the design, he is not fit to share in the third-term movement, much less to lead it. He should learn the views of his faction with all possible haste. Let him hear the revelations of Senator Sharon, who is not a "metallic calf" nor a scared miner, but a worshiper of the man on the mountain as *eager* as himself. Let him look at the *idea* of a *strong government* as given in the February "Atlantic Monthly"; let him listen to the diatribes of all his associates, who speak with habitual contempt about the rights of the States, or let him go up to the mountain and ask *His Primacy* what he himself thinks of a President who is tame enough to keep his oath of fidelity to an old Constitution which forbids him to trample upon the rights of the people.

We the people—I do not speak by authority, but truly as far as I know—we the people are not in every event, and in all possible contingencies, unalterably opposed to a strong government with General Grant for a monarch. If his instatement can be accomplished by the direct application of physical force, without any shams or false pretenses, it may be a comparative good for us. If, instead of swearing to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution, he will candidly declare it abolished, and have no perjury in the business, we may accept our fate, and accept it uncomplainingly, lest a worse thing come to us. A rotten republic is an infinitely worse thing.

A free democratic republican system of government honestly

administered by agents of the people's true choice; a government such as ours was intended to be, with the powers of the Federal Government, the rights of the States, and the liberties of the people so harmoniously adjusted that each may check the excesses of the other—such a government, scrupulously administered within its constitutional limits, is, without doubt, the choicest blessing that God in his loving-kindness ever vouchsafed to any people. On the other hand, it is quite as sure that the false administration of a government theoretically free; which acknowledges the rights of the people, and yet continually treads them under foot; which swears to save and perjuriously works to destroy; which receives and promises to execute a most sacred trust, according to terms prescribed with unmistakable clearness, and then dishonestly breaks the engagement—such a government, so conducted, is an unspeakable curse. It is not only an oppression, but a most demoralizing cheat; a base imposture, more degrading to the nation which submits to it than the heaviest yoke that despotic tyranny can fasten on its neck. If, therefore, a constitutional and legal administration of our national affairs be out of the question—if our only choice lies between a perverted republic and a monarchy—then stop this hypocritical pretense of free government, and give us a king. And who shall be our royal master but Grant? That he will serve the turn as well as if not better than another, will, I think, be admitted by all who attend to the reasons now presently to be enumerated.

In the first place, a new monarch (that is, one who has no hereditary claims) ought to be an approved good soldier, with skill to enforce obedience; otherwise his sway could not last long over people disposed to be turbulent. All, or nearly all, the founders of royal lines have been military men from Nimrod downward. It is vain to deny that General Grant's reputation for military talent is well founded. It is more than doubtful if any officer of our army could have subjugated the South so completely even with all Grant's advantages, or taken so many defeats and still won a complete victory in the end. It is not, however, what he has done, but what he has shown himself capable of doing, that gives him his leading qualification for masterdom now. The fear that goes before him will make actual violence unnecessary. His strength of character will frighten his subjects into submission where a weaker man would be compelled to butcher them for insurrection.

General Grant is a good hater of those who thwart him, which is natural, and not a serious fault; but he is not fiercely vindictive,

and his career has been marked by no act of savage cruelty. He could not be an Antonine or a Titus, but we can trust him not to be a Nero.

It may be objected that his moral behavior and mental acquirements do not bring him up to the mark which ought to be reached by the permanent ruler of a great, intelligent, and highly civilized nation. But in this respect he is as good as the average of sovereign princes. The present reigning family of England has never had a male member who was his superior. For centuries past the potentates of Continental Europe, with only a few exceptions, have had habits as coarse as his, and he is wholly free from some terrible vices to which many of them were addicted. It seems to me that he will do well enough to "herd with vulgar kings."

The nepotism from which our democratic tastes revolt is virtue in a king. All monarchs are expected to look after their own families first, and all have their minions and favorites whom they fatten, spoil, and corrupt. Who among them has not given his protection to a worse set than Grant?

The favor which Grant bestows upon corrupt rings is given for a purpose. As a candidate he can not be elected, as President he can not sustain himself, without their support; but enthrone him and he can afford to defy them. May we not reasonably hope that he will use his power, when it becomes omnipotent, to make these bad combinations cease to plunder the people?

What we call the greediness of General Grant for the wages of official iniquity would be entirely proper in the supreme ruler of an absolute government. It is not bribery to buy the favor of a king with presents, and a king is not guilty of stealing when he helps himself to public money without legal right.

It looks to us like a terrible outrage for a President to have himself represented at a State election by the bayonets of his standing army, to install Governors that were rejected at the polls, to tumble the chosen Legislature of a free State out of its hall, to procure the fabrication of false returns and force them on the people. But General Grant's lawlessness would be lawful in a country governed by the mere will of a personal sovereign. Where there is no law there can be no transgression.

But while General Grant has some qualities which would make him a tolerable king, and none that would make him an unendurably bad one, he is not at all the kind of person that is needed as President of the United States on the assumption that our system of gov-

ernment is to be continued. I think it is to be continued. Unlike Mr. O'Conor, I believe that the struggle to get it honestly administered is not hopeless. We are not yet reduced to the necessity of choosing between a republic wholly corrupt and a monarchy founded in pure force. Therefore I conclude with Jefferson that, if any man (General Grant particularly) "consent to be a candidate for a third election, I trust he will be rejected on this demonstration of ambitious views."

J. S. Black.

THE THIRD TERM: REASONS FOR IT.

MANY estimable citizens have assumed that a third Presidential term, if held by the same person, would under any circumstances be opposed to the solid and permanent interests of our country. Upon what ground this amiable prejudice can be vindicated, the majority of those adopting it do not inquire. They entertain it as an article of political faith—as a vague but absorbing sentiment. They know that, during our entire national existence, the same person has never been more than twice elected President of the United States; and many regard the example of Washington in declining a third election as an impressive warning that two terms should be the practical limit—not being aware, perhaps, that he so declined upon purely personal grounds, and not from motives of public policy.

If asked to state reasons for this faith, some would doubtless answer that a President desiring a renomination could corruptly and wickedly employ the power and influence of his great office to attain it, and finally perpetuate his rule by methods hostile to the Constitution and destructive of our liberties; and this is, indeed, the only substantial objection to the enjoyment of consecutive Presidential terms by the same person; for all must admit that the wide and deep knowledge of public men, of domestic affairs, and of foreign relations, which should be possessed by our Chief Magistrate, can be best acquired by practical experience and actual administration. Apart, then, from the objection named, the more experienced the incumbent—assuming him to be otherwise qualified—the better fitted is he to discharge the duties of that office; for I do not quite agree to what, many years since, was uttered by that great soldier, General Scott, who, during a conversation in which I had referred to his then not improbable nomination for the Presidency, said there were many thousand men in our country fitted to be its President; "for," said he, "the principal qualification is that

he should be able to say 'No' good-naturedly"; and when I, expressing surprise at this, asked for an explanation, he added: "No man can successfully and faithfully perform his duties as President who fails to maintain in union and strength the party which elected him, for upon that he should depend for support. He must, of course," continued he, "appoint thousands of that party to office, and he will be urged to appoint many, very many, who are unworthy, and, if he can not say 'No' as to those good-naturedly and without offense, he will make enemies, and thus weaken, distract, and perhaps divide his party."

Returning to the subject in hand, it is doubtless true that so long as the tenure of tens of thousands of office-holders depends, as it now substantially does, upon the President's will and continuance in office, so long will he be able, by their influence and aid, and the power of his place, to hold rivals for renomination at a disadvantage, and we shall doubtless look in vain for an incumbent so pure and unselfish as not to employ more or less of influence to secure his own reëlection or that of some favorite. And yet danger from this is quite remote and improbable, for it requires but a feeble intelligence to perceive that the objection invoked against the enjoyment of a third consecutive term by the same person applies with equal force to a second, through the ordeal of which the nation has many times passed unscathed. The people seem, indeed, to have heretofore exercised commendable discrimination and freedom of will upon this subject, by rejecting—as in the case of the two Adamses, Van Buren, and Polk—those they did not want for a second term, and reëlecting those they preferred—as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, and others. The ablest, wisest, and most patriotic of our Presidents have usually been reëlected, and the failure of others to secure this has not been from too great scrupulousness in using the power of their office for that purpose.

The truth is, our institutions are not likely to be endangered by frequent elections of the same person to the Presidential office, and especially not after he shall have been deprived of it and of its influence for the period of three or four years; and those, who, under such circumstances, object to a second or third term, fail to restrict the objection to cases where its reason applies.

It is, indeed, founded solely upon the presumption that the President will use the power of his office to secure his own renomination in opposition to all other candidates; and, therefore, should

another be selected, his merits and the need of him must be such as to overwhelm and break down the official influence exerted against him.

Apply these remarks to the case now before the American people. It will not be pretended that the influence of this Administration has been exercised to secure the reëlection of General Grant, and perhaps it may be fairly suggested that its tendency has not been to much increase the chances of reëlecting any Republican candidate. Certainly office-holders have not been instructed or encouraged to labor for his renomination, and it may not be unreasonable to assume that the bulk of them would prefer that of some other person. If, then, he shall be reëlected, it will be by the free choice of the people of the United States.

It is due to the subject to pursue this line of thought a little further. The renomination and election of a prior incumbent, after a term has intervened since his retirement, must be deemed strong if not decisive evidence of his great merit and fitness; for such a renomination would be not only without official influence, but presumptively against it. Under these adverse circumstances he would be elected only because the people believed they had need of him in the great place he had before filled; and, until a constitutional provision shall prohibit this freedom of choice, no solid objection can be urged against it.

An extension of the Presidential term beyond four years and the restriction to one term by the same person have sometimes been recommended. I do not believe such extension would be wise until a responsible Cabinet can be organized under an amended Constitution, making the continuance of its members in office depend, as in England, upon a change in the sentiment of the people, as expressed through their representatives in Congress; and this perhaps is neither probable nor desirable. At present, the Cabinet is selected by, and in substance retained during, the will of the President. They are in a sense his clerks—not responsible to the people but to him only. His policy is their policy, which the will of the people, however expressed, can not change. During four years he has great, and, within constitutional limits, uncontrolled power, from which there is no appeal; and, to my mind, this period of irresponsibility to the people is sufficiently long. If they reëlect him, they thereby express approval of his policy, and their purpose to continue it during another term. And should this reëlection occur after he has been out of office during four years, an opportunity has been afforded to

compare his acts and policy with those of his successor, and to pronounce upon their respective merits. Thus an able, patriotic, and experienced ex-President may be recalled to redress the errors and repair the weaknesses of a preceding Administration, without the reproach of using the power of his office to secure a reëlection.

It would perhaps be prudent so to amend the Constitution that a reëlection of the same person should only be permitted after an intervening term had been held by another. In such case, reëlections would be rare, and only where national emergencies might demand the services of former Presidents who had been tried and found equal to the impending crisis. While the objection to a second or third term would thus be deprived of all force, the nation would preserve the right to services which in times of great danger might prove invaluable.

And yet contingencies may arise demanding repeated consecutive elections of the same person to the Presidency. Our late civil war presented one of the most terrible of these, and it was met by the reëlection of Abraham Lincoln, who would doubtless have been a third time elected had he survived his second term, to find his country still in need of his services. If, at the close of his first term, a constitutional provision had existed declaring him ineligible for a second, the nation might have been placed in great peril, for it is by no means certain that any other Republican could have been elected against the Democratic nominee, who stood upon a platform which denounced the war as a failure, and substantially demanded peace upon any terms—with or without the preservation of the Union as a condition. It is probably fortunate for our people, and perhaps has been the means of preserving them as a nation, that the framers of our Constitution did not, as a few of them desired, limit the election of the same person as President to a single term, but permitted his perpetual reëligibility.

The duration of his term, the manner of his election, and whether or not he should thereafter be eligible for reëlection, were subjects discussed at considerable length and with much warmth in the Convention which met at Philadelphia in 1787 to frame our Constitution. On these questions there was great diversity of opinion. Some insisted that he should be elected by the national Legislature for the term of seven years, and be thereafter ineligible; others, that he should be ineligible until a certain time after the expiration of his term; and some, that he should be appointed during good behavior. To the latter tenure objection was made that it would

substantially establish an elective monarchy, and that, if elected for seven years and reëligible without any interval of disqualification, a like result might be attained by using the power of the Presidential office to secure repeated reëlections.

A majority of the Convention were at first in favor of his election by the national Legislature for the term of seven years, to be thereafter for ever ineligible. Serious objections were made to this by those who sought to vest the power of election in the people; and, finally, as a compromise, and but a short time before the Convention adjourned, the provision substantially as it now stands was adopted—prescribing the mode of election and the length of term, without any restriction as to reëlection.

It is probable that no serious objection would have been made in the Convention to reëligibility after the expiration of a certain number of years. The provision to elect for the term of four years by electors chosen by the people, instead of electing directly by the national Legislature for seven years, seems, however, to have substantially disposed of the objection to eligibility—perhaps because it was assumed that while Presidential influence upon the Legislature might be effective to secure repeated reëlections, it would be found difficult, if not impossible, to employ it to any dangerous extent upon the people and their electors; and the result was the adoption of the clause permitting repeated consecutive reëlections as it now stands. Jefferson, who was in France while the Convention was in session, thus writes of this provision. Alluding to the fact that the general voice of the country had legitimated an objection by him previously mentioned upon another point, he adds:

"It has not, however, authorized me to consider as a real defect what I thought and still think one, the perpetual reëligibility of the President. But three States out of eleven having declared against this, we must suppose we are wrong according to the fundamental law of every society, the *lex majoris partis*, to which we are bound to submit. And should the majority change their opinion, and become sensible that this trait in their Constitution is wrong, I would wish it to remain uncorrected as long as we can avail ourselves of the services of our great leader, whose talents and whose weight of character I consider as peculiarly necessary to get the Government so under way as that it may afterward be carried on by subordinate characters."

It was this conviction of the peculiar fitness of Washington for the place he had filled during eight years which led many, opposed

to the reëlection of John Adams, to unite in resolving that Washington should be requested to consent to be reëlected for a third term, and in 1799 Gouverneur Morris was commissioned to present to him a formal request to that effect; but the letter containing it found Washington upon his death-bed, and consequently it was never delivered.

An objection to reëlecting the same person for a third term is valuable only because of the reason on which it is founded; and this consists wholly in the assumption that by his influence as President he may perpetuate his rule through reëlections. Deprive the person to be reëlected of this influence, and the force of the objection utterly disappears. General Grant has been deprived of it since the 4th of March, 1877. If he is renominated and elected, it must be without the aid of this influence, and, if the assumption I have mentioned is well founded, against it. The reason of the objection as to him then wholly fails; and the objector, if he desires to be thought sincere, must place his objection to the election of General Grant for a third term upon a ground not suggested by the founders of our Government, nor, so far as I can learn, by any intelligent person.

On this subject the people can be trusted to exercise their will, subject to a rational discretion; for, after a President, however strong in their affections and confidence he may have been, shall have descended to his place as a private citizen, they are not likely to renominate him against that assumed Presidential influence which Jefferson and others have denounced, unless he is possessed of qualities and character somewhat like those which led the fathers of the Constitution to send their appeal to Washington in his dying hours.

Thus far in our history no practical mischief has resulted from the provision permitting perpetual reëlections of the same person, nor am I aware that any President, toward the close of his first or second term—with the exception, perhaps, of Andrew Jackson—has possessed sufficient power to secure the reëlection of himself or of any favorite; and its exercise by him to elect Martin Van Buren resulted in the defeat and overthrow of the Democratic party, at the close of his first term. And, so long as the nation is divided into two great political parties—as I trust it will ever be—each possessing a powerful press quite capable of exposing the errors, shortcomings, and misdoings of the other, efforts by a President to secure his own renomination or that of some favorite, through the

influence of his office, would, if successful, probably be made so odious to the people during the canvass as to defeat either. An element which much intensifies such conflicts is that selfish but sometimes useful enemy of civil-service reform — the desire for office. For, so long as the party out of office contains thousands seeking to enter therein, so long will these make the most active and energetic efforts to discover, expose, and denounce the corrupt conduct and unscrupulous schemes of the party in power. Civil-service reform, if for practical purposes it means anything, means this—that those appointed to office should be selected solely for fitness, regardless of their political opinions, and be, as a rule, permanently retained and promoted for that and that only. When such a tenure is thoroughly considered—especially with reference to the character and intelligence of our people, and their hostility to a favored, because perpetuated class of officials—it may well be doubted whether, upon the defeat of a political party, it would be wise or practicable to adopt, as in England, the usage of retiring but fifteen or twenty great officers of state, instead of thousands of office-holders, as is done here.

Political conflicts in this country have hitherto been conducted, and probably ever will be, by practical men, and not by mere theorists who would fight battles without injuring the enemy, and gain possession of the Government without taking the offices. Such persons —usually amiable, well-meaning, and sentimentally patriotic—cling to one idea with great tenacity, and, while doubting the fitness of others, are rarely themselves wholly indifferent to the charms of office. Believing as I do in the efficacy of civil-service reform within practicable limits, which would include, in my judgment, many thousand appointees, I venture nevertheless to inquire how much of active energy, in a political party struggling to oust a powerful adversary, would remain, were it proclaimed that success would still leave the vanquished in possession of most of the offices of the country? Generally, indeed, the victors believe that these may be as safely filled from their own ranks as from those of the enemy, and they may perhaps be excused for entertaining this opinion. Certain it is that, so long as political contests are conducted from patriotic motives aided by the selfish consideration to which I have referred, parties will not so languish in strength, or become so apathetic, as to permit our liberties to be endangered by repeated elections of the same President through the aid of his subordinates; and surely not by frequent reëlections of ex-Presidents utterly

destitute of official patronage. Nothing, indeed, is more sure to awaken the indignation of the American people than the discovery that the influence of a President is being employed to promote his own nomination, or that of some favorite to whom, perhaps, his support has been pledged. A machine nomination, as it is vulgarly called, is one made by an organized party, and, with very rare exceptions, should be cheerfully submitted to; while one attempted through the management and influence of office-holders in the pay of the Government, for the benefit of one who can appoint and dismiss them at pleasure, is a perversion and prostitution of their service and duty, always regarded with disfavor by honest and patriotic men. Hence there is but little real danger to be apprehended from such management, for it can neither be concealed nor justified, and usually reacts to plague the inventor.

Among those who assisted in framing our Constitution, but few were apprehensive that a President could by such means perpetuate his rule against the will of the people; nor did Washington at the close of his second term decline a reëlection because he believed his enjoyment of a third would establish a dangerous or unwholesome precedent, or would be incompatible with the highest and best interests of his country, but solely for personal reasons clearly stated as follows in his "Farewell Address to the People of the United States," delivered near the close of his second term in September, 1796:

"The acceptance of and continuance hitherto in office, to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference to what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this previous to the last election had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence impelled me to abandon the idea. I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and I am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire."

He in substance told the American people that he had held the

office during both terms against his will, and to the sacrifice of his personal comfort, and that he was induced to accept a second term only because he could not, in view of critical foreign relations and the unanimous advice of friends in whom he had confidence, refuse; but that, as such considerations could not be urged upon him for the acceptance of a third term, he trusted the people would not disapprove of his determination to retire.

It may, I think, be assumed that some members of the House of Representatives who in 1875 voted for the resolution "that, in the opinion of this House, the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States, in retiring from the Presidential office after their second term, has become by universal concurrence a part of our republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions," had read this address, and knew the motives which induced him to decline a third term. They should have been aware, also, that the entire value of a precedent consists in the reasons on which it is founded. That which Washington established was founded solely upon his need of retirement and repose, and upon the fact that the state of the country did not then demand of him a further personal sacrifice; and not in any sense upon the notion that his acceptance of a third term "would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions." That is a view which modern patriotism has discovered long since Washington wrote his celebrated "Farewell Address."

What, then, is the lesson taught by this precedent? Clearly this, and this only—that a President, anxious for retirement and repose, should not, unless his country needs his services, sacrifice his inclinations, his comfort, and happiness by accepting either a second or third term. The House, when it passed the resolution I have mentioned, and in its excitement attributed to the precedent quoted a paternity so patriotic, and a purpose so full of far-reaching wisdom, had in view, no doubt, the reëlection for a third consecutive term of a President who then had possession of a second; for its members could not have been equal to the double mistake of utterly misapprehending the reason of the precedent, and then of misapplying it to the case not then before them of reëlection for a third term of an ex-President of whom it may be justly said that he does not desire and will not seek a reëlection, and would take the office only upon the conditions prescribed by Washington.

That unanimity of the people in electing Washington can not be expected in behalf of General Grant. Washington led the armies of an entire people to secure their independence and nationality, while General Grant led only the armies of the loyal North to save and perpetuate what Washington had transmitted. Washington did more than any other man to create a nation of four millions of people—General Grant more than any other to preserve a nation of forty millions. Many millions of these, and indeed most of the Democratic party, abused and hated him for this great service, and strove to defeat his election and reëlection, while there were no rebels or rebel sympathizers to unite in defeating General Washington. To him the whole people were grateful, while only the Republican party testified gratitude to General Grant. Many in the South have lately learned to regard him with more favor, and as better fitted than any other Northern man to bring peace, harmony, and prosperity, to all portions of our common country.

External dangers do not, it is true, threaten us, and, in view of our isolation and immense and growing power, are not likely to arise. Internal difficulties do exist, however, to be composed only by great wisdom and firmness, when exercised by a President having the confidence if not the good will of the people of all sections of the country—acquired, not by attempted conciliation of political adversaries, who are apt to mistake this for weakness or fear, but by steady, inflexible, and just rule, constitutionally enforced, when necessary, by the united strength of a powerful party.

It would not be difficult to find several Republican statesmen quite fit under ordinary circumstances to perform all the duties devolved by the Constitution upon the President of the United States. The present demand goes far beyond this, however, for, if conflicting interests throughout the country are to be reconciled, a President must be chosen trusted by the North to enforce practical obedience to constitutional provisions designed to secure the fruits of the war, and by citizens of the South believed to be resolved upon so doing in a kind and just spirit toward them, and by both North and South known to have a fixed and unalterable purpose so to preserve our national currency and credit that both may compass the earth without dishonor to our Government or people. Sectional differences can not be permanently quieted by a soothing process, the effect of which ends when adverse interests rise to the surface and demand a hearing. These must be disposed of by a firm and steady hand, or they will appear to vex the nation for a generation to come.

Who is the man best fitted to accomplish these results is the problem soon to be solved by the Republican party—always national in its purposes, and now seeking a candidate capable when elected of securing great national ends. It will no doubt choose wisely, for it has within its ranks more than one to whom it may without reproach commit the great trust of the Presidency—a trust it must administer for many years, for its tenure of governing this nation reposes not merely upon the wisdom and justice of its rule, but upon the folly and wickedness of its adversaries, not likely to abate so long as ambitious rival and reckless leaders continue to distract and demoralize the Democratic party.

There are doubtless worthy Republicans who, in view of the practice hitherto followed of electing the same person but for two terms, would regard his election for a third with a kind of superstitious dread—as presaging some national calamity. I shall not sneer at or ridicule such a superstition, for I have known few men of much capacity or strength of character who did not entertain and nurse one of some kind. A third-term superstition — even where the objection to a third term is utterly inapplicable—is as solid and rational as that which influences some men to expect bad luck from seeing the new moon over the left shoulder, or to refuse starting upon a new enterprise or long journey on a Friday. No better reason can be given for the prejudice against electing a person for a third term, where four years have intervened since his enjoyment of the second, than might be advanced to sustain either of the two innocent but sometimes inconvenient superstitions to which I have referred. If, however, there be a few Republicans incurably afflicted with a third-term superstition, they will be quite sure of such consolation as can be derived from the support and sympathy of the Democratic party, the expression of which will be violent in proportion to the strength with the people of the person denounced as an unfit candidate; for I presume no one is foolish enough to believe the leaders of that party would object to a weak Republican nominee. It will be well to bear this in mind in estimating the sincerity and value of an objection to a third term proceeding from Democratic sources, especially when uttered by those who were more or less in sympathy with the rebellion, and have heretofore opposed the election of General Grant for a first and second term with all the bitterness with which they now assail his nomination for a third. Their violent opposition but demonstrates their fear of him as an opponent, and their consciousness that the American

people can appreciate the meaning and value of Washington's example in declining a third term quite as well as those who were not unwilling to see the nation he did so much to create, dissevered and destroyed. I do not believe that this objection will be a factor of the least importance in the coming Presidential election. A little reflection should satisfy the most prejudiced that, just in proportion to the influence which can be exerted by a President and his office-holders in favor of his own nomination, or that of some favorite, may be the measure to which the will of the people can possibly be weakened, interrupted, or thwarted in their choice of a candidate. No one, I believe, pretends that any member of the present Administration is exerting his influence, through subordinates or otherwise, in favor of the renomination of General Grant. If, on the contrary, this influence is being used to prevent it, it is the very mischief feared and denounced by Jefferson and others, and affords an argument in favor of and not against the selection of General Grant as the candidate of the people. Perhaps the nation may without his aid, and notwithstanding the influence of a policy which has not hitherto inspired thoughtful men with much confidence, experience changes indicating a healthier political tone, and promising greater harmony of feeling between North and South; but this should hardly be expected without the adoption of a more comprehensive and positive rule, by an incoming Administration possessing such wisdom, energy, and courage, as not to disappoint both of the great political parties of the country.

E. W. Stoughton.

THE COMMUNISM OF A DISCRIMINATING INCOME-TAX.

As a ready and elastic method of raising revenue, the theory of an income-tax always commands a certain degree of popular favor; and that, under the pressure of financial necessity, governments are inclined to make such a tax a part of their fiscal policy, the experience of recent years abundantly demonstrates. Income-taxes are at present levied in Great Britain, Austria, Germany, and Italy. They were enacted in the United States by the Federal Government in 1863, as one of a series of measures which a condition of war was held to justify, and continued in force with various modifications until 1872.

All modern systems of income taxation have recognized the principle of discriminating in favor of persons in the receipt of comparatively small incomes; and have provided, as a fundamental feature of their policy, that all incomes below a certain sum (usually a small amount) should be exempted from assessment. Thus, for example, the existing income-tax of Great Britain commences with its assessment on incomes of £150 ($750) and upward, and exempts all incomes of a smaller amount. In Germany, the income exemption being very small, nearly the whole population of the country, male and female, are made subject to the provisions of the income-tax. All incomes subject to taxation in any European country are invariably assessed at one and the same rate. In the United States, on the other hand, the income-tax, as first enacted in 1863, exempted $600 annual income for each person, together with whatever was paid annually for rent and repairs of residence. *Five* per cent. per annum was then levied on all incomes above $600 and not in excess of $5,000; *seven* per cent. on all incomes above $5,000 and not in excess of $10,000; and *ten* per cent. on all incomes in excess of $10,000. In the income-tax of the United States as it existed at one

period, there was, therefore, recognized the principle, not only of exempting incomes below a certain amount from all taxation, which amount, in order to keep up an appearance of equity, was allowed to be equally deducted from all larger incomes; but, in addition, the further one—not recognized in any other existing income-tax—of graduating the assessment by increasing the rate or percentage of taxation on the larger incomes. This system was accordingly exceptional and peculiar; but as on first presentation and superficial examination it seems to embody an ingenious and equitable method of equalizing the burdens of the state between the rich and the poor, and also finds special favor with persons of a communistic turn of mind, by whom, with the discriminations largely increased, it is frequently recommended for reënactment, it is proposed in the interests of political and economic science to here subject it to analysis, with a view to determine whether any income-tax, which discriminates in any degree, is likely, as is often claimed, to constitute the one perfect form of taxation of the future. And, at the outset, attention is asked to the following proposition:

ANY INCOME-TAX WHICH PERMITS OF ANY EXEMPTION WHATEVER IS A GRADUATED INCOME-TAX.

Any form of income-tax which permits of exemption is graduated, not by the rate of the tax, but by the amount of the exemption, which is equally effective in producing discrimination and inequality, because all incomes below an arbitrary line are entirely exempt from the tax. Again, in treating of an income-tax, it should be always borne in mind that, when a Government *taxes the income of property*, it in reality taxes the property from which the income is derived. In England and on the Continent of Europe land is taxed on its yearly revenue or income value, and these taxes are always considered as land-taxes. Alexander Hamilton, in discussing the taxation of incomes derived directly from property, used this language: "What, in fact, is property but a fiction, without the beneficial use of it? In many instances, indeed, the income is the property itself." (Hamilton's "Works," vol. iii., p. 523.)

If the law exempts from taxation income from property to the extent of $2,000, it in effect exempts property of the capital value of $50,000 from taxation; for at present four per cent. is about the average profit of money, land, or other property, over and above all

charges and taxes; and, at that rate of profit, $2,000 will be the annual income value of $50,000. Furthermore, if we assume that the annual income of realized property is *four* per cent., that the exemption to each person is $2,000, and that the rate of the tax is *five* per cent., then a person who owns only $50,000 in value of property will pay no tax; he who owns $60,000 in capital value of like property will pay on its entire income $1\frac{2}{10}$ per cent., or five per cent. on the income of the capital value in excess of $50,000; he who owns $100,000 of property will pay on its income $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; while he who owns $250,000 of property will pay on its income four per cent., and thus the tax will be, in effect, graduated in rate and continually approximating, but never quite reaching a rate of *five* per cent.—the property paying income being assumed to be always of the same and competing class. In the case of the recent income-tax of the United States, the number of persons who paid this tax, when the exemption (in 1868) was $1,000, was 259,385; and, when the amount of exemption was raised to $2,000, the number of taxable persons was reduced to 116,000, and subsequently ran down to 71,000 out of a total population of about 40,000,000. Experience, therefore, demonstrates that an exemption in the United States of $2,000 of income, accredited to each individual owner of property, will exempt *more than nine tenths of the entire property* of this country and *more than ninety-nine hundredths* of the property-owners from this tax. Under such circumstances, it is a misnomer to call such an exaction taxation. It is unmasked confiscation, and a burlesque on taxation. Nor can an income-tax which exempts $2,000 of income be defended under any rule or doctrine of *de minimis*, or rejection of fractions, for the property and income exempted are infinitely greater in the aggregate than the property and income of the same class made subject to the tax. Under this form of an income-tax there can be no equality between taxed producers and untaxed producers, and more especially as the untaxed producers will be the most numerous, and the greatest producers in quantity as a body. No man is a free man the fruits of whose industry and capital are subject to surcharged (overburdened) exactions to an unlimited degree, and from which his immediate competitors are entirely exempt. Equality of taxation of all persons and property brought into open competition under like circumstances is necessary, to produce equality of condition for all, in all production, and in all the enjoyments of life, liberty, and property. Any government, whatever name it may assume, is a despotism,

and commits acts of flagrant spoliation, if it grants exemptions or exacts a greater or less rate of tax from one man than from another man on account of his owning or having in his possession more or less of the same class of property which is the subject of the tax. M. Thiers, in his work on the "Rights of Property," thus forcibly condemns confiscation under the name and form of a graduated income-tax: "Proportionality," he says, "is a principle, but progression is a hateful despotism. . . . To exact a tenth from one, a fifth from another, and a third from another is pure despotism—it is robbery." If it were proposed to levy a tax of 5 per cent. on annual incomes below $2,000 in amount, and to exempt all incomes above that sum, the unequal and discriminating character of the exemption would be at once apparent; and yet an income-tax exempting all incomes below $2,000 is equally unjust and discriminating. In either case the exemption can not be founded or defended on any sound principles of free constitutional government. It is a simple manifestation of tyrannical power, under whatever form of government it may be enforced.

AN EXEMPTION FROM TAXATION FOR A PRIVATE (NOT PUBLIC) PURPOSE AND TAXATION FOR PRIVATE PURPOSES ALIKE VIOLATE THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY AND OF EQUAL COMPETITION.

"An exemption is freedom from a burden or service to which others are liable;" but an exemption for a public purpose or a valid consideration is not an exemption except in name, for the valid and full consideration, or public purpose promoted, is received in lieu of the tax. Nor is an exemption from taxation a discriminating burden on those who pay the tax, provided the person or institution benefited by the exemption is a pauper or a public charitable institution; for then there is a consideration for the exemption, and it is justified as a matter of economy, and to prevent an expensive circuity of action in levying the tax with the sole purpose of giving it back to the intended beneficiary of the Government. The avoidance of this unnecessary circuity of action is not an injury but a gain to those who pay the tax. It can not, however, be seriously claimed that a man having $50,000 in value of productive capital, and receiving from it $2,000 of annual income, is entitled to receive support from the Government as a public pauper. Our governments, State or national, can not impose taxes for the purpose of fostering any particular *private* business or enter-

prise. ("Loan Association *vs.* Topeka," 20 Wallace, p. 655.) Taxes can only be imposed for public purposes, and, when they are imposed for any other purpose, the Government acts the part of a highwayman, and takes forcibly the property of A and gives it to B. In fact, there is the same reason why all exemptions of like property from taxation should be based solely on the ground of a public purpose in the exemption as that all taxes collected should be for a public purpose. A tax upon the property of A and an exemption of the property of B, of the same competing class, will enhance the value of B's property and diminish the value of A's property to the extent of the tax. A, under the circumstances, will not be able to sell on terms of equality his *taxed* property in competition with the *untaxed* property of B; and this is equivalent to taking a certain amount of property or value from A and giving it to B. An exemption of any property, or income of the same competing class of property, made subject to taxation, is a form of charity or donation to the favored person who receives the advantages of the exemption. It can not, moreover, be claimed that a public purpose will be promoted by collecting a given tax exclusively from persons, who each own property in excess of $50,000, or in excess of the annual value of $2,000. It may, however, be conceded that private property, dedicated to a public use, like railroads, bridges, or ferry-boats, may in the discretion of the legislative power be exempted to promote a public purpose, and to prevent the expense of the collection of a tax which would be immediately given back to the parties paying it. The power to exempt obviously involves the power to make a donation of the tax to the exempted persons; and, if the power of exempting property of the class taxed exists at all, it is also clear that it exists without any limitation. If Congress has the power to levy five per cent. on incomes above $2,000, and to exempt all less incomes, it can make the discriminating rate 100 per cent. of the income, and thus confiscate, under the name of taxation, all property in any one man's hands in excess of the yearly value of $2,000, or of any other sum.

THE TAX-ADVANCER USUALLY NOT THE PRIMARY TAX-PAYER.

Taxes, in all conceivable or known systems of taxation, are not at first paid but advanced to the Government as a kind of forced loan, with an implied obligation on the part of the Government to give the person making the advance the power and ability to collect

the tax from consumption and expense in the price of things consumed, where all taxes finally fall. It is impracticable for the Government to tax property in its infinitesimal forms of consumption at the time of consumption. This would require an assessor and tax-collector at the elbow of every person all the time, and hence the Government proceeds against property *in invitam* (or by force) where found at a given time, or when produced or imported, and compels the owner or possessor to advance the tax to the State. But, if the Government fails to give the power and means of reimbursing the tax in the price, and then submits the owner to the open competition of similar untaxed property, the forced loan becomes repudiated, and the tax-advancer is despoiled of his property without compensation. *Taxes advanced uniformly on all property of the same competing class* are circuitous means of reaching all expense and consumption, and will be apportioned and adjusted in the regulation of prices by the natural laws of open competition. Taxes will be thus advanced by those who hold the property in block, and will be primarily paid by those who consume or use the taxed property, and who in turn, controlled by the natural law of competition, will add or diffuse a part of the tax in the cost of their salable productions, and thus all expense and consumption will finally bear the entire burden. Taxes uniformly advanced on all like competing property will always tend to equate themselves, and will never be a special burden to those who originally made the advances to the Government. Such persons will sell the tax in the price, rent, or use of the taxed property. But, on the other hand, if the immediate competitors of those who have advanced taxes are untaxed on their competing property or income, then the tax-advancer will be unable to sell or collect the taxes which he has been by force compelled to advance, for his untaxed competitors—especially if they are numerous and their untaxed property large in amount—will undersell him; and the forced loan will thus be entirely repudiated. Hence the act of the English Parliament in the fourth year of the reign of William and Mary, which imposed double rates of taxation on the income of Catholics; hence any income-tax which exempts any income derived from property of the competing class made subject to the tax, or any tax imposed by any arbitrary rule of residence or non-residence, nativity, color, or religious persuasion; any tax on contracts after they are made and not provided for in the contract; or upon business or property beyond the jurisdiction of the taxing power; or any form of tax which compels a person

to advance taxes in gross to the Government without some appropriate legislation to protect and enable such tax-advancers to collect the tax from those who use and consume—should be regarded not as taxation, but as spoliation and an invasion of the rights of property.

DIRECT AND INDIRECT TAXES.

There is a marked distinction, founded on sound philosophy, between a direct and an indirect tax. An indirect tax, whoever may first advance it, is paid voluntarily and primarily by the consumer of the taxed article; but a direct tax, on the contrary, always has in it an element of compulsion, not necessarily on the person who advances the tax in block, but on the person who is compelled to use or consume the taxed property or its product. A tax upon land *compels* all persons to pay a direct tax, for no one can live except upon land or its products, and a tax upon land is therefore a direct tax. (*A land-tax has been conceded by the United States Supreme Court to be a direct tax*, "Hylton *vs.* The United States," 3 Dallas, p. 171.)

A tax upon a few articles, like whisky, tobacco, licenses upon certain classes of business, can always be avoided as a primary tax, or can be paid at discretion; but there is nothing voluntary in a tax upon *all* real and personal property or their income. Human beings can not subsist without some form of personal property, and therefore a tax upon *all* personal property or its income is of necessity compulsory and not voluntary. Any general assessment of personal property on its income must also, as well as assessments on real estate, constitute a direct tax. (*See Alexander Hamilton's brief in the carriage case, Hamilton's "Works," vol. vii., p. 848.*) There is nothing compulsory or unequal in an ordinary license-tax. If the license is high, no one is compelled by law, or the laws of competition, to engage in the business, and but few persons will engage in it; and thus the average profits of the taxed business, by the regular laws of competition, will finally reach the average profits of other like employments or investments. But an income-tax is always compulsory, for it is imposed on income from *all* sources. Some form of property is a necessity, and therefore a tax upon all forms of property or its income is a *direct* or unavoidable tax, and not a voluntary tax.

Now, the Constitution of the United States requires that all direct taxes shall be uniform throughout the United States; and

territorial uniformity of indirect taxation must imply and involve absolute uniformity and equality of these taxes on like values and quantities. But, under the operation of natural laws, larger quantities will be owned and produced by one person in one State than in another. Colorado and Texas have large herds of cattle; Illinois has large corn-fields and large distilleries; Louisiana large sugar-plantations, and New England large factories, owned by single persons. Two States may, and in some instances do, have equal per capita wealth in the aggregate, but in the one the wealth may be made up of capital invested in numerous small industries adapted to its soil and climate; while in the other, owing to different natural conditions, there may be great concentrations of capital in a few hands and in a few industries. Thus, in the case of our late income-tax, seven States, in the year 1869—Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and California—possessed forty per cent. of the assessed property of the United States, and had just about forty per cent. also of our population. But, at the same time, these same seven States paid full three fourths of the entire income-tax levied by the Federal Government upon the people of the whole country; or, to put it differently, the States which had sixty per cent. of the wealth and population of the country paid only about one fourth of the income-tax. A violation, therefore, of the rule of uniformity in taxes on incomes from the same class of property, in the hands of a single person, becomes a warfare on the natural resources and natural abilities of some States, and a warfare upon property beyond a certain amount in one man's hands. Thus, for example, two farms, wherever situated, owned by two persons and producing a profit of $2,000, will produce the same competition, in the sales of products, as one farm, owned by one man, producing $4,000 of profit. The profits of the two farms and two persons, under an exemption of $2,000, would, however, be free from all taxation; while the profit of the competing farm, producing the same income as the two other farms, would be subject to a burden on its income of two and a half per cent. if the farm happens to be in the hands of a single owner. The aggregate of the value of the property is the same in both cases; but the incidence of taxation is made dependent upon the circumstance of making the assessment upon two persons rather than one. This is not equality of burden on competing property, or on immediate competitors; but, as M. Thiers says, "it is robbery."

A GRADUATED INCOME-TAX, TO THE EXTENT OF ITS DISCRIMINATION, IS AN ACT OF CONFISCATION.

The Federal Constitution further provides that private property shall not be taken for public use except upon compensation. It is conceded that this is a limitation on the power of Congress. There must be a line between the taking of private property for public use and taxation; but how can that line be drawn except by the rule that taxation means uniformity of burden on competing avocations and competing property? A recent decision of the Supreme Court of New Jersey seems to be direct upon the unconstitutionality of discriminating burdens on the same class of persons or property. Thus the New Jersey Court said: "A tax upon the person or property of A, B, and C, individually, whether designated by name, or in any other way, which is in excess of an equal apportionment among the persons or property of the class of persons or kind of property subject to the taxation, is, to the extent of such excess, the taking of private property for a public use without compensation. The process is one of confiscation and not of taxation." ("Township Committee of Reading," 36 N. J., p. 66, 1872; see also "Cooley's Constitutional Limitations," §§ 490–515; "Durach's Appeals; 62 Pennsylvania State Reports.")

It only remains, to complete this argument, to consider what is meant by property of the same class. The answer to this is, obviously, property which immediately or directly competes in open market. The force of competition is not dependent upon the quantity owned or produced by few or many persons, but upon the aggregate quantity of similar property offered in market, whether produced or owned by few or many persons.

It may also be pertinent in conclusion to say that two thousand dollars is a larger exemption than has ever been allowed in any income-tax system in any country except the United States; where, owing to comparative equality of fortunes, the exemption, if any exemption is to be permitted, should be extremely low. Wherever the line of exemption may be drawn, an act of discrimination is instituted against all those who own property producing income in excess of the line of the exemption. In England, where business, to a greater extent than in any other country, is conducted by large capitalists, where the soil is owned by a comparatively few persons, and where the entire property of the nation is greatly concentrated, an exemption of seven hundred and fifty dollars, under the income-

tax there allowed to each person, is of much less practical importance than a similar exemption would be in the United States, where it would remove a large portion of all incomes derived from property from the burden of the tax. In France, owing to the very great and minute subdivisions of the ownership of the soil, a small exemption would also take from the income list a large proportion of the owners of real estate in that country. Leroy Beaulieu, indeed, estimates that an exemption of twenty-five hundred francs (five hundred dollars) would exempt from three fourths to four fifths of the entire income of France; and accordingly, when in 1848 the enactment of an income-tax was debated in France, it was proposed to put the exemption as low as two hundred and fifty francs, or fifty dollars. Any judicious system of taxation in any country will have reference to its natural products; its extent of territory; its contiguity to competing nations; the density or sparseness of its population, the habits of the people, and the comparative equality of their fortunes. The United States can conveniently, economically, and uniformly collect its revenues from a few domestic articles, like whisky and tobacco, manufactured in large amounts at one place by one person or firm; and on imports, like sugars, tea, and coffee, introduced into the country, to a great extent, in large vessels and in large quantities at a few ports. With the limitation of our revenues to such few sources, economy of assessment and collection will be insured, unnecessary inquisition and loss of time—a form of unproductive taxation—will be avoided, and only a comparatively few persons will feel the direct hand of the tax-gatherer; while all will cheerfully pay taxes in regulated prices on their expense and consumption, where, by the operation of natural laws, all taxation must finally rest.

But any attempt to collect an income-tax, which is equal and has none of the features of spoliation or confiscation, from our sparse population, extending from Florida to Alaska, is entirely unpractical; and, unless the rate is excessive, the taxes received would not pay the cost of assessment and collection, while, as before shown, the rights of property, the great republican principle of equality before the law, and constitutional law itself, will alike preclude any exemption of any income derived from like property. It is a vital and constitutional question, demanding absolute equality, that is here involved and at stake. Any exemption whatever, small or great, except to the absolutely indigent, is purely arbitrary; and the principle, once allowed, may obviously be car-

ried to any extent. Any exemption of any portion of the same class of property or incomes is an act of charity which every American ought to reject upon principle and with scorn, except under circumstances of great want and destitution. Equality and manhood, therefore, demand and require uniformity of burden in whatever is the subject of taxation.

DAVID A. WELLS.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

It is difficult to account for the lull in the interest which civil-service reform had awakened during the last Presidential canvass, by the mere preoccupation of the country with financial and commercial questions. Nothing less than a tremendous drift in the wrong direction, a settled opinion of the masses that our institutions have a virtue that is independent of good government, and can bear and even profit by negligences and errors that are fatal to monarchies, can account for the indifference of the press, the supercilious contempt of our leading politicians of both parties, the silence and apathy of Congress, and the tentative and inconsistent course of the President and the Cabinet, in regard to civil-service reform, which four years ago was introduced as the chief plank in the platforms of both parties. Its best friends have seemingly thought it incompatible with present success in their general political aims and measures. The two great parties have quietly seen the promises made by the Administration either broken or forgotten, or, where carried out, carried out furtively and in an apologetic spirit. The press as a rule has ridiculed the whole subject as impracticable, visionary, and unsuited to American circumstances; and it may almost be said that the small class of men who undertook to champion the cause have lost heart, or even hope, of its present practicableness. Persuaded that it is the subject of all others that needs public consideration, and on the proper understanding of whose importance the welfare of our national life depends, we seize the occasion of the recent publication of Mr. D. B. Eaton's valuable and instructive work on "Civil Service in Great Britain," to draw attention to the new and strong light which the success of reform in the civil service of the mother-country throws upon the methods needing to be applied to the reformation of the disheartening errors and abuses that mark our American administration of government, owing to the mis-

chievous influence which the party-spoils principle has obtained in our politics.

We do not propose to give even an abstract of Mr. Eaton's book. It would be almost like giving an abstract of Leviticus! It is itself an abstract—the shortest possible full statement of the origin and course, the methods and successes, and the complete victory of civil-service reform in Great Britain. It is the only book in the English language in which this wonderful, encouraging, and most instructive history can be read, and it must be almost as valuable to English statesmen and statists as to Americans, for whose benefit it is written. In our calm judgment, no book since "The Federalist"—if De Tocqueville is excepted—contains so much that merits and will finally command national attention—not from any charms of style or ingenuities of argument, or even from the attractions of the theme, but from the plainness, the thoroughness, the vast importance of the facts, and the bearing of the history, so carefully and laboriously unveiled, upon our prospects as a people and the success of our institutions. Mr. Eaton has demonstrated in his book that Great Britain, at the close of the last century, was sinking under a load of patronage in Church and state, of bribery and corruption, of parliamentary and royal usurpations, of favoritism, nepotism, maladministration by unselected and unfit office-holders; that this deadly system of patronage was so imbedded and immeshed with her aristocratic and hierarchical constitution, so tangled up with her royal usages and traditions, so favored by the Church and the nobles, and so upheld by the court, that the prospect of any reform in it was dark and dreadful beyond anything that ever did or ever could exist in American circumstances. He has shown how a succession of courageous and public-spirited statesmen, without the support of the court, and against the wishes of Parliament, has by a steady appeal to the common people of Great Britain, gradually yet really in a marvelously short time, wrested a reform which is nearly all that can be wished in the civil service of Great Britain and India, from the prejudices, the passions, the personal interests, the party pride, the cupidity of place, and pensions, and sinecures, the nepotism of great office-holders and princes, dukes and earls, the patronage of lords and of members of Parliament, until both the great parties, by their leaders, are absolutely at one in excluding the spoils of office from the contests of party; until public competition for office has become all but universal; and *merit*, proved and tested *fitness*, and superiority

in fitness, are the only door by which any office-holder, excepting about *fifty* heads of departments or bureaus, can now enter any civil office in the British Government.

The method of reform has been that of a steady opening, a development of the principle, that the offices of a government, conducted in the real interests of the people, are to be regarded as belonging to those only who, wishing them, can prove themselves best fitted to hold them, and perform the duties of them. By degrees the principle of competition has attained its full development. Any citizen, of proper age and up to a certain standard of elementary education, may offer himself for a competitive examination in which his claims, intellectual, moral, and temperamental—his claims on the score of health and strength, of worth and character, as well as of general and special fitness for the class of clerkships or duties to which he aspires—shall be fairly and impartially considered by a board of commissioners, experts in the business, whose decisions are final, and the integrity, competency, and satisfactoriness of whose judgments are, and for many years have continued to be, unquestioned, who enjoy the utmost confidence of the public and of the Government. Persons proving their claims to be best are appointed to existing vacancies. Once appointed, they are removable only for cause—incompetency, a failure to fulfill their promise, being the best of causes; they are promoted as opportunity offers and desert is shown; they are offered increase of salary, according to years in the service, and they are retired at an age when the service is better served by new blood than by old experience, and then on sufficient retiring pensions. Rotation in office is discouraged; it is not recognized as a principle of good administration, as it absurdly is in America, where offices are considered to exist for the sake of office-holders, and not with sole reference to the public good. Everybody may aspire to an office in Great Britain who can prove himself best fitted to fill it, and may go and claim it as his right, and have his right, in that case a just one, admitted. His right is not a right to office because he is a citizen or subject, but because, being such, he shows himself better fitted, than any man that wants it, to occupy it.

Many objections have been made in America—they were originally made in England—to the *scholastic* character of the competitive examinations. It was shown, over and over again, how ridiculous the requirements were, the questions asked, the sort of knowledge demanded; and it was boldly asserted that real practical fitness could neither be determined nor attained by any such method. Mr.

Eaton's work has exhibited the groundlessness of these objections; shown their abandonment by old and sincere representatives of them, and the absolute triumph of the method, considered only with reference to efficiency. The civil service has improved radically. Not only are a better class of men put into office, but they come more and more from the middle class, and even from what the English call the humbler class; i. e., they are not supplied from the gentleman class, or the college-graduate class; they do more work, and they do it better; they are paid less, and are content with less, because their places are secure; they are fewer in number, because there are no sinecures or places for mere hangers-on. Moreover, the knowledge that the humblest born may aspire to occupation in the civil service has greatly raised the standard and improved the method of popular education. The people are freshly interested in educational methods, because they now have a new bearing upon their possible pursuits. Besides this, the discovery that justice prevails in their appointments gives them a new sense of respect for the Government, increases patriotism, and makes the servants of the nation watchful of the honor of their own department and their own name.

The main objection felt in this country to the civil-service reform has been that party government could not go on without the stimulus of party spoils. This objection, if sound, would be a fatal one. Party is the necessary complement of the representative system. That is founded on the principle that the will of the people is to be expressed in the acts of the Government. This notion is a modern one—and by no means self-evident. The old theory and practice in England long was, as in most European countries, "Let wealth and birth or breeding make the laws and govern the country." This is indeed the only thing that could have been possible in the England of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It mattered less—if they only got there, as they somehow did—how the ablest and best men got into Parliament, whether by the patronage of the King or the great nobles, by rotten boroughs, or by buying their places. What was wanted was ability and influence and experience, chiefly to raise the taxes necessary to carry on a Government mainly dependent on the administrative power of the King's advisers and nearest servants. Parliament itself was only their instrument, and very slowly acquired any independence of its own. But the Commons acquired independence and influence long before it became a highly representative body in our sense of the

word. That is to say, it represented popular rights and commercial and trading interests, in a general way, long before it represented the electors' or the people's views of their own interests. Parliament had its own views, and did not consider too much, and only as far as was unavoidable, what views the people had of their own wants—judging itself to be more competent to decide these questions than the people themselves. As long as it is necessary or even possible to carry on government thus, it may be deemed not a bad way. For people are only fit for the liberty they feel the want of, and the willingness to make the sacrifices required to maintain it. Usually the self-government first achieved is less comfortable, and less in the interests of the people, than the government of the nobles, the ruling class, the monarch, or military ruler, thrown off to make way for it. But it is rightly preferred, because it satisfies wants and aspirations deeper and nobler than comfort, ease, or security.

There can be little question that in America we have continually sacrificed substantial interests of order, peace, and governmental facility, to the love of liberty. We have plunged headlong into universal suffrage, and are in the midst of dangers growing out of it that have seriously threatened our very existence. We made four million slaves free men and voters, without stopping to ask what the consequences might be in the Southern States or to the Union; and we have not yet reached the bottom of the political difficulties in which immediate emancipation involved us. True, upon American principles, it was absolutely necessary to take this step. Public opinion required it. The same may be said of universal suffrage; very likely female suffrage will come in under the same necessity by and by. We need not expect to escape from all the consequences of our fundamental idea, which is *trust* in the people. It is not that the people are wise and sure to go right, but they are to be trusted anyhow, "go as you please" being the general policy. It is *right because* the people wish it so. This is the meaning of the motto most in the mouths of our politicians, "*Vox populi vox Dei.*" Whether it be true or not, we are determined to act as if it were true, to test it, and perish if it is not.

Party government began in England with the selection and election of members of Parliament to represent convictions, and to press policies entertained by the voters who sent them to their seats. By slow degrees Parliament became a body of representatives in the sense of persons instructed by the voice of their constituents to frame

and favor certain wishes, opinions, and aspirations of the people. But as the people were divided among themselves, and had different views of policy, they naturally selected cardinal issues—peace or war, retrenchment or expansion, protection or free-trade, extension or repression of suffrage—for their rallying-cries, and so formed Conservative and Liberal, Whig and Tory parties. How could a country usually nearly evenly divided between parties escape the consequences of violent and fatal conflict, except by encouraging a superstitious or religious respect for the right of the majority, even if it were a majority of *one?* To this the highest wisdom of England, and America after her, has come. To make a majority of one just as decisive as a majority of a million has been the main victory of self-government thus far. That is what government by party means, that the government shall be a government not merely *influenced* by public opinion—all governments must be—but a government that carries out public opinion, expressed through legally elected representatives and by a legal majority, in the laws it makes and the policy it pursues. True, any one may notice how far short of ideal perfection a government is in which the opinions of nearly half the whole voting force are absolutely of no effect. It is the chief problem of representative and popular government now to devise some method for the representation of minorities. The only protection now is the check which party majorities always feel in the presence of a minority that may profit by their mistakes to unseat them in the next election. This is a substantial check, yet an insufficient one, but until some better one is found it must be relied on.

But what would become of "the machine" if the English method of a civil service, which absolutely removes the spoils of office from all part or importance in the canvass, were followed by the United States? What, then, is "the machine," whose safety is so seriously threatened by the success of a civil-service reform, like that which has triumphed in Great Britain? "The machine" is an organization of parties about the spoils of office. Those who have framed and who control it are not themselves necessarily lacking in sound principles and a high national policy. They are often sincere patriots. They are however, as they boast, men of affairs and of the world, and they judge that party organization to be effective must be able to interest, move, and win the support of those who are neither capable of disinterested patriotism nor intelligently interested in the questions for which parties stand. There is a cer-

tain part, perhaps it is a quarter, of the population of a great country like ours whose opinions and whose judgment in regard to what divides parties are nearly worthless, and are worthless because they represent neither thought nor experience. The hope of office—it is little more than a hope, and a barren one for ninety in a hundred out of those deluded by it — is the main dependence of the machine in both the great parties in this country. Without this, the practical politicians tell us, it is in vain for any party in ordinary times to hope for success, be its principles ever so just and true. The managers know perfectly well how little influence the spoils would have if the rank and file who go in for them knew the smallness of the number who really can receive the appointments which a party success throws open. Probably not one in a hundred, of the men whose party zeal is wholly dependent on their expectation of office, ever attains the office he covets and which he has been assured of. But as Sydney Smith defended the great prizes of the bishoprics in England, as exerting an influence upon the meanest curacy, so the offices in the gift of the successful party that attains to the administration of a great State or of the nation, though they bear no proportion to the number of the eager expectants of them, are yet sufficient to keep enough voters at close and hard work at the ropes of the machine, and to enable party organizers to say with a good deal of authority, "Take away these spoils—take away from the bureaus or great departments, whose heads are elected in a party contest, the power of rewarding with offices the most diligent and effective hands who have oiled and pulled the machine, and secured the victory—and you have taken away the only sure means of political success." There can be little question of the genuineness of the conviction on the part of politicians, and there can be no doubt of the terrible force of the machine as thus run. The only question is, whether its force is not fatal to the interest for which parties and governments exist. Based upon the idea that office is a reward for party services, it strikes a deadly blow at the only notion that can safely obtain about office—i. e., that it exists not for those who hold it, but for the sake of the nation, and is to be filled only by those best qualified to fill it, not by those who, for the sake of it, have done most to elevate the dispensers of office to their powerful places. Consider the debasing influence on heads of departments and bureaus of feeling that they owe their places to voters who have a right to claim the price of their services! How can they look mainly at the duties on the intelligent and earnest performance of

which depend the use and value to the nation of their stations? The administration becomes corrupt from core to circumference in spite of itself, when every grade of office but the lowest is dependent on the favor or patronage of the grade above it; when all offices are thus bought, not with direct bribes—*that* might even be less corrupting, because more open—but when a poisonous atmosphere of bribery is created by a tacit understanding that party services, from the Cabinet down, are to have the main consideration in all appointments. The better portion of the people, whose interest and participation in politics it is so important to uphold and increase, has lost its respect for the politicians as a class, because of the machine they chiefly depend on. The interest in politics has become largely an interest of a corner-grocery character, or of betting- and card-rooms, or race-courses and beer-gardens. There the engineers of the machines work for their recruits and the boys who will run with the engine. It has dragged our politics in the mire and steeped it in rum and tobacco, until it is an offense in the nostrils of those who love their country disinterestedly. And when decent and honest men complain of the result of machine politics, of the low class of office-holders it promotes, and of the kind of threatening legislation it encourages, they are told: "It is all your own fault. Organization is always effective, and always wins. If you are so torpid, fastidious, or foolish that you will not attend the primaries and get control of 'the machine,' be sure it will be run by those who have won the right to run it by giving their time and attention to it." The employers of this argument know the safety of using it, because they know the people they address it to could not be dragged by oxen to "the primaries" after one or two experiences of what they are.

So hopeless has this partisan machinery made the sober and disinterested citizens of the country that they have abandoned all expectations of any reform in the methods of parties so long as civil-service reform is neglected in America. They see that parties in America are now governed from the *bottom*, and not from the top, and that, while the bottom governs, it will rule or ruin. There is no possible hope of redemption from our political demoralization—in which as a rule our office-holders are the controlling leaven of evil—except by bringing the force of public opinion to bear upon the Government, outside of parties, and seeking to effect reform from *above* downward. Public opinion is not made up, like an election return, of votes that each counts one

and one only. It is the voice that has the purest tone that goes farthest. Votes do not measure the public opinion of this country. If they did, we might well despair: they settle the legislators, but public opinion has them greatly under control, if it only will exercise its authority. We want a *new political machine*, the organization of the patriotism and sense of the people, who will act together in an endeavor to extort from every Administration and every Congress a civil-service reform essentially like that which has taken place so beneficially in Great Britain. It is idle to expect any support for this reform from the smaller class of professional politicians of this country. It must be carried against them and in spite of them, as it was in England. They are themselves the very evil to be abated. In most of the States legislative seats as well as administrative offices are in the hands of persons whose personal interests and whose tastes and views are in accordance with the spoils of office. Can we expect legislators who have got their places under this system to make laws to change it radically, nay, to abandon and make it impossible? The Congress of the United States has refused to make any appropriation for carrying out the plan of civil-service reform which President Grant and President Hayes have both recommended. By the simple refusal or silent agreement not to allow so small an appropriation as twenty-five thousand dollars for the support of the commissioners of examination of candidates for office, Congress baffled the doubtless honest wishes of two successive Presidents, whose experience in administration had enabled them to know the importance of this reform, from carrying it out even in the partial manner proposed. Can we expect any support from Congress until the press demands it? And will the press demand it, until those who support the press are themselves not only willing but anxious and clamorous to have it advocated in the newspapers? This state of public opinion can only be produced by the union of that portion of the American people, who have for many years ignored politics, about a method of political reform, which can alone give back its lost dignity to politics. They must observe and learn and follow the method by which a much more difficult reform of the same nature was achieved in Great Britain. It was effected by a few true statesmen and patriots, who threw themselves upon the higher intelligence and worth of the country, and, by patient adherence to sound principles of open competition for all offices below the few that give effective expression to that change of policy demanded from a new Cabinet, gradually won the

battle against Parliament, against the press, and against the whole current of usage and partisanship.

The reform began in Great Britain in the bosom of men who knew the distinction between party and partisanship—who believed in the necessity and uses of party government, and wished to make it, as they have done, more effective and stringent than it is in America. They knew that, if principles and policies were to be truly advanced, it must be by organizing parties on some other grounds than the spoils principle, since that throws parties into the control of the sordid and the time-serving. They wished to hold the intelligence and worth of England to the responsibility of self-government. In America we have said to our best people, You are too pure, too wise, too good, too disinterested to know anything about practical politics. Nobody who keeps his conscience in white gloves can be of any service in practical politics ; nobody who aims at improving political methods can be effective in a primary meeting or a caucus, or a convention for nominating great officers. There we want burly, unscrupulous partisans, who shut their eyes to everything but the interest of the party, take every advantage of their technical rights, can walk on the very verge of the law and keep their footing, and are obedient to the arrangement made for them by a little knot of secret wire-pullers, whose very names are unknown to their fellow citizens, but who, in a caucus or a convention, turn out to be the powers that rule. The vast political or party importance of ignorant and unprincipled nobodies in our American politics is a gigantic threat of ruin! It is difficult for honest men of moral and rational habits to understand their position and influence, and it drives them to needless despair of our system. We must break *this* machine or it will break us ; and the place to break it is by directing all the force of the thoughtful people in the land to the support of our executive officers, the men whom we clothed with responsibility and who ought to be made to govern. Alas! they are too often afraid to govern, and therefore we do not look to them as we ought nor encourage them as we should to carry out all the measures of right government that are in their direct power. For instance, our Constitution has given the President the nomination of a Cabinet which, though requiring to be approved and confirmed by the Senate, is not responsible to it, except by impeachment, after confirmation. It was designed to make the Executive of the nation independent enough to carry on his own great business by the aid of responsible heads of departments on prin-

ciples and after methods that partisan feeling could not disturb. But what a miserable weakening of our Executive and Cabinet has been effected by the corrupting influence of the spoils system upon the Senate, by which the appointments in all departments of the Government are, and have long been, regarded as means of sustaining or rewarding partisan services; and in consequence of which the heads of departments can not carry out any wise choice in the appointment of their necessary officers, except by the leave and in accordance with the irresponsible wishes of persons not having the efficient working of the department either in their knowledge or view! It is not too much to say that the jealousy of the Senate in regard to party patronage has been the chief source of the enfeeblement of the executive department of the Government, by fomenting a perpetual irritation between the President and his Cabinet and the Senate of the United States, and that this has rendered the Administration irresolute and inconsistent, and brought the office of the President into disrespect. What is all the recent talk about the need of a strong man—meaning an obstinate and self-willed man—in the Presidential office, but the outgrowth of a feeling that a man who will not overreach his prescribed rights and duties can give only a languid effect to what the Constitution meant to make an independent department? But it is encroachments on executive powers originally bestowed, encroachments to which party usage has given the only authority they have, that have made the Executive timid and dependent. So long as Congress maintains the spoils system, directly or indirectly, the Executive will continue weak; and, so long as it is weak, men who fear disorder more than they love liberty will be distrustful of our institutions, and ready to hang their hopes of the country on some single man's gifts or pretensions, and not on the good sense and good faith of the people and the authority of the laws justly enforced. The third-term movement is one of timidity, and is based on the disgraceful hypothesis that the safety of our country depends upon the leadership of some particular individual whose nomination and election would bring one of the few great traditions of the nation into contempt. There is no leading man of either great party who would not be safer (even if his Administration were unwise and impolitic) in the Presidential chair than the best man elected on the grounds on which any third-term man, though the best in the country, must be elected—namely, that our institutions are so weak in themselves that only a sacrifice of a great tradition of the fathers, hitherto treated as an unwritten

part of the Constitution, can save them—a doctrine which would soon lead to other and more costly sacrifices, in which our freedom would be lost. We do not so much need strong-willed Presidents as a strong-willed people, who will not allow the prerogatives of the Presidency to be encroached upon and whittled away by partisan expediency. Not strong men, but strong laws strongly exacted and strongly administered by Presidents who carefully avoid legislative and judicial acts, but as carefully resist trespassers of the other departments of the Government on executive responsibility. The thoughtful people of the country, who have sunk into silence and apathy in the presence of an imperative but shallow political partisanship that has long had its way, must learn that they have a power in sustaining, by sympathy and intelligent and outspoken approval through the press and in the magazines and pulpits, and on all public occasions where the voice of a wise man reaches far, the acts of those high officials, the President and the heads of departments, when they seek to return to the traditions of the Government in its best and earliest days, and to put and keep in office only men selected for their competency, character, and worth, without regard to partisan considerations. It was only by the support which a few statesmen of both parties gave each other, and by the support which the small class of the best patriots among the electors gave them, that, by degrees, a policy was established in England that gained steadily until it utterly displaced the spoils system and converted Parliament and party to its views. When the people come to understand, as it is in the power of a plain-speaking class of civil-service reformers to enable them to see, that they are cheated out of the only privilege the spoils system promises—that is, "rotation in office," and an opportunity of freely aspiring to Government employ by the spoils system itself, which confines offices to politicians by trade, a small and vicious class, and locks up patronage in the hands of political Levites; that the vast majority of those who desire office are not only made helpless by their very worth and their inability to stoop to the low door at which aspirants must creep in, while the supposed right to office is converted into the right of the fuglemen of trading politicians to be rewarded for their services at the cost of efficiency and integrity in the public service—then we may hope the people will turn against the spoils system as one that fattens upon their plainest rights. It ought to be an honorable ambition, as honorable as the service of the army or navy, to enter the civil service of the country. The army and navy would sink where the civil service has sunk, if it

followed its method, and the civil service would rise to the level of the army and navy service if it followed the method of appointments deemed necessary in both. In a country needing a hundred thousand office-holders, the vocation ought to be as honorable on social grounds as it is desirable on account of its salaries. How can it be made so except by making entrance to it depend upon merit, and merit only, and that merit to be determined by open competition? Let an examining board of experts have the complete custody of selecting from among all aspirants to office (below the few that must be in the free choice of the President, not above fifty) by rules publicly known and approved, and we should soon have those with a native aptitude for governmental business aspiring to and obtaining these places. The whole disgusting meaning of the word politician as it is now used would lose its offensive tang. The promising youth of the country, born to humble fortunes, would make a governmental career an object of serious ambition and of due preparation. It would not matter how far in the interior and from political centers they lived, nor how little party influence they possessed, if only they had the brains and the training that enabled them to prove their fitness for vacancies in the civil service. They would not be injuring their self-respect and tempting the love of power in others by cringing at the feet of partisans and caucus-leaders. They would simply have the honest chance of competing, on the grounds of pure merit, for the places that need competent occupants. What could do so much to elevate politics to its old place as this simple but radical and effective change in substituting open competition for party and personal influence, in all the offices of the State and country below the few highest, which confessedly must be made in accordance with party triumphs expressive of the national preference, and in order to carry out great lines of policy, newly demanded by a national majority?

We have entered into only a few of the questions raised by civil-service reform, being chiefly anxious to win attention to the example of Great Britain. We are well aware that, the better England's example is, the worse a certain portion of the American people will hate it. It is enough to damage the best counsel with some stupid demagogues, to say that it comes from England. But such fools are below argument, and must be left out of account in this discussion. Meanwhile the example of Great Britain is not forced upon us by her own statesmen. It is simply commended by disinterested American students of her system of civil-service administration.

We have said nothing, we can say nothing, that precludes the necessity of reading Mr. Eaton's work by those who would fully understand the strength and importance of the lesson it gives. No book so valuable to the American people has appeared in our day. We should be glad to see a vigorous society organized, and with a hundred skillful lecturers in the field, whose sole business it should be to make the people of the country acquainted with the facts set forth in Mr. Eaton's work. If they were known, they would create an inevitable revolution in our whole political sentiment. They will be known and must be considered, but how soon depends on the zeal of those who have already estimated their value. The civil-service reform is the truest issue before the country. We have had a sham fight over it, but we are preparing for a real battle. It will be in five years the chief issue, and settle, if not the next, then the next but one, Presidential canvass. Meanwhile we must not fail to recognize the genuine interest of the President in civil-service reform. We believe him to be truly in earnest, and doing the best he can. But he has had little support from his Cabinet, and less from Congress. The Secretary of the Interior has perhaps done his best, but he has had a discouraging discountenance from the Senate and from the House. We have had, doubtless under Presidential inspiration, a real civil-service reform going on in the New York Custom-House, and in the New York Post-Office, of a most creditable kind; but it is local, and carried on by the volunteer labor of heads of the departments who ought not to be charged with it, as it imposes new cares upon those who have already enough to do. We want a universal system, a commission supported by the nation and having for its sole duty to inaugurate and carry out the method of open competition for all governmental offices, not excepted for obvious and defensible reasons. What is required is so well expressed in a recent statement of principles set forth by the Independent Republican Association of New York that we adopt it as the condensation of our hopes and wishes:

"The repeal of the acts which limit the terms of office of certain government officials to four years; the repeal of the tenure of office acts which limit the power of the Executive to remove for cause; the establishment of a permanent civil-service commission, or equivalent measures to ascertain by open competition and certify to the President or other appointing power the fitness of applicants for nomination or appointment to all non-political offices."

HENRY W. BELLOWS.

OUR POLITICAL DANGERS.

If a close observer had been asked at any time within the last fifteen years to name the greatest danger to which our national peace and good name were subject—the danger most like to come upon us with bewildering suddenness—he could hardly have failed to reply that it was that of a contested Presidential election. This danger did burst upon us three years ago. We then escaped, through a measure which might have failed had it not been forced upon our legislators by a pressure from the business community which it was difficult to resist. It needs little reading of public sentiment, especially among Democrats, to see that this plan is not likely to be tried again in our time. The experience is too full of suggestions for forming a judgment respecting the probable decision of any tribunal which might be proposed. The plan of 1877 was adopted by both parties because neither party could see clearly what the decision was likely to be. But for this, it is very doubtful whether an agreement could have been reached. If a similar contingency should meet us in the future, and the two parties be called upon, in the very heat of the contest, to agree upon a tribunal to whose decision both should submit, will it be possible to select a body of men whose opinion neither party shall believe that it can fairly divine? For we must remember that it is not necessary that the divination shall be correct; the plan is spoiled if the astute minds of leading politicians are led to any conclusion whatever, true or false.

One conclusion which both sides will draw from the experience of the past is, that those with whom the decision rests must have no political leanings, or if the leanings exist they must be absolutely undiscoverable. The possibility of finding a set of men to fulfill these conditions will hardly be maintained.

All this does not in any way militate against the Electoral Commission of 1877. Few acts of our political history are more honor-

able to our people than the fact that they were able to find a practical way out of a difficulty which, as human nature goes, might have been expected to culminate in anarchy or civil war.

Yet another warning of what may happen to us at any moment comes through the recent dispute in Maine. But for the firm and exceptional position taken by the Supreme Court of the State, a dual government would have continued to exist until the coming Presidential election, and the question would have been open whether the electors were certified by a legal State authority. It is vain to say that there can be no doubt judicially respecting the validity of the certificates, because the question will be raised not by a court, but by men feeling that their duty to their party and to their constituents requires them to do all in their power to secure the election of their candidate. Men's ideas of law differ when their interests lie in opposite directions. We need not expect them to agree when there is no judge to which the case can be submitted.

In times when one party or the other was almost sure to have an overwhelming majority, occasional disputed cases in individual States had little significance, and could be safely ignored. But one of the curious political phenomena of the present time is the tendency to a balance between the two parties—a tendency which seems to be rather on the increase. In several States the two parties are so nearly equal that a change of two or three per cent. of the voters from one party to the other will change the political complexion of the State, and every calculation seems to make it probable that the next Presidential election will turn upon the votes of one or two closely contested States, as it did in 1876. The genral subject of the law of elections, national as well as State, thus assumes a gravity never before known in our history.

Under such a state of things, the question how a dispute as to who is the rightful President of the United States shall be avoided or settled can not be considered apart from the general question of providing for cases of contested elections. Besides, it may be laid down as an axiom that no far-reaching question of public policy can be intelligibly considered apart from the national habits and characteristics with which it is associated. Such a question may be expected to assume a different bearing in every different community, and, as the modes of action and thought of the community change, these bearings change with it. We shall, therefore, ask the reader to take a somewhat wider survey of the situation than would be necessary for the mere discussion of a point of law.

The views which we wish to present will be reached in the most natural order if we begin with the consideration of a question respecting which the most conflicting opinions are entertained. Are our political practices pure or corrupt? Do our political parties represent the good faith of the honest community, or do they simply illustrate the depth of corruption and inefficiency to which honest men will allow their government to sink through their own neglect to take the control of public affairs? We may find this question answered in directly opposite ways, according to the special features of our political practices to which we turn our attention. The patriotic citizen, anxious to prove to suspicious foreigners that our system of political management is superior to that of any other nation, will be at no loss to find facts on which to base his thesis.

As an example of universal good faith he could take the votes of the electors of President and Vice-President during the half-century which has elapsed since the electors were first chosen especially to vote for designated candidates. Some three thousand men in all have been selected for this purpose. No oath, no pledge of any kind, verbal or written, is ever required of them. In law they are perfectly free to vote as they think best, and no legal disability would follow their action should they exercise this freedom in their own way. In order that no outside pressure may affect them, they vote by ballot. Yet not one of these thousands of men has ever failed to comply with the silent, unenforcible, and extra-legal understanding with which he was chosen. There are very strong reasons why no such understanding should exist, and the arguments for ignoring it may be made to look as strong as those for recognizing it. Yet the conscience of the individual has always placed the sacredness of good faith above every other consideration.

No matter how carefully we probe our politics to discover signs of corruption, we shall find the same rule to hold. There are unwritten laws of courtesy and good faith which, though they have sometimes been ignored by corrupt bodies in remote quarters, are never lost sight of in Washington. Where the distant spectator sees only a conflict in which each party is determined to get the better of the other, by fair means or foul, there is really a scrupulous regard by each party for the rights of the other, so far as these rights are mutually understood. When commissioners were chosen by each House of Congress to decide who was elected President, the Democratic House chose two Republicans, and the Republican Senate two Democrats, in accordance with a custom from which

not even the interests at stake and the deep feeling of wrong could make either party deviate. Such examples as these, which might be multiplied indefinitely, show beyond doubt that, beneath everything which has the appearance of dishonesty and corruption in our politics, there lies a substratum of good faith, amply secure for the support of the best attainable system.

But the cynic who thinks our public men and our political habits worse than those of any other enlightened nation can also find ample material on which to base an apparently conclusive argument. He can show that our political contests have ceased to turn upon questions of public policy, and are reduced to a scramble for power between two sets of men, each of whom expect to use their power for the benefit of themselves and their supporters. The next Presidential election bounds the horizon of all our active politicians; beyond that is the deluge—chaos—no one thinks what. The constant increase in the number of contested elections of all kinds, and in the readiness and even the avidity with which authorities are found ready to avail themselves of technical quibbles to set aside the votes of a whole community; the fact that four fifths of all contested elections to Congress are either decided in favor of the dominant party or annulled by an almost pure party vote; the failure of Congress for three years to make any serious attempt to guard against a contested election of President; the open distribution of offices as rewards for party services; in fine, the approach to universality with which we see every decently open question of political law decided according to the political sympathies of the judges—are specimens of the facts and opinions which can be adduced to show the absence of all principle from our politics, and the irresistible progress of a reign of corruption which shall involve our institutions in destruction.

How shall we reconcile these discordant conclusions, each seemingly based upon the strongest possible foundations of fact? Is there any middle ground between the two extremes? The person who tries to find any such ground will be hopelessly bewildered. Each of the opposing conclusions is true in its own way, and in showing how they are to be reconciled we shall find the key to the whole difficulty. The substratum of good faith indicated by one set of facts really exists in all its security, but we have no sufficient system of laws, written or unwritten, based upon it. The case may be stated in a nutshell in the form of two propositions:

Wherever there is any well-understood law or custom by which all parties are bound, we find obedience rendered with the most scru-

pulous fidelity, and at any expense of personal or political interest.

Where there is no such law or custom, all parties feel themselves at liberty to gain any advantage they can by any means, good or bad, which Providence may have placed within their reach.

The root of the whole matter is, that we have no juridical system governing cases of contested elections which expresses the moral sense of the community. This moral sense is all right and amply sufficient to secure an impartial decision of every case, and only needs the guiding hand of well-established and understood legal decisions. Good morals and integrity of purpose are not sufficient to secure a general agreement among men as to their mutual rights and privileges. Even an ethical system of the most abstract kind could not be evolved out of the intellect without reference to the experience of society. A system of law defining the mutual duties of man under every variety of circumstances is the growth of ages, and never reaches full maturity, no matter how good we may suppose man to be. Therefore it does not follow that, because men have no law to guide them, and habitually decide by force questions which ought to be decided by law, they must be morally degraded. What they want is a system of law, by which all shall be guided.

The reader may be expected to reply to this, that laws and customs form the best possible criterion of the moral state of the community, and that when the eulogist of our people admits that our laws and customs are insufficient to secure political justice he concedes away his whole case. We admit that there is a certain amount of soundness to this answer, but claim that it is only one of those rude approximations to truth upon which it is fallacious to base a conclusion. Before proceeding further, let us pause a moment to guard against a mistake respecting the objective point at which we aim in the discussion. Our object is not to discuss the moral condition of the nation, or to prove that we are a much better people than would be supposed from the state of our political law, but to show the imperfect state of that law and the causes to which the imperfections are due. If our corrupting practices afford a true index of our moral state, it is entirely useless to discuss their importance. We must, therefore, assume that there is a discordance between our morals and our conduct, or the whole discussion will be a mere piece of moralizing.

As already intimated, we admit a general tendency in the law of the country to reflect the moral state of its people, but we claim

that this tendency may be interfered with by many causes, natural or artificial. Prominent among these causes are changes in the constitution and habits of the people, and consequently in the subjects upon which their laws are required to operate. Without essaying a hasty generalization, we may venture the suggestion that, under great and rapid changes in the relations of men, and consequently in the questions which are to be decided in order that justice may be done, the law will always be found in a chaotic state, justice insecure, and practices corrupt. We have a well-known illustration in our recent history. The vast development of the railroad system in our country and the habit on the part of stockholders and managers of mortgaging their corporate rights to carry out their enterprises have given rise to a multitude of legal questions wholly unknown in former times. What is the result? Granger legislation, repudiated bonds, endless litigation respecting property in roads, an absence of continuous good faith between rival corporations which would be regarded as scandalous in public life, and a general uncertainty respecting the mutual rights of those concerned which would be wholly intolerable in any other class of affairs.

Our whole national history has been marked by changes in our political habits which would alone be sufficient to account for a great deal of uncertainty in our political jurisprudence, and of which we shall presently show the bearing. The trouble is intensified and the natural cure prevented, by the fact that the Constitution of the United States and of the separate States make no provision for any system of political jurisprudence, or for the growth of a system of law to govern cases of contested elections.

The contrast between the development of the law of private rights and that of elections will be made clear by a mere glance at the two systems of procedure to which they have respectively led. Disputants at law have to submit their cases to a court composed of men especially trained for the purpose, whose impartiality is secured by the very conditions of their action. In pronouncing a decision, the Court accompanies its judgment with an exposition of the principles on which the decision is based; and, in the case of the higher tribunals, this exposition is published for the information of the public, and the guidance of other judges. A basis is thus laid for better understanding between man and man, because other judges are bound either to follow the precedent or give their reasons for deviating from it, and the public, knowing this, can govern itself accordingly. The necessity of submitting to the decree pre-

cludes the possibility of rebellion on the part of the individual, and submission is easy, because the party feels that the decree is in accordance with an established principle, to be impartially applied in all cases of a like character. A law-abiding habit is thus formed which, in a progressive and healthy state of society, grows stronger with every generation until it becomes quite ineradicable; while the number of questions which might lead to litigation continually tends to diminish by being assimilated to cases already decided. Of course this tendency may be, and commonly is, more than counterbalanced by new complications in the relations of men to each other, but this is no fault of the system.

There is not, in the nature of the thing, any reason why there should not be a law of elections growing in this same way, and commanding the same respect from all interested parties. A system of such law would be far simpler than that of the common law, because of the less variety in the cases to be adjudicated. The methods of voting and making the returns, and indeed the whole process of determining the will of the people, are, in their essential features, the same over the greater part of the Union, and remain almost unchanged through long periods of time. The general character of the wrongs, whether these wrongs consist in fraudulent voting, fraudulent ballots, wrong spelling of names, mistakes in counting, failure on the part of officers to comply with the letter of the law in conducting the elections and formulating their reports, or neglect of duty on the part of those who should certify the results of elections, has remained unchanged within the memory of every reader, and is likely to remain so after our youngest grandchildren shall have passed away.

Yet we doubt the possibility of enunciating a single principle which the Executives and Legislatures of the States would feel bound to enforce against the interests of their party. Let us look, for instance, at the very first point which would be taken up by a lawyer or statesman empowered to draw up a code of election laws. The laws of the Union and of the several States prescribe certain forms of procedure to those officers who conduct elections and make the returns. As examples, the electors of President and Vice-President must give in their votes on the same day through the United States; in Massachusetts, and perhaps many other States, the selectmen are required to make public declaration of the votes in open town meeting; town clerks must, within ten days, transmit copies of the record to the Secretary of the Commonwealth. Now, suppose some of these

formalities are not complied with: the electors are prevented by a snow-storm from meeting on the prescribed day; the selectmen neglect to make the declaration required; the town clerks do not make their returns until the eleventh day. The very first question which would occur to the codifier is, Under what circumstances shall the votes thus discredited be counted, and under what circumstances rejected? It would hardly do to prescribe that the fact of the informality should be always ignored by the certifying authority, because not only would the law then become a dead letter, but the door might be opened to successful fraud. On the other hand, it would be contrary to sound policy to require that all such returns should be unconditionally rejected, because it would then be within the power of an officer to defeat the will of the people by mere neglect, and scarcely any regulation could be made as a safeguard which might not become a pitfall for catching the votes of the community. Some course between the two extremes would therefore have to be adopted. That a judicial tribunal would find any difficulty in formulating principles by which such cases should be decided we can hardly believe. Common sense teaches that the result of an election is really fixed when the polls are closed, and that the object of all subsequent proceedings is simply to ascertain that result. All regulations for the subsequent proceedings of officers are designed solely to make the process of ascertainment certain and easy. Hence only such errors on the part of returning officers as would defeat this object ought to lead to the rejection of their returns—such errors, for instance, as were purposely committed with fraudulent intent.

The general view which the public are apt to take of this class of questions is a very interesting subject of study in connection with the development of juridical ideas. Contrary to current ideas, the layman is more likely to exact a rigid literal interpretation of the law than the educated jurist. The views of the relative stages of the two systems of law which we wish to convey are well illustrated by a case said to have occurred in an Eastern court several years ago.

The defendant was the maker of a promissory note. The case against him was so clear that his counsel was embarrassed to find any plausible defense. Carefully scrutinizing the note, he at length noticed that it promised something entirely different from what the plaintiff claimed. He triumphantly informed the Court that his client stood ready to fulfill the terms of his contract, which only re-

quired him to pay the plaintiff three hundred *dolls.* We can readily imagine the embarrassment which this plea might have caused to a bench of Garcelons. "In this case," they would have reflected, "the defendant has made a promise in plain and unambiguous English. The plaintiff now appears and asks judgment on the assumption that the contract meant something radically different from its literal meaning. If we admit that a contract can say one thing and mean another, where shall we stop? What excuse can we find for supposing that the defendant meant anything but what he said?" But in the actual case the Court had none of those scruples. The only answer it deigned to make to the plausible attorney was, "Brother Smith, you are behind the age."

This answer was perhaps more philosophically true than the Court intended it to be. In a primitive state of jurisprudence the Judge would not have dared to decide that the written document meant one thing when it said another. It is only as intelligence and correct ideas of justice become more fully developed that men become ready to look at the substance rather than the form—the thing meant rather than the thing expressed. The unlearned public are inclined to take the older view, and to form an extraordinary idea both of the necessity and the sufficiency of the outward forms of expression and procedure. The common man's idea of a legal government is embodied in an apostolic succession of written certificates, each duly signed by the required officer and embellished with the proper seal. With the failure of any link of the chain the magic succession is broken, and all that follows is a reign of anarchy, and not of law. Of course this idea carries with it the converse one, that whatever bears the proper impress and is done in due form is for that very reason right. Any set of men who can get the proper certificates form a legal Legislature. As such they constitute the highest law-making power, and are subject to no law except the Constitution by authority of which they assemble. Men whom they exclude have no right to a seat, debts which they repudiate are no longer due, and the money which they declare legal is the only kind that any debtor is bound to pay.

We must not, however, denounce this slavish adherence to forms as unworthy of all sound jurisprudence. The system is necessary in a certain moral state of society. If it leads us to Scylla on one side there is a Charybdis in which we may be ingulfed on the other. If the Judge deviates from the letter, the danger to be guarded against is that of being governed only by his own interests or

prejudices, and of setting to society an example of laxity to be followed in cases where it will do more mischief than a rigorous adherence to the letter. When we deviate from the letter, it is absolutely necessary that we should be guided by a clear and well-defined appreciation of the substance. Now, this presupposes an advanced stage of juridical ideas, and the practicability of the change must depend on the state of society. It is a question which every one can consider for himself, whether we have reached this stage of progress.

An excellent illustration of the points we are seeking to elucidate is afforded by the recent dispute in Maine. It may be doubted whether the proceedings which finally resulted in giving the control of affairs to the Republicans fully satisfied the popular ideas of political law, and whether many excellent people, having no sympathy with the course of Governor Garcelon and his Council, have not felt that the Court was governed more by the political exigency of the case than by sound law, in deciding that men who held no certificate from the Governor could legally take seats in the Legislature before the fact of their election had been formally inquired into by that body. That the exigency was an imperative one must have been plain to any one able to devote a little calm and impartial reflection to the case. The theory on which the Governor proceeded was that, in counting and examining the votes, he was bound to reject any and all returns which he might be pleased to consider informal. We have his word that he applied this theory with such impartiality that he rejected more Democratic than Republican returns. But so great was the proportion of rejected returns that the small surplus of Republican majorities thrown out was sufficient to deprive some fifteen or twenty per cent. of the elected members of their seats, and to change the political complexion of the Legislature. Now, it is plain to any one who will look into the subject that, if this system should become universal, the continuance of a republican form of government would be no longer possible. The people of Maine are among the best educated of the Union, and, if their town officers can not prepare returns which will stand the scrutiny of examination, it is certain that those of no other State can. If the question whether a return is formal is to be considered and decided by every Governor in his own way, and according to his own notions of formality, people would soon conclude that it was useless to go to the trouble of voting. The advice of a council of lawyers at the table of every

returning board would not suffice unless the lawyers knew exactly what the Governor's ideas of form were. Under any plan which could be put into operation, the Executive could find excuses for rejecting returns enough to elect a majority of his own choice, unless the majority against him was so great as to render such a course suicidal.

The Supreme Court might therefore have decided as it did, on the ground that self-preservation is the highest law. But, if we look at the matter closely, we shall see that the Court did nothing more than apply to a political case the very same kind of law which is every day applied to transactions between individuals. The reader may derive instruction as well as amusement from the parallel between the view of one of the returns taken by Governor Garcelon and the legal plea of the ingenious Smith already referred to. It will be remembered that in one or more of the returns the number of votes cast for some of the candidates was indicated by writing the word "ditto" in the column devoted to the numbers. These returns were all rejected, on the ground that the number of votes was not stated. The Governor made no serious pretense of not knowing what the returns meant, for every child of ten years old and upward is well acquainted with the form of expression used. The meaning was clear and decisive, the only fault being that the statement was not made in such a form as to secure the approval of the Executive. So, in the Boston case, Brother Smith made no pretense of believing that his client meant anything but dollars when he drew his note for dolls, only he did not express himself in the right way. It is perhaps hardly fair to the zealous lawyer to claim a parallel, for his case was certainly incomparably stronger than that of the fastidious Governor, insomuch as *doll* is a well-known English word, and he only asked the Court that the note should be adjudged to mean what it said, while the Governor asked that plain English, or at least commercial English, should be ruled out on the ground (we suppose) of not expressing anything.

Far from being an opinion to suit an exigency, no more wholesome and timely lesson in political morals and jurisprudence was ever given to the American people than that contained in the answers of the Supreme Court of Maine to the questions submitted. The men who had the courage and penetration to frame these answers deserve the gratitude of all men without regard to party, and the principles on which the decision was based should be taught in our public schools throughout the land. The substance of the prin-

ciples is that the highest authority in the State, in issuing certificates of election, is bound by the same kind of law that rules between man and man ; that a fraudulent or incorrect paper is of no value ; that a political party has no more right to take advantage of technical defects, or of certificates wrongly issued, than an individual has ; and that the men who, on the face of the honest returns, appear to be elected to the Legislature, have a right to meet and organize, even if they do not have the official certificates. Democrats who now denounce this law seem to forget that it is the very law under which their party took possession of the State governments of Louisiana and South Carolina in 1877, after their certificates of election had been refused by proceedings quite analogous to those of Governor Garcelon in Maine. The close parallel between the two cases shows how little room there is for bringing partisan considerations into the matter.

Why is it that our political law is so far behind our private law? To state the question more exactly, why do we find in our political management a total absence of those well-established habits of regulating disputes which naturally grow up in every civilized community? The answer is, that we have excluded from our politics that plan of deciding questions which the experience of ages shows to be the only one under which a system of jurisprudence can be developed, namely, the plan of submitting all disputes to independent and impartial tribunals, bound to do justice, and to assign the reasons for their decisions. The growth of political law was made impossible when we introduced from the mother-country the constitutional provision that Legislatures should be the sole judges of the elections of their members. However sound may have been the reasons for this provision in England, or in times past, in our own land they have all passed away with the changes in our political feelings, and the practice is now only a source of mischief. That the qualities we have described as attaching to judicial decisions can never attach to the decisions of a large deliberative body, hardly needs argument. In the first place, unless the case is a very simple one, only an insignificant number of the members can acquaint themselves with its merits. They are neither sworn to do justice, bound to give reasons for their action, nor expected to follow any precedent. They may vote one way to-day and directly the opposite to-morrow, without being called to account. Their decisions form no precedent for themselves or any one else. As party contests increase in virulence, we see a constant tendency to divide

on party lines in all cases of contested elections, and to make it a matter of party fealty always to vote for the party contestant. Unless some moral revolution occurs, the practice will continue growing worse, and we may, in time, expect to see all cases of the kind, in which there is the smallest room for a difference of opinion, decided by a party vote.

The only cure for this state of things is to introduce the system of submitting all cases of contested elections, and all cases involving the duties of the various officers engaged in conducting and declaring them, to regularly constituted courts. The habit of submission to law, which is so deeply rooted in our national character, would then insure a peaceable and satisfactory determination of every case, and the growth of a system of political law as permanent and well-defined as the law regulating the relations of individuals. The only strong objection which is likely to be made to such a course is, that the questions to be submitted are political, and therefore ought not to be decided by a court of law. One of the strongest objections to the Electoral Commission was, that it brought the Supreme Court into politics. The fact that a question was a political one has been adduced as a reason why the courts should refuse to decide it. At the bottom of these objections is, no doubt, the fear that the Court might pronounce a decision contrary to the popular will, and that the latter would, in the long run, be sure to be executed in defiance of the Court, which would thus fall into contempt.

We may begin with the consideration of this last objection. Under the proposed plan a court could not possibly decide against the popular will for the reason that its office would be to determine what that will was, and to pronounce such judgments that it should be certainly executed. To claim that political questions ought not to be the subjects of judicial decision is either to mistake what political questions are or to claim that our political practices should not be amenable to law. Such questions as whether A or B is elected to Congress; whether an officer could be considered as *prima facie* entitled to a seat without a certificate from the Executive of his State; whether a disputed return should or should not be considered valid; whether this person or that had a right to vote, are not properly political, but so vitally affect the rights of individuals that they are proper to be decided by a court of law. The purification of our political practices, in this one way in which it can be effected, must continue to become a matter of more imperative necessity. The further society advances in wealth and civili-

zation, and the more complex the relation between different men and different classes, the more complex and the more exact must be the legal system by which those relations are regulated. Rules of right and wrong, which would entirely suffice in a new mining town, would be wholly insufficient in a great city. The simple laws under which our ancestors lived a couple of centuries ago would be wholly insufficient at the present time. What would be our social state, if during our whole history we had adopted a plan of settling private disputes under which no permanent development of law was possible? What would have been tolerable a century ago would now be destructive of all progress. Yet this is exactly what we have done in our plan of settling contested elections. There are strong reasons for an improvement, which do not exist in any other country, and which have not before existed in our own, but which we are very apt to overlook. We can look to no other country for our precedents, because in no other enlightened country are elections so frequent, the officers to be elected so numerous, and the legal questions connected with them so complex. The fact that a given system has sufficed for England affords no reason why it should suffice for ourselves.

Another thing having an important bearing on the case is the consolidation of certain political habits within the present generation which necessitate our taking new views of many public questions. It is difficult to give any general and exact definition of what these changes consist in: they are rather to be inferred from the several features exhibited by a survey of our political feelings and habits.

One of these features to be noted is the great development of the art of political management, of which we are all witnesses, but of which no one can see the ultimate result. Our political contests now bear the same relation to those of half a century ago that a battle between two turreted ironclads does to the battles of Drake or Nelson. The people are still the source of power, but much in the same way that the sailors who work the guns of an ironclad are the arms of victory. The primitive idea of a republic, as a government under which all questions are decided by an independent opinion of each individual citizen, has almost vanished. Nine tenths of the voting population are organized in the similitude of two opposing armies, and go to the polls under a moral influence which seems to be as effective as if they were actually members of regiments and battalions, and were compelled to vote as their offi-

cers directed. We have a something which every one feels, though it is difficult to describe it exactly—a thing which its friends call "organization" and its enemies "the machine." Notwithstanding all that has been written and said against this something, it is constantly increasing in power and efficiency. It distributes offices, decides who shall be candidates, brings a half million voters to the polls who otherwise might have remained home through indifference, raises money for election expenses, plans political campaigns, and is what every one has in mind when he thinks how an election is to be carried. How far the "machine" is inimical to our political welfare; in what measure it tends to dishonesty; to what extent its sole work may be to give effect to the popular will, with a speed and certainty before unknown—are questions respecting which the most divergent opinions may be honestly entertained. But there is one thing connected with it which we think can not be disputed, namely, that the opposing machines of the two political parties are dangerous fighting engines which, as they become more and more powerful, are required by the best interests of society to be brought into greater subjection to law.

Closely connected with this feature is another, of yet greater interest to the political philosopher, namely, the purely factitious lines by which parties are now separated. All our traditional notions of political parties, their purposes, their objects, and the nature of their contests, are in a fair way to be completely reversed. The original conception of such a party, and the conception which has found expression in our Constitutions, is that of a body of men drawn into sympathy with each other by common ideas of public policy, and organized for the sole purpose of carrying out definite views, shared by all in opposition to the members of opposing parties. It was supposed that the strongest political antagonisms would be those between different interests, different sections, different views of governmental policy and different branches of the government. The representatives from one State would, by virtue of their peculiar situation, and the habits of their people, have one political interest, and those from other States others; the courts would represent one set of views and the Legislatures another. In such a state of things there would be more or less reason for attempting, so far as practicable, to preserve the complete autonomy of each interest, each section, and each branch of the Government.

The curious feature which we commend to the attention of thinking men is, that antagonisms of this character have almost

ceased to figure among those which divide political parties and on which courts would have to pass judgment in cases of contested elections. At the present time neither of the parties which would appear before the Court in such cases could be said to represent any well-defined policy which it was seeking to maintain in opposition to the other party. The dead level was reached at the last Presidential election, when, leaving out the *brutum fulmen* which each party discharged at the other, the two might have exchanged platforms without taking any embarrassing pledges, renouncing any favorite policy, or alienating their respective adherents, and when it was hardly possible to name a debatable measure which one would distinctly oppose and the other favor. If any original party, say the Federalists of our early history, or the Republicans of twenty-five years ago, had been offered power on condition of reversing their policy, they would have inquired with wonder what use power could be to them if, in order to attain it, they had to surrender the sole purpose of desiring it, namely, the execution of the policy they were organized to carry out. But, at the present time, either party is ready, within such limits as it may consider reasonable, to take either side of any disputed question, if it can thus be certain of carrying the next election. Questions which before were fought out between two opposing parties are now fought out within the ranks of each, without any serious and permanent break in the front which it presents to its opponents. Of all political questions since the close of the war, that in which the greatest interests are involved is the question of the currency. It is hardly to be expected that another question which will come home to every family in the land is likely to arise in our day. Yet, so far as fundamental principles are concerned, each party has divided upon it, without any breach sufficient to weaken it in the coming contest.

It may be maintained that this is only an abnormal and temporary state of things, which will cease as soon as an exciting question is presented to the people. Ever since the war, good men have been expecting to see the present parties disintegrate and new ones formed to meet each other on the new issues of the day. Especially has the moribund condition of the Democracy been the subject of moralizing on the part of Republicans, who seemed about ready to put on mourning for their old antagonist; and yet both organizations are to-day more compact than ever, and, could the Democratic party only keep its wayward and unruly members in subjection, it could hardly fail to elect the next President. We see no

reason why the present state of things should not be permanent, and all questions of policy be fought out within each party after the example of the currency question. When a new question arises, instead of joining issue upon it, each party takes the side which it thinks will secure the most support. Neither has any plan which it wishes to carry out in opposition to the popular will. When, in 1875, the Democracy laid aside its time-honored principles, stepped upon a soft-money platform, and adopted the wildest vagaries of its old enemy Wendell Phillips, it was because the will of the people was supposed to favor this course. When this proved to be an error, party organs were quite ready to apologize for the mistake, and to advocate a reversal of the policy. Party organization, notwithstanding the factitious character of its antagonisms, having proved stronger than every other interest, it may be fairly assumed that it will continue to prove so. We can hardly expect within our time to see a national party contest on well-defined political lines. With this state of things, the last remaining reason for continuing the old system of deciding elections is annulled, and the necessity of a better one made imperative.

What has already been said of our present and future political exigencies will now enable us to judge of the conditions which should be fulfilled by any practical plan designed to settle contested Presidential elections. A number of measures intended to effect this object have been introduced into the present Congress, although none have been finally acted upon. It is discouraging to see how feeble the public demand for action is, in view of the great danger we are running for want of it. We shall, however, throw out some hints upon the most pressing requirements of the case, hoping that they will prove not wholly unworthy of the consideration of thinking men.

The first point which we make, and the one which overshadows all others in importance, is that the decision must be a judicial one. All that we have said of the advantages of judicial decisions by permanent courts over the resolutions of deliberative assemblies applies to the case in hand. From this point of view a fatal objection will be seen in one feature which enters into a number of the proposed measures, namely, that a certificate of the electoral or other vote of a State may be rejected by a concurrent vote of the two Houses of Congress. Others go yet further, and propose that a controverted certificate shall not be received unless both Houses concur in doing so. Should a controversy of any sort arise, can

any one for a moment suppose that it would become anything but a party question, should there be the smallest possible ground for a difference of opinion? We must not judge the case by what might happen in the first instance, because it is one which constantly tends to grow worse. As we have already shown, the system is one under which precedent is the only recognized law; and, when one party begins by deciding in its own favor, the other will follow whenever it gets a chance, in order to secure equity. We can hardly doubt that the nature of the vote by which the last election was determined operated as a strong incentive on the Democrats of the Forty-fifth Congress to avoid taking any action which might tie their hands at the next election. But why reason about the matter? The manner in which contested elections to Congress are habitually decided shows us exactly how it would be in a similar contest over the Presidency, where the motive for the decision in favor of the party would be incomparably stronger.

In judging the case we must remember that the proposed laws lay down no principles by which Congress is to be governed in reaching a decision, and require from no member a submission of the reasons for his vote. The whole question is one of individual conscience under circumstances in which conscience has no rule to guide it. We must not be understood as founding our objections on the weakness or wickedness of human nature. Men would vote for their party, not because they were bad or unprincipled, but for the simple reason that no law or principle regulating their vote is laid down for their guidance, and it would be a work of supererogation for any one to be better than his neighbors.

Among the bills now under consideration, that of Mr. Bicknell provides that, in the event of a controversy in any State as to the appointment or eligibility of electors, the same may be passed upon by its highest judicial tribunal in accordance with its laws. This proceeding is in perfect agreement with the principles we have laid down, but unfortunately it gives the two Houses of Congress the power to reverse the State decision, and indeed to reject any of the electoral votes it may choose.

Another measure, which fully complies with the required conditions, is that of Mr. Thomas Updegraff. It provides for carrying a case of contested elections into the United States courts. A person claiming the office of President, in opposition to the count declared by Congress, may bring action in the Circuit Court of the United States, and the case may be carried by appeal to the Supreme Court.

It seems completely adapted to carry out the required object, excepting on a single point. As a condition precedent to any such action, one House of Congress must, by resolution, express dissatisfaction with the result of the count. Now, it is not to be expected that, in case both Houses are of the same political complexion, either House will be dissatisfied with the choice of its own candidate. Nor under such circumstances is it likely that the candidate of the other party would be declared elected, unless the case in his favor was so clear as to preclude all doubt. The condition in question, therefore, renders the plan entirely inoperative unless the two Houses are of opposite politics, which is not likely to be the case half the time. We fail to see any sound reason why any candidate, who has received electoral votes and considers himself unlawfully deprived of the office, should not be allowed to sue in the United States courts.

It must always be borne in mind that what is wanted is not simply a legal and political but a moral effect. When a case is decided against one party, we want that party to feel that the decision is based on law, and not on mere force of numbers, because, without this feeling, the proper effect will not be produced. The party thus wronged in his own estimation may submit, but a sore will be left which can not be readily healed. The reason why the decision of the Electoral Commission of 1877 has been demoralizing rather than otherwise is not because it decided in favor of the Louisiana Returning Board, nor because the vote was eight to seven, but it was because the Commission divided on supposed party lines. If two or three Democrats had voted with the Republicans, and *vice versa*, it would now be very much easier to adopt some plan for the future, even though, at the time, the result had been the same. Under the actual circumstances it is not possible for the Democrats to feel otherwise than that they lost, not because they had the weaker cause, but because they had not the good fortune to get the fifteenth member of the Commission. On the whole, we see no way in which a permanently satisfactory system can be inaugurated except by making every decision of a disputed case a judicial one, to be pronounced by some permanent Court.

SIMON NEWCOMB.

MR. FROUDE'S HISTORICAL METHOD.

HAD Mr. Froude's articles on "Romanism and the Irish Race in the United States" appeared anonymously, they would have been allowed to pass by unheeded, as a very ordinary contribution to anti-Catholic sensational literature. Our ears are so familiar with the outcries and screams of the alarmist that we do not take the trouble to stop to ask him for the grounds of his terror. But, when a literary Englishman condescends to warn us of dangers ahead, we can not but feel the propriety of listening to him with at least apparent seriousness—to such an extent has our intellectual provincialism become a second nature with us. It is pleasant, however, to reflect that an American scholar could not have stooped to the flippant garrulousness of these articles. Polemics of this kind are with us abandoned to the more vulgar sort of men; and it is not without a certain sense of humiliation that I undertake to point out some of the misstatements and fallacies of this popular writer. There is, indeed, no special reason why this should be done at all, other than the very flimsy one furnished by Mr. Froude's name, for, both in his facts and his arguments, he merely treads again the well-beaten path with which we are all familiar.

A writer's method gives us the truest insight into the value of his work; and Mr. Froude's spontaneity of character does not permit him to conceal from his readers his literary secret. "It often seems to me," he says, "as if history was like a child's box of letters, with which we can spell any word we please. We have only to pick out such letters as we want, arrange them as we like, and say nothing about those which do not suit our purpose."* The intellectual frivolousness which permits one to look upon history in this way is incompatible with the love of truth, and there is but a step from arranging facts to falsifying them.

* "Short Studies," vol. i., "The Science of History," p. 1.

Mr. Froude, in the articles under review, has shown us how he applies this historical method to suit his purpose. "In 1785," he says, "there was one Roman Catholic bishop in the United States, with fifty priests and twelve churches. The Roman Catholic population was French or Spanish. They had neither school, college, convent, nor monastery. They were declining in numbers, or were being absorbed into the preponderating Anglo-Saxon element." Now, in point of fact, there was no Roman Catholic bishop at all in the United States in 1785. There were not fifty priests, and the Catholic population was not French or Spanish. The first bishop was consecrated in 1790; he estimated the number of priests to be about twenty-five, and the forty thousand Catholics then in the country were chiefly Americans, the descendants of the English and Irish Catholic settlers of Maryland. The French had colonized Louisiana, but that was purchased by the United States only in 1803. The American Catholics had no school or convent in 1785, for the simple reason that even in Maryland, where they had first proclaimed the principles of religious liberty, the colonial legislation had made it a crime for a Catholic to teach school or hold public worship; but that their numbers were diminishing is a gratuitous assertion for which there is no evidence. All this is of course unimportant, except as an instance of the way in which Mr. Froude uses his historical letter-box. In the brief passage which I have quoted, we have examples of the triple pseudo-historical process of falsification, invention, and arrangement. We will proceed to a more weighty matter. "Before English rule had established itself in the shape of the policeman," says Mr. Froude, "the numbers of the Celtic race were kept down by internal wars and feuds, and want of food. The Irish annals are a monotonous record of fights among the O's and the Mac's, of farmsteads burned and cattle carried off as spoil . . . . the people lived like wild animals upon meat and grass; and in Spenser's time the Celtic population scarcely amounted to half a million. . . . All that they were suffering was laid at England's door—and, indeed, in a sense, with justice; for except for us they would never have been alive to suffer."

Mr. Froude wishes to prove that the Irish race would have perished by its own hands had it not been preserved from destruction by English rule; and he does this by telling us that their feuds had been so incessant and bloody that the Celtic population was in Spenser's time reduced to half a million. Now, Spenser lived four hundred years after the invasion of Ireland by the Anglo-Normans, and

the diminished population of his day would show that English rule had been fatal to Ireland. Again, when Mr. Froude says that the Irish population was reduced to half a million in the time of Spenser, he makes an assertion which, as he must know, can not be proved to be true. His authority is Spenser himself, who, in the report which he gave to Queen Elizabeth of the condition of Ireland in 1596, makes this estimate of the population; but his opinions on this subject were based upon conjecture, and he was besides interested in making it appear that the enemies of the Queen were few. But, even in the supposition that he was not far astray, the condition of Ireland was at that time not worse in this respect than that of England. In Spenser's time Sir Edward Coke declared, in the House of Commons, that he, together with Popham, Chief Justice, was employed to take a survey of all the people of England, and that they found them to be nine hundred thousand of all sorts. Ireland then had more than half the population of England, whereas now, after two centuries more of English police protection, it has but a fifth. Mr. Froude has himself elsewhere explained to us the causes which reduced the population of Ireland, and brought the people to live like wild animals on meat and grass. He is speaking of the soldiers of Elizabeth in Spenser's time: "When sent to recover stolen cattle," he says, "or punish a night foray, they came at last to regard the Irish peasants as unpossessed of the common rights of human beings, and shot or strangled them like foxes or jackals. More than once in the reports of officers employed on these services we meet the sickening details of these performances related with a calmness more frightful than the atrocities themselves; young English gentlemen describing expeditions into the mountains 'to have some killing,' as if a forest was being driven for battue." Again: "She did not conquer Ulster, but she bribed the inferior tribes to rise against the O'Neills. She made use of a piratical colony of Scots, who had settled in Antrim, whom Shan had injured. Sir Henry Sidney ravaged Tyrone and fixed a garrison in Derry." Again: "But she was not content to do the work alone. Against the Irish fighting on their own soil, among bogs and mountains and forests, other allies were more efficient than English soldiers. The Butlers were let loose on their ancient enemies. Every living thing was destroyed by which the insurrection could maintain itself. The corn was burned in the field; the cattle were driven into the camp and slaughtered. The men who could bear arms were out with their chief; the aged and the sick, the women and the little ones,

perished all in the flames of their burning homes. The official records of this deadly war return the killed and hanged in tens of thousands; and famine took up the work where neither sword nor rope could reach." Again: "Lord Mountjoy took his place in Ireland, and the conduct of a war that had been too long trifled with was at length in efficient hands. . . . The country was so dreadfully wasted that children were killed and eaten for food. In one place three wretched little creatures were found feeding on their dead mother."*

This is Mr. Froude's own account of Elizabeth's Irish wars "in Spenser's time," and surely there is no need to hunt up the fights among the O's and the Mac's to explain how the population was reduced to half a million, and the people driven to live like wild animals on meat and grass. It would have been beyond the purpose, however, to have given these facts in the articles on "Romanism and the Irish Race in the United States," the intent of which is to embitter Americans against the Irish people and the Catholic Church. He therefore has recourse to his historical letter-box, picks out the letters he wants, arranges them as he likes, and says nothing about the rest. It is an application, in another sphere, of the famous maxim of the old Pennsylvania politician—"Addition, division, and silence," with "subtraction in the place of addition." It is an undisputed fact that clan-fights were common in Ireland during the middle ages, as feuds and petty wars were common in England and on the Continent of Europe. It is also certain that Spenser put the population of Ireland in his day at half a million. Mr. Froude takes these two facts, and sets them side by side, as though they were cause and effect, keeping all the while profound silence concerning the butcheries, and burnings and hangings and famines by which the English Government had brought the Irish race to the verge of destruction.

If historic truth is sacred, dishonesty of this kind is as base as thievery.

Let us take another example of Mr. Froude's method. He wishes to make light of the heroic fortitude with which the Irish people have held to their faith, by showing that their fidelity was due not to themselves but to circumstances. Had Protestantism been presented to them in its Calvinistic form, they might, he thinks, have accepted it. Why? Because "Calvinism suited the

* "The English in Ireland," vol. i., pp. 51, 52, 55, and 62.

Celtic nature. It was born in France; it was bred in Switzerland; it was adopted by Scotland; the Highlanders accepted it at last; and the Welsh, if they are not Calvinists, are Protestants of an extremely emotional type." This is a curious example of the way in which Mr. Froude picks out and arranges his historical letters to make them spell the word which he wishes to bring under his reader's eye. Calvinism was born in France, but it has virtually perished there: it was adopted by the Lowland Scotch, but they are not Celts; and the Welsh, who are Celts, are not Calvinists at all, but Methodists; and, on the other hand, Calvinism is the religion of the Protestants of Holland, of a considerable portion of the Protestants of Germany, of the Puritans of Old England and New England, none of whom are Celts; and Calvinism too is precisely the one form of Protestantism which showed life and zeal in Ireland, and which the Celtic population there rejected with even more aversion than the Establishment, which was too hollow a sham to excite intense feeling of any kind. It is not probable that Mr. Froude really thinks there is any sympathy between the Irish character and Calvinism; he means something quite different when he asserts that Calvinism suited the Celtic nature, as the following words show: "Oliver's hand was hard," he says, "but there was no hypocrisy about him. Clear action was for once taken on the real facts of the situation. The Irish were a conquered people and were treated as a conquered people. . . . Two generations of the iron hand, and the Irish would, in all likelihood, have followed the example of the Highlanders." What "two generations of the iron hand" means, we all know. Mr. Froude has told us what Elizabeth's Irish wars were: Cromwell's were yet more savage and murderous. In his butcheries half the people had perished, and the survivors were dying of hunger in the bogs and glens in which they had sought refuge from the fury of the troopers. Wolves prowled around the gates of Dublin, and wolf-hunting and priest-hunting grew to be lucrative diversions. Had this state of affairs gone on for two generations, the Celtic population would have perished utterly, and this is doubtless Mr. Froude's meaning when he says Calvinism was best suited to their nature. This, in fact, is implied in his reference to the Irish penal code. "They" (the English) he says, "extended their penal laws to Ireland, but they allowed them to be executed only far enough to exasperate, while the creed which they were designed to extinguish intensified its hold. Persecution may succeed if it is thorough-going. It is the wildest of follies if

the hand is lifted only to show that it can not or will not strike." The fault he finds in the Protestant persecution of the Irish Catholics is that it was not thorough-going. In point of fact it stopped barely short of the destruction of the Celtic population in Ireland, and what Mr. Froude would like, therefore, is that they had been blotted out of existence altogether. His desire is but the expression of the policy of the British Government, as made known to us by Protestants themselves. "The favorite object of the Irish Governors," says Leland, "and of the English Parliament was the utter extirpation of all the Catholic inhabitants of Ireland"; and Warner adds that "they hoped for the extirpation not of the mere Irish only, but of all the English families that were Roman Catholic."

Infamous as the penal code was—the contrivance of devils, according to Montesquieu, which ought to have been written in blood and registered in hell—its execution was even more cruel and tyrannous than the law itself; and yet Mr. Froude would have us believe that the hand of the persecutor was lifted only, but did not strike. The mental state which renders such perversion of the most universally admitted facts of history possible is pathological, and is interesting even as a study in psychology. Mr. Froude, I would fain believe, is less a willful and conscious perverter of historic truth than a victim to the Englishman's inability to understand or appreciate anything that is not English; and in the case of the Irish people this incapacity is intensified by the action of that low and unworthy instinct which prompts us to hate those whom we have deeply wronged.

The woes and miseries of Ireland have been great enough, one would think, to appease the fiercest and most vindictive enemy, but they seem only to excite the rage of this strange man, as the taste of blood rouses the fury of beasts of prey; and the cries of the famishing multitudes serve to remind him that, as the starving people will be again driven to the shores of America, it is his duty to poison the public mind, so that even here the Irish Catholic may find no refuge from the blight and curse of English oppression. Enough of this. The Irish question has been thrust forward by Mr. Froude in the present instance to serve as a cover for what even he can not but feel to be a wanton and unprovoked attack upon the Catholics of the United States. The secret of his hatred of the Church he partly reveals in the following words: "The Catholic Church has sanctified the Irish cause. It has made patriotism respectable. It has given the peasantry the sympathy of Catholic Europe.

Without their religion they would have yielded long ago." A religious faith which is capable of inspiring such heroic and unwearying resistance to tyranny can hardly be the foe of freedom. If Mr. Froude's inability to distinguish between truth and falsehood were not so undeniably manifest, his views on Catholicism in America would be set down to the score of sheer ignorance. To represent the Church of this country, as he does, as a purely Irish Church, is simply absurd. There is a strong German element in the American Church. Thirteen of our bishops are Germans or of German descent. The descendants of the Maryland colonists, together with the converts, are chiefly of English origin; and they also are well represented in the hierarchy. In Louisiana, and in several States of the East and West, there is a very respectable Franco-American and French-Canadian Catholic population. It is, therefore, simply ridiculous to speak of the Church in the United States as simply an Irish Church.

In a work published some seven years ago, Mr. Froude declared that "the Irish themselves lose their papal fervor when settled in countries where Popery is no longer identical with patriotism."* He now shakes up his box again, picks out other letters, and finds that the words which they spell tell quite another story.

Far from losing their papal fervor in this country, where, according to his own assertion, their faith is not only not identical, but is incompatible with patriotism, the Irish manifest here a Catholic zeal, Mr. Froude declares, which goes beyond anything claimed for them even by those who have most reason to be delighted with the fruits of their religious fervor. "The Irish in America," he says, "marry wholly among themselves and within their own creed." Now, this is absurdly false, as the chancery records of every diocese in the United States will show. They marry neither wholly among themselves nor wholly within their own creed, though the Church strongly opposes mixed marriages, because the tendency of such unions is to produce religious indifference both in the parents and the children. "The lapses from the faith," he continues, "once relatively large, have now wholly ceased." This, too, I regret to be compelled to say, is false. The number of those who fall away from the faith is smaller in proportion to the Catholic population than it was twenty-five years ago, but to affirm that defections have wholly ceased is to be regardless of facts. "The Irish race the

* "The English in Ireland," vol. i., p. 39.

other side of the Atlantic," Mr. Froude goes on to say, "remains as separate from the Anglo-Saxon as it is at home." The American is not an Anglo-Saxon. He is the child of many peoples; in his veins flows the intermingled blood of the English, the Irish, the Scotch, the German, the Dutch, the French, the Swede, and other European nations. The Yankee even, in his westward progress, intermarries with all the world. To affirm, therefore, that any race remains separate from the Anglo-Saxon in the United States is to talk nonsense. But Mr. Froude evidently means to say that the Irish Catholics form a body apart in this country, and hold themselves aloof from the American people. This, again, is absurdly false; and the gentleman who, as he informs us, told him in New York that it takes about half an hour to make an American of an Irishman, spoke the truth. If an Irishman had no other reason for loving this country than our victorious rebellion against English tyranny, that of itself would suffice to make him loyal. If I may speak my own thought, I will say that I find in the children of our Irish Catholics a tendency to what I call ultra-Americanism. They are so intensely American that they often fail to recognize the obvious defects of our society and the shortcomings of American character. Mr. Froude's prejudice blinds him to the plainest facts when he imagines that the Catholics form a separate and distinct people in this great republic. We can say to him what Tertullian said to our enemies sixteen hundred years ago: "It is too late; we are already everywhere; we are a part of the national life, and to rage against us is to be cruel to yourselves."

This suicidal strife is precisely what Mr. Froude desires to stir up among us; and it may be fairly doubted whether this loyal Englishman would be most pleased by the destruction of the republic or the ruin of the Church. Having labored earnestly to persuade his readers that the Catholics of this country form an *imperium in imperio*, he next proceeds to give a somewhat rhetorical description of the Catholic revival during the present century. "In the great war against the English Reformation," he says, "the Catholics have won the first campaign. . . . A united Italy may have stripped the Pope of his immediate dominions; but in every country in the civilized world the Papacy has recovered a practical power which more than compensates the loss. It divides France with the Republicans. It brings to terms the imperious German statesman. It is the enemy of freedom, yet its power is greatest under the freest governments. It has delivered Ireland from Prot-

estant ascendancy. It invades America by Irish arms. In England, if not as yet politically powerful, it has converted the Anglican Church into a training-school by the infection of its principles. Romanism unquestionably is everywhere recovering itself, putting out extraordinary energy, rousing something like the old enthusiasm, and making progress most where her enemies had been strongest." Just two pages further on he concludes his whole argument by declaring that "Romanism" is dead. "A galvanic grammar of assent," he says, "may make the dead limbs seem to move; but the movement is artificial. The heart does not beat, the blood does not run in the veins. The life once gone does not come back again." It may be fairly doubted whether there is in all literature anything more curious than this; certainly stronger evidence of the pathological condition of Mr. Froude's mental state could not be desired. Here are two lengthy essays in which the growing life and energy of the Catholic Church form the groundwork of the whole argument. Her vigor is described in the boldest imagery: "The belief which our fathers had believed to be dead is rising like a thunderstorm against the wind. . . . The Church is growing again like another Antæus, and a fresh conflict is now not very far off. . . . Like the mythological monster, it has been in contact with the hard soil of fact, and has gathered fresh life from it." In the New World "the lapses from the faith have wholly ceased, and the Roman Catholic body is the largest, strongest, and wealthiest in the Union. . . . Protestantism, disorganized and disunited, fights at frightful disadvantage against the homogeneous Roman army. . . . The Catholic revival is a fact. . . . The forces which rule the evolution of humanity are not mechanical, but vital. . . . The Catholic religion is an organic force of this kind." And then comes the incredible conclusion of the whole argument. The belief which is rising like a thunderstorm against the wind is extinct. The Church which is growing like another Antæus is dead. The Catholic revival is not a fact. "The heart does not beat; the blood does not run in the veins. The life once gone does not come back again. . . . Language of this kind," says Mr. Froude, "is permitted in the New World because of its absurdity." He is evidently an Hegelian, and holds that the principle of contradiction has no logical validity. The special shock which roused him to the present outburst against the Catholic Church and the Irish race he received from a book recently published in New York, and entitled "Roman Catholicism in

the United States." It is an anonymous publication, and anonymous diatribes do not receive the serious attention of men of sense; but Mr. Froude is persuaded that this writer has concealed his name through fear of the vengeance of the Church—of that mysterious living organism whose heart does not beat, in whose veins the blood does not run. "No public man in the United States," he informs us, "likes to provoke the animosity of a party which is so powerful in the Eastern cities. The attitude is one of astonishment and perplexity." Would it be possible to write a more ridiculous phrase? Party lines are drawn somewhat close in this country, and within the party liberty of speech is more or less restricted; but, when there is question of opening up on the foe, the reins are thrown down, and our knights of the quill ride at full tilt. Moreover, the spirit of vindictive hate is neither in the character nor the customs of Americans. We forgive and forget; we live and let live. The Know-nothing party was the most fanatical organization which has ever sought to harm the Church in the United States, and yet it happens again and again that men who were prominent Know-nothings are elected to office by Catholic votes. Mr. Froude could give no better proof of his ignorance of our habits of thought than the assertion that an honest man here has anything to fear in making an open and honorable attack upon the Catholic Church. The thing is preposterous on its very face. We are but a feeble minority; the Protestant tradition concerning Catholicism is still more or less current among the masses; and now, as in the days of Sterne, the Pope is a real godsend to many a verbose and brainless fellow. When an American conceals his name in order to attack the Church, it is not because he is afraid, since there is nothing to fear, though it may be because he is a coward of the kind that conscience makes. Mr. Froude's anonymous writer I have not read; but the quotations from him, given in these articles, show him to be merely a commonplace anti-Popery declaimer. To Mr. Froude he proves a veritable Will-o'-the-wisp, who leads him into all sorts of intellectual quagmires, in which he flounders about without being able to reach the solid ground of a definite solution of the problem which so sorely vexes his anxious soul. The anonymous guide informs him that America is "the chief representative of the liberty, progress, and civilization with which the Pope refuses to reconcile himself." Mr. Froude replies in tones sad enough to be the echo of the voice of Dante following Virgil to the gate over whose high arch was inscribed the "*Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch'entrate.*" "Progress!"

he exclaims; "but progress whither? Liberty! but what use is to be made of it? What aim are we to set before ourselves? It is exactly by these undefined commonplaces that the wearied man, to whom life is an earnest thing, who believes that he has been placed in this world, not to exercise his rights, but to learn his duty and to do it, is driven back upon a system which at least knows what it is about. Men can not live on bottled moonshine or feed on fractions whose denominator is nothing. Modern civilization builds fine cities and houses, and constructs railways, and sends the lightning on its message; but, when the ordinary human being inquires to what purpose his powers are to be directed, the answer is, that he is to make money and improve his circumstances; and he knows that he is made for something better, and turns away in disgust. If this is all which civilization means, he will take the Pope in preference." This nameless American guide has put the canonizer of Henry VIII. and the defamer of Mary Stuart in no sweet mood. "It is one thing," the cicerone goes on to explain, "to allow to all men the right to choose any religion they please; it is quite another to allow a Church, as dangerous and powerful as the Church of Rome, to sow the seeds of dissolution and destruction without doing something to check the evil in its stages of incipiency." "Doing something!" cries Mr. Froude impatiently; "but what is to be done?"

The danger "must be encountered," answers the guide, "with a renewal of Protestant energy and the robustness of thought which that energy produces." "Bottled moonshine!" retorts Mr. Froude angrily; "Protestantism has failed, we can not live upon negations; we must have convictions of a positive sort, if our voyage through earthly existence is to be an honorable and successful one. And no Protestant community has ever succeeded in laying down a chart of human life with any definite sailing directions. . . . They" (the Catholics) "know what they mean, and we do not know what we mean; and modern Protestanism will and must fight a losing battle against a communion which professes to value truth and claims to teach it, till it has some truth of its own to insist upon." These pilgrims make but poor progress, and there seems to be danger lest they stick fast in the Slough of Despond, and so fail in the high emprise of showing how the Great Dragon may be slain. We will continue to follow their movements. "The American," suggests the guide, "who is proud of his country, and believes in the institutions which have made it great, perceives that Romanism is as inconsistent with a republican form of government as slavery

was." The gloomy brow of Mr. Froude lights up with sudden joy. "The allusion to slavery," he says, "is extremely significant. The Americans are thorough-going when they are roused. The civil war showed what they would do if their country or their principles were really in danger, and, if the progress of Romanism creates difficulties with which the Constitution can not deal, they will not sacrifice realities to scruples of form. A Falk law in the last extremity may not be impossible. . . . Before Romanism can become dominant the question will have to be fought out with bullets instead of with balloting-papers; and though the zeal of the converts is hot enough to build churches and monasteries, and produce libraries full of sentimental theological literature, we doubt whether it is of the sort that would figure respectably on a battle-field." The insult is gratuitous and wanton. It is not even a smart hit. Englishmen certainly have no reason to complain of lack of courage in Catholics, as shown on American battle-fields by such soldiers as Lafayette, DeKalb, and Kosciuszko; and Americans know that some of the bravest generals of the republic are Catholics, and in part converts. But Mr. Froude is altogether astray when he imagines that this is a question which can be settled by bullets. If bullets were efficacious against the faith of the immortal soul, there would to-day be no question of the Catholic Church at all, either in England or in Ireland. In Germany the battalions and bullets are all on the side of Bismarck; and yet Mr. Froude himself declares that the Church has brought the imperious Chancellor to terms. Falk laws have been carried into execution there with a rigor which would not be possible in a republic; and the most obvious result is a reawakening of Catholic life and zeal. Suffering degrades or ennobles; makes brutes or heroes. To suffer persecution and yet to be without hope and without God in the world is a curse fraught with all evil; but to suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, trusting in the God who will not permit those who put their trust in him to be confounded for ever, is to be the child of benediction. "Blessed are ye," said the Saviour, "when men shall revile you and persecute you." The mere worldly life is felt to be such a paltry thing that those who really believe think themselves fortunate when they are permitted to throw it away in some worthy cause. In degenerate ages, above all, the nobler souls have a kind of thirst of martyrdom, as the only fit protest against the degradation of mere animalism. What can we ask of Nero and Domitian and their crowd but that they put us to death? The

most fatal mistake which the skeptic and self-indulgent world can make is to torture those who have faith and whose lives are innocent. Persecution, as Mr. Froude says, may succeed if it is thorough-going; but it never can be thorough-going when the victim has a higher and mightier faith than his tormenter. To persecute to some purpose, a man must believe that he is thereby doing a service to God; that he is working in harmony with the eternal and infinite purposes of the Creator.

To make martyrs of men because there is danger lest they be in the way of our getting a comfortable place at the great feed-trough of this cattle-pen of a world is to offend common sense. Universal suffrage, political constitutions, and government by majorities are, after all, only contrivances. They are machines which do their work well or ill, as the case may be, and which, as time goes on, need to be patched up and readjusted. Our grandfathers thought that the American Constitution was a part of the eternal fitness of things; but we have hammered and tinkered away at it until we have discovered that it is merely the handiwork of man. A systematic persecution whose only justification is political expediency would be a mockery; for political expediency is at best but a makeshift, and commonly means nothing more than that it is most desirable that certain sets of men should be in office and live on the fat of the land. In a society in which the craving for money and the interests of trade are supreme, public opinion will not approve of persecution; for it unsettles values and shakes confidence. The commercial spirit is practical; its philosophy is profit and loss; and it holds principles and beliefs cheap. It would not barter its golden calf for all the theologies in the world; and the enemies whom it most abhors are the fanatics who seek to stir up religious strife. Now, we are essentially a commercial people, and, so long as this remains the dominant feature of our social life, there is little danger of any serious persecution of the Catholic or any other Church. In fact, we have never been guilty of such atrocious bungling in any other business as in this matter of Catholic persecution. Our Native-American and Know-nothing parties fatally fall into the hands of mobs. Plug-uglies, thugs, and bullies of high and low degree come to the front, and for a brief day riot in arson and murder and the butchery of women and children, and then slink back into their lairs from the face of an outraged humanity. Public opinion recoils from these horrors, and Catholics are less hated than they were before; while they themselves feel how fortunate it is

that the plug-uglies and thugs are unable to serve the Church in any other way than by murdering her children. But Mr. Froude mistakes the desires of his own heart for the sentiments of the American people. They neither love religious persecution nor believe in its efficacy. Had he kept his temper and listened with more docility to his anonymous American guide, he might have learned from him the views on this subject of our most extreme anti-Popery partisans. "We can not remedy the evil," says this writer, "by resorting to repressive measures. Repressive measures defeat themselves, and can not be recommended." For myself, I am confident my strong persuasion that serious persecution of Catholics in the United States is not probable does not spring from any dread of its consequences. In such a trial, whatever cause might suffer harm, the Church would be the gainer. Even those who look upon the Catholics of this age as degenerate must admit at least that they have not forgotten God's secret to the Church—the divine power there is in suffering for righteousness' sake. Whatever else they may have lost, they still know how to suffer; and the world takes care that this training-school at least shall be prepared for them at the public expense. It is well; it is the part of worldly wisdom to permit this power to lie dormant. The ancient proverb was, "Let Camarina alone, for it is best let alone."

But there is no need of taking so solemn a tone, when it is more natural to laugh at Mr. Froude. He has heard that the Yankees are a dyspeptic race, and, as his power of accounting for things is unlimited, he straightway seeks and finds the cause, which of course can be none other than "the growth of the Irish element." "They have absorbed," he says, "a substance which they have been unable to assimilate, and it interferes with their digestion." Now, I doubt whether there is in all this great country a medical practitioner who will say that this diagnosis is correct. It is not the growth of the Irish Catholic element that makes the Yankees dyspeptic — it is doughnuts and apple-pies. "The growth" of almost anything is precisely what your genuine American most delights in. He has the greatest country, the longest rivers, the highest mountains, the broadest prairies, the most thundering cataracts, and the largest cities of any man who walks the earth; and as Mr. Froude and his guide very properly remark, "there are times when the American eagle screeches itself hoarse in proclaiming the greatness of the nation."

"The figures in the census startle Americans," says Mr. Froude. Innocent man, who does not know that "the figures in the census" are our joy and our pride. There is hardly a town from Maine to Florida that does not make its population a third greater than it is. Jew and Gentile, African and heathen Chinee, are all received with delight because they swell "the figures in the census." Startle an American with figures! The thing is preposterous. There are seven millions of Catholics here, and the American feels that there ought to be fourteen millions, for the very simple reason that there ought to be more of everything here than anywhere else. We grow more wheat and corn, we raise more hogs and cattle, we build more railways, we dig more gold, we print more newspapers, we have more patriots and statesmen than any other people on the globe; and why shouldn't we have more Catholics? "Strange country!" said the bewildered Frenchman, "where there are a hundred religions and but a single sauce." Some apology might be made for him, but Mr. Froude ought to know that upon no account would Americans consent to part with even one of their religions, and, if they suspected that he had really serious intentions of destroying the Catholic Church in this country, they would give him no countenance whatever.

"The Americans," he says, "are light-hearted"; but he is probably the only intelligent man in the world who thinks so. They are serious even in their amusements, and their very laughter tells of hearts weighed down by the cares of life. They are not, indeed, as melancholy and solemn as John Bull, but they are eager and anxious, which the light-hearted are not. In a word, it is in every way abundantly manifest that this Englishman has no real knowledge either of Americans or of the Catholic Church in America. His intrusion, therefore, into our affairs is simply an impertinence.

The main head of Mr. Froude's attack upon American Catholics remains still to be considered. That the Catholic Church in this country is a powerful and well-organized body, while Protestantism, broken up into warring sects, bewilders its own adherents "with its confusions and ineffectualities," is a proposition which I am not going to deny. But I can not see what this state of affairs has to do with the Government or politics of the United States. I have been brought up to believe that this is a secular government—that there is here no union of Church and state; that the American citizen, as such, is neither Protestant nor Catholic, neither Jew nor Gentile; that it is not within the competency of Congress "to make laws

respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." If this church grows strong or that dies out, the American Government has no more right to seek to check the growth of the one or to revitalize the other than it has to prescribe what shall be the uniform of the French army. Interference in such matters would be in open violation of one of the cardinal articles of the organic law of the land. Why, then, should our politics be disturbed by the progress of the Catholic Church?

To say with Mr. Froude that it is because this religion "is by its own choice at war with every other" is not to the point. The Government can take no cognizance of the differences, disputes, and controversies of the various churches, so long as there is no breach of the peace. Now, American Catholics disagree with Protestants on various points of doctrine and discipline, as Protestants disagree among themselves on similar heads; but we dwell together in mutual good will and helpfulness, and it does not occur to any one to imagine that the politics of the country are in any way concerned with theological dogmas and articles of faith. Mr. Froude, however, is troubled by the English notions concerning a divided allegiance, and maintains that it is impossible to be loyal both to the Catholic Church and the American state. A good Catholic, he holds, can not be a true American citizen. "Every true Catholic," to quote his words, "is bound to act and think as his priest tells him, and a republic of true Catholics becomes a theocracy administered by the clergy. It is only as long as they are a small minority that they can be loyal subjects under such a Constitution as the American. As their numbers grow, they will assert their principles more and more. Give them the power, and the Constitution will be gone. A Catholic majority, under spiritual direction, will forbid liberty of worship, and will try to forbid liberty of conscience. . . . That it will try to do all this as long as it accepts the Ultramontane theory, which at present passes current, is as certain as mathematics."

These are grave charges, and they are boldly made. We will calmly and seriously examine them. "Every true Catholic is bound to act and think as his priest tells him." Is this a fair statement? Do good Catholics believe that they are bound to consult their priests as to how they shall carry on their business, or how they shall vote, or what legitimate pursuits they shall engage in? Do they believe that it is their duty to ask their priests what they are to think concerning the cause of yellow fever, or of the political corruption or dishonesty in business that is so prevalent; or what

is the best form of government; or which party in the late civil war was in the right; or whether Mr. Froude is insincere, or simply incapable of discerning truth from falsehood? No. Upon these and a thousand other subjects Catholics think for themselves, and consequently do not think or act alike. They believe, indeed, that the Pope is infallible when, in his official capacity as head of the Church, he gives an *ex cathedra* definition in matters of faith and morals; but this no more interferes with their practical liberty than the finality of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States makes slaves of American citizens. If the principle of religious authority is received at all, it necessarily implies the existence of some tribunal whose decrees shall be accepted as final, and therefore practically as infallible; but this is equally true of all civil authority, and such a tribunal is protective, not destructive, of liberty. The political action of the Catholics of the United States is as little controlled by the Church as that of Protestants or infidels. The bishops and priests, with rare exceptions, have wholly abstained from intermeddling in political contests; and were they to attempt to use the influence which their spiritual office gives them to such ends, the first to condemn them would be the Catholic people themselves. How it happens that the great body of our people vote with the Democratic party, I know not; but I do know that the Church is in no way responsible for this preference. Catholics have as little to hope from the success of the Democratic party as they have to fear from that of the Republican. Protestant preachers have, as occasion offered, thrown their influence with this or that party or faction; have gone so far even as to preach the gospel of bullets and denounce the Constitution as a compact with hell; but Catholic bishops and priests have contented themselves with denouncing conspiracies against the rights of the Church as guaranteed by the Constitution. The only colony of the original thirteen founded by Catholics was also the first in which the principles of religious toleration were made part of the law of the land; whereas the only attempt to found a theocracy in the New World was made by Protestants. In the Old World there is to-day greater religious liberty in Catholic France and Austria than in Protestant Prussia and Denmark. The attempt to predict what any body of men would do were absolute power given them is a kind of speculation into which the wise will never enter. There is in various centers of thought and influence in this country a suspicious leaning toward a centralized government and the rule of strong men, to use the

popular phrase; but we do not therefore despair of liberty, and declare that our feverish political life will find rest and a grave in Cæsarism. Neither do careful men pretend to foresee that the fate of other republics will not also be the fate of ours. The destinies of nations and of civilizations are God's secret. No man can know with certainty what he would do in trying circumstances, when the path of duty itself seems to fade away from sight; much less can he know what vast bodies of men would do in imaginary contingencies; and, when Mr. Froude undertakes to predict with mathematical accuracy what a Catholic majority in the United States would try to do, he takes his place among weather-prophets and soothsayers. The superstitious may believe him. *Credat Judæus apella.*

The appeal to the middle ages, which he makes, is not pertinent. To argue that Catholics in the nineteenth century hold the political views of those of the twelfth, is as unreasonable as it would be to suppose that the New-Englanders of to-day approve of burning witches. In barbarous ages the ignorant multitudes are little subject to moral influence, and hence society appeals to force, and this appeal is necessarily attended with abuse. We may not deny, as a principle, that the power of religion and the power of the state should work in harmony, but the relations of Church and state which best promote this end vary with the changing conditions of social life. The mediæval political connections of the Church were in no way ideal. They were the outcome of the accidents of the time; and, as the past does not return, they will not return. That the Church survives the destruction of social forms which seemed to be a part of her life, and develops new strength in surroundings which had been held to be fatal to her very existence, is one of the evidences of her chronic vigor and indefectible power. Mr. Froude himself declares that men must be judged by their professions, and nothing more is needed to put this whole question at rest so far as the Catholics of the United States are concerned. From the day on which Charles Carroll signed the Declaration of Independence to this hour, our words and our acts and our blood have borne testimony to our devotion to the principles upon which this government rests; and, were we nine tenths of the total population, we should no more think of interfering with the rights of those who differed with us in faith than do the Catholics of Belgium who are ninety-nine hundredths of the population of their country. Catholics accept the principles of American government as they take

their wives, for better or worse, and until death. These are our professions, and these are our honest and heart-felt sentiments. Mr. Froude, however, in spite of his maxim that men must be judged by their professions, refuses to admit that we can be loyal to our country; and with his well-known courage he proceeds to prove to us that he is right. "The American Constitution," he says, "is the political expression of the principles which the Pope has violently condemned." This, of course, is false. No pope has ever condemned the American Constitution, even by implication. "But," insists Mr. Froude, "the Syllabus says that men are not free; that they are not capable of taking care of themselves; that the laity in the most important matters must be guided and governed by the clergy; that the press ought to be under censorship; that the Catholic religion being true, all others are false, and therefore ought not to be tolerated."

The Syllabus is a list of eighty propositions which Pius IX., at various times during his pontificate, declared to be errors; but there is not one of them which asserts the principles which Mr. Froude would have us believe the Pope has condemned, and it is difficult to imagine that any one who has read that document could be capable of writing the sentence which I have just quoted.

Getting his arguments as his facts at second hand, he has confused the Syllabus with the Encyclical of December 8, 1864, in which Pius IX. condemned the following proposition: "All citizens *have the right* to an *entire, unlimited liberty* to manifest and declare publicly, by voice or the press, or in any other way, their thoughts—*whatever they may be*—and no authority, either *ecclesiastic* or *civil*, can in any way restrict this liberty." This the Pope declares to be an error, but so does common sense. There is no government on earth which could stand the strain of such a doctrine as this. Does our own grant entire and unlimited liberty to publish libel, or to print and circulate obscene writings, or to utter seditious and rebellious speech? Political society necessarily supposes that each member of it renounces a portion of his natural liberty in exchange for benefits without which liberty itself is a doubtful good; and the error which the Pope here condemns is that of the Socialists, who would overthrow all authority, human and divine. Mr. Froude himself, indeed, at the end of his concluding article, openly takes sides with the Pope in this matter. "A state of things," he says, "in which the action of government is restricted to the prevention of crime and statutable fraud, and where beyond

these limits all men are left to go their own way—to be honest or dishonest, pure or profligate, wise or ignorant, to lead what lives they please and preach what doctrines they please—may have been a necessary step in the evolution of humanity; but, as surely, if no other principle had ever been heard of, or acted on, civilization would have stood still, hardly above the level of barbarism. As surely, unless the wheel of progress is to turn backward, and we are to decline as we have risen, the natural superiority of truth to falsehood, and right to wrong, will recover, in some shape or other, the form of practical authority; and it is this principle of authority which Romanism has all along insisted on." Mr. Froude, then, and the Pope are friends at last; and, while the curtain falls upon the tableau, I shall beg leave to say but another word.

Authority and liberty are as essential to the order of the social world as the centripetal and centrifugal forces to the harmony of the universe. Excess of authority is tyranny, and excess of liberty is anarchy; and tyranny begets anarchy, and anarchy ends in tyranny. In Christianity religion is organized into a separate power, and endowed with the highest moral authority which has ever influenced the destiny of mankind. Henceforth Church and state are for ever distinct: and the Church leans more to the side of authority, and the state more to the side of liberty; and, in proportion as man attains to greater freedom, he ought more and more to recognize the divine authority of religion. The Catholic Church is the highest representative of this authority which the world has ever known; and it is surely not rash to think that she has a great and beneficent mission to fulfill in an age and a country in which the individual has attained to the possession of the fullest liberty.

JOHN LANCASTER SPALDING, *Bishop of Peoria.*

RECENT BIOGRAPHY, ETC.

The Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart.
The Letters of Charles Dickens.
Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat.

One of the most striking literary features of the last decade of years has been the number of interesting biographies, memoirs, etc. Lives of artists, men of letters, soldiers, statesmen, distinguished women, men of all professions — the recently dead and the long buried—have been published by scores; yet the public, like Oliver in the novel, ask for more, and the "cry is still they come." "The Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart" is perhaps the most ambitious biographical work that has ever appeared in American literature. The subject is singularly interesting, not only to artists and scholars, but to all American readers.

Gilbert Stuart was, beyond all question, the greatest head-painter this country has yet produced, and one of the most wonderful colorists of modern times. He lived at a period full of extraordinary events. Born December 3, 1755, he was a young man during the American Revolution; in middle life he saw Europe convulsed by the French Revolution; he witnessed the rise of Napoleon, his dazzling career of military glory, his final downfall at Waterloo, and his death at St. Helena. Love of art was inborn in Gilbert Stuart, and, at an age when other boys are playing marbles and flying kites, he was filling the sides of his father's barn with chalk and charcoal drawings. At the age of thirteen he painted portraits for money. Fortunately for the young genius, he was able to go to England and to become a pupil of Benjamin West, who, pleased with his precocious talents, treated him with paternal kindness. He remained abroad seventeen years, during which time he established his reputation as a portrait-painter of the first class. He painted George III., the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Northumberland, and other eminent persons. He lived splendidly, for he had as many sitters

as he could paint, and charged nearly as much for his pictures as Sir Joshua Reynolds.

In 1792 Stuart abandoned the brilliant career that was before him in England, and returned to America. The character of Washington had filled him with the most enthusiastic admiration, and an intense desire to paint a portrait of the Father of his Country was the principal object that he had in view when he left England. The wish of the artist was gratified in the winter of 1794–'95, when Washington sat for his portrait in Philadelphia. We have a very pleasing description of Stuart's studio during the time he was painting Washington: General Knox, General Henry Lee, Louis Philippe, the Viscount de Noailles, Miss Nellie Custis, Miss Harriet Chew, and Mrs. Washington were frequent visitors. After he had finished the picture of Washington, Stuart was overrun with orders for portraits. Among his sitters at that time were Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Madison, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis (Nellie Custis), the Marchioness d'Yrujo, and other beautiful women who adorned the republican court. It was said of Gilbert Stuart that, when he painted a beautiful woman, the angels inspired his pencil. He expended his genius upon the head of his subject; the dress and its accessories he always treated with indifference. Upon one occasion, when asked by a lady to make some change in the drapery of her picture, he testily replied, "I am not a milliner."

When we read of the wonderful achievements of Stuart's pencil —of the illustrious men and lovely women telling with mute but touching eloquence the power of his art, and made almost to breathe and live again by the magic of his brush; when we read of his pictures being so natural and lifelike that one feels half afraid of violating the rules of good breeding by staring directly into their faces—when we read of these things, and turn to the portraits in this volume, we confess a feeling of disappointment comes over us. We see only shadows; the harmonious blending of light and shade is not there. We are told that, during Lafayette's visit to this country in 1824, he was shown one of Stuart's portraits of Washington, when he exclaimed, "That is my noble friend indeed!" We do not think he would have been so enthusiastic at sight of the Washington portrait reproduced by the photogravure process which forms the frontispiece of this volume. Stuart's portrait of Miss Elizabeth Willing (Mrs. Jackson) is one of the loveliest ornaments of the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts; but, when we examine the picture in the work before us, we fail to discover anything

attractive. We view the canvas from which Madame Bonaparte's "dainty head, in triple pose of loveliness, smiles in unfading witchery," and then, turning to the "counterfeit presentment" given in this book, we see the ghost only of that enchanting beauty which moved the hearts of captains and of kings.

The arrangement of this book is defective; too much space is given to a list of the works, and too little to the life of the artist. About one half of the bulky volume is made up of a catalogue of the portraits painted by Gilbert Stuart, giving the biographical sketches already alluded to. This latter feature of the book is excessively annoying as well as uncomplimentary to the reader, who is supposed to know at least the rudiments of American history. He does not wish to be told when and where John Adams was born, and that he died on the 4th of July, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Every American schoolboy knows that fact. Such trite historical statements are childish, and should not have been printed in this pretentious volume, even for the purpose of "padding." If the list of Stuart's works had been compressed into one tenth the space they now occupy, if the life had been expanded to three times its present size, and a careful selection of his historical and female portraits had been reproduced on *steel*, a beautiful and entertaining duodecimo volume would have been the result; instead of which we have an unhandy quarto, the binding of which suggests the temporary covers put on books belonging to Sunday-school libraries.

We did not expect much from "The Letters of Charles Dickens," and were not disappointed. Yet, as a revelation of his own character by one of the most popular authors of this century, it is one of the most remarkable works that has appeared since "The Life and Letters of Byron" delighted the world fifty years ago. The book has been eagerly anticipated wherever the English language is spoken. The public were not satisfied with Forster's "Life of Dickens," which only contained in full the correspondence of the novelist with his biographer.

We are told that, when Robert Burns made his appearance in the fashionable drawing-rooms of Edinburgh, his fascinating conversation carried duchesses off of their feet. After this transient gleam of social success, the poet naturally hated to return to the obscurity and poverty of his home. The fortunes of Charles Dickens were very different. He, too, had known poverty, want, and suffering, but, from the moment that the "Pickwick Papers" es-

tablished his reputation, wealth and fame were his portion in this life. His literary career was an extraordinary success, parallel only to that of Scott and Byron ; yet, for a short time, it was in danger, the "Pickwick Papers" being a decided failure until the fifth number, and the publishers were considering the advisability of discontinuing it, when Samuel Weller made his appearance and saved the publication. The result was that Messrs. Chapman & Hall made a clear profit of $100,000, after paying Dickens $18,500.

Charles Dickens was an excellent correspondent — punctual, regular—and, when he had said all that was necessary, he stopped. His letters are easy, simple, and unaffected, and show him to have been a frank, genial, vain, generous, egotistical fellow. His spirits were high, his enjoyment of life keen, and he was an industrious and indefatigable literary worker ; in the latter respect he was like Scott, but he differed from the author of "Waverley" in being a very painstaking and laborious writer. These letters open to us glimpses of Dickens's domestic life which are calculated to increase our interest in their author. He was essentially a domestic man ; his children ever occupied the first place in his thoughts ; and, when absent from them, his letters were very frequent, and evinced the deepest interest in all that concerned them. His letter to his youngest son, Edward Bulwer Lytton, on his departure for Australia, is full of excellent advice, written in the true spirit of paternal affection, and may be read with profit by any young man starting out in life. In concluding this letter he says : "Never abandon the wholesome practice of saying your own private prayers, night and morning. I have never abandoned it myself, and I know the comfort of it."

These letters show that Dickens was completely spoiled by his amazing success, both as an author and a reader : his constant complaint about small things is childish ; especially is this the case during his last visit to America in 1867–'68, when a "cold in the head" is mentioned in every letter written about that time. We regret to say that nothing in his correspondence removes from our mind the impression that Dickens's feeling toward America was something like Dean Swift's feeling for mankind : he hated mankind, but loved a few men—Pope, Gay, Bolingbroke, etc. ; so Dickens disliked America, but he liked a few Americans—Irving, Longfellow, Fields, and "one Mr. Childs, a newspaper proprietor."

His unfavorable opinion of this country was expressed not only in the "American Notes" and "Martin Chuzzlewit," but in private

letters written to his friends from the United States. When he came here in 1841 and was received everywhere as a conquering hero, he thus expressed himself about the country which was honoring him: "I *am* disappointed. This is not the republic I came to see; this is not the republic of my imagination. I infinitely prefer a liberal monarchy—even with its sickening accompaniments of court circles—to such a government as this. The more I think of its youth and strength, the poorer and more trifling in a thousand aspects it appears in my eyes. In everything of which it has made a boast—except its education of the people and its care for poor children—it sinks immeasurably below the level I had placed it upon; and England, even England, bad and faulty as the old land is, and miserable as millions of her people are, rises in the comparison. . . . If I had been born here and written my books in this country, producing them with no stamp of approval from any other land, it is my solemn belief that I should have lived and died poor, unnoticed, and a 'black sheep' to boot. I never was more convinced of anything than I am of that."

In the following paragraph Dickens gives an account of the enthusiasm with which he was received: "I can give you no conception of my welcome here. There never was a king or emperor upon the earth so cheered and followed by crowds, and entertained in public at splendid balls and dinners, and waited on by public bodies and deputations of all kinds. I have had one from the far West—a journey of two thousand miles! If I go out in a carriage, the crowd surround it and escort me home; if I go to the theatre, the whole house (crowded to the doors) rises as one man, and the timbers ring again. You can not imagine what it is. I have five great public dinners on hand at this moment, and invitations from every town, village, and city in the States."

We do not think the people of Boston will appreciate the following passage from a letter written during his last visit to the United States, to his sister-in-law, Miss Hogarth: "All New England is primitive and puritanical. All around and about it is a puddle of mixed human mud, with no such quality in it." His opinion on the subject of negro suffrage is thus expressed: "The stupendous absurdity of making him (the negro) a voter glares out of every roll of his eye, stretch of his mouth, and bump of his head." He made the singular discovery that Mr. Beecher was a "bachelor," but "clever and unparsonic." The great man complained that the American newspapers called him "Dickens" without the "Mr."

We think this was rather complimentary than otherwise ; we do not say Mr. Shakespeare, Mr. Milton, Mr. Pope, etc. We are delighted that Dickens appreciated at least *one* genuine American institution, and this is the way he speaks of it to his friend Fechter, the actor : "If I could send you a 'brandy cock-tail' by post I would. It is a highly meritorious dram, which I hope to present to you at Gads. My landlord made me a 'Rocky Mountain sneezer,' which appeared to me to be compounded of all the spirits ever heard of in the world, with bitters, lemons, sugar, and snow. You can only make a true 'sneezer' when the snow is lying on the ground."

We do not find in the letters of Charles Dickens the enchanting grace and playful humor which distinguish the epistolary style of Washington Irving, the sarcastic wit of Byron's letters from Italy, or the elaborate political essays which Macaulay addressed to his correspondents. Although these letters will add nothing to the literary reputation of Dickens, they show him in a very favorable light, both as a father and friend. We have already spoken of him as a father ; as a friend he was equally admirable. The friends he had, and their adoption tried, he grappled to his soul with hooks of steel. The friends of his youth remained his friends until they or he died.

We are disappointed that these volumes do not give any information concerning the most unfortunate event in Dickens's life—the separation from his wife. Not a word is said upon this subject, and his letters which have any reference to it are carefully suppressed. We have, however, before us a letter written to his confidential friend and secretary, Arthur Smith, three weeks after the separation, which throws some light upon this painful affair. In this letter, which is dated May 25, 1858, Dickens said that he and his wife had lived unhappily together for many years, that they were both in character and temperament wonderfully unsuited to each other, that no two persons were ever joined together who had greater difficulty in understanding each other or had less in common, that for years Mrs. Dickens had been in the habit of saying that it would be better for her to go away and live apart, that she felt herself unfit for the life she had to lead as his wife. At length it was thought better, for the children's sake, to reconstruct the unhappy home, and John Forster was empowered to treat with Mark Lemon, on the part of Mrs. Dickens, as to the terms of separation. Mrs. Dickens "gratefully and thankfully" accepted the terms proposed to her, which were "as generous as if Mrs. Dickens had been

a lady of distinction and Mr. Dickens a man of fortune." We believe the real cause of their unhappiness was owing to the fact that, while Charles Dickens became a man of distinction and was flattered and spoiled by the world, his wife remained the same plain person whom he had married years before, neither appreciating his genius nor flattering his vanity.

The "Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat" will prove one of the most damaging blows the Napoleonic legend has ever received, and, coming so soon after the death of the Prince Imperial, it would seem as if this book was intended to give a finishing stroke to the house of Bonaparte by making its great founder odious and infamous. The courtiers who were in daily attendance upon Louis XIV. at Versailles were so dazzled or dazed by the majestic presence of the Grand Monarque that they thought him a man of tall stature, but when his coffin was opened during the Reign of Terror, and his body dragged out, he was found to have been a little man. The courtiers, marshals, and generals who surrounded Napoleon at St. Cloud and the Tuileries, dazzled by the splendor of his military achievements, believed him to be something above humanity. But there was at the imperial Court a quiet, observant woman, who was taking notes of what she heard and saw, and the result is not at all favorable to the man who for twenty years occupied a larger space in the world's history than any other person who ever lived. The book is full of details, more lively than delicate, of the private life of the imperial court. We are entertained with the rivalry between the Bonapartes and the Beauharnais, and the jealousy of the sisters of Napoleon toward Josephine and Hortense. The conqueror of Europe is described as untruthful, immoral, cruel, and utterly selfish. "My policy" was Napoleon's excuse for everything he did. By the magic of that "sacramental phrase" he crushed one's thoughts, feelings, and even impressions. He declared that he was not an ordinary man, and that the laws which governed other men were not made for him. Excess of power dazzled and intoxicated him; his own good fortune became a superstition with him; success was his aim, and for many years he rarely missed it. He says himself that he did not understand much about the French Revolution, but he saw in the idea of equality an opportunity to elevate himself, and was attracted by it. He saw the mob marching upon the Tuileries on the 20th of June, and he said to himself, "The ringleaders of this attack will not profit by the Revolution."

Sprung from a Revolution which proclaimed liberty and equality

to all, Napoleon, by his supreme military genius, raised himself to the imperial throne and ruled more despotically than Louis XIV. "I found the crown of France lying on the ground," said he, "and took it up on the point of my sword." It was necessary to dazzle the people by a series of astonishing feats, "hence those interminable wars," says Madame de Rémusat, "whose duration was so all-important to him that he always called the peace which he signed a 'halt.' When he was quiet he let us perceive the reality of our servitude; when our sons marched away to plant our standards on the ramparts of all the great cities of Europe, that servitude disappeared." Madame de Rémusat gives the following description of Napoleon's appearance: "Napoleon is low of stature, and rather ill-proportioned; his bust is too long, and so shortens the rest of his figure. He has thin chestnut hair, his eyes are grayish blue, and his skin, which was yellow while he was slight, became, in later years, a dead white, without any color. His forehead, the setting of his eye, the line of his nose—all that is beautiful, and reminds one of an antique medallion. His mouth, which is thin-lipped, becomes agreeable when he laughs; his teeth are regular. His chin is short, and his jaw heavy and square. He has well-formed hands and feet; I mention them particularly, because he thought a good deal of them." She goes on to say that, "if it were possible for any human being to exist without that portion of our organization which makes us desire to love and to be loved, I should say, in his creation his heart was left out." Napoleon's views of love are thus expressed: "Josephine is always afraid that I shall fall seriously in love. Does she not know, then, that I am not made for love? For what is love? A passion which sets all the universe on one side, and on the other the beloved object. I certainly am not of a nature to give myself up to any such exclusive feeling. What, then, do these fancies, into which my affections do not enter, matter to her?" These memoirs show how dangerous a successful soldier may be to a republic. Napoleon dazzled France out of her liberty by a succession of brilliant military achievements. The nation was intoxicated by glory, which is the greatest enemy to a republic. Success in war enabled Cæsar to change the Roman Republic into an empire; what Cæsar did, Napoleon imitated.

EUGENE L. DIDIER.

All applications for or information in reference to Advertising in "THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW" must be addressed to HENRY W. QUIN, Advertising Department, D. Appleton & Co., 549 & 551 Broadway, N. Y.

Thayer Academy, Braintree, Mass.—Designed to furnish instruction of the highest order in English, Modern Languages, and the Classics; fitting boys for the best colleges, and girls for the Harvard examinations and colleges for women. Address J. B. SEWALL, Head-Master, South Braintree, Mass.

BRAIN AND NERVE FOOD.

VITALIZED PHOSPHATES,

COMPOSED OF THE NERVE-GIVING PRINCIPLES OF THE OX-BRAIN AND WHEAT-GERM.

Physicians have prescribed 193,420 packages with the best results in all forms of impaired vitality, mental exhaustion, or weakened digestion. It is the best preventive of Consumption and all diseases of debility. It gives strength, rest, and sleep, by feeding the brain and nerves. It acts by feeding the brain with its necessary food, not as a medicine. For sale by Druggists.

F. CROSBY, 666 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

GREAT SINGERS:

FAUSTINA BORDONI TO HENRIETTA SONTAG. By GEORGE T. FERRIS, author of "The Great German Composers," "The Great Italian and French Composers." Forming No. 48 of Appletons' "New Handy-Volume Series." Price, in cloth, 60 cents; in paper, 30 cents.

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, New York.

FOR NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES,

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN.

Send for our Catalogue, **1880**, now ready for distribution.
☞ EVERYTHING AT CLUB-RATES.
☞ EVERYTHING SENT BY THE PUBLISHER.
☞ EVERYTHING FREE OF POSTAGE.

Our list for 1880 gives the titles and club-prices for ALL PROMINENT PERIODICALS, American and English. The $4.00 Magazines at $3.45, and others in proportion.

☞ Harper's YOUNG PEOPLE, the *best juvenile weekly*, $1.35.

We make the import of Foreign periodicals, by mail or otherwise, a specialty. The following are samples of our rates:

Illus. London News or Graphic	per year,	$8 80	London Art Journal or Portfolio	per year,	$9 00
Spectator or Saturday Review	"	7 56	(Sent without folding.)		
Athenæum or Academy	"	4 30	Cornhill, Temple Bar, or Belgravia	"	4 00
Punch	"	4 50	Contemporary Review or Nineteenth Century	"	7 00
Weekly London Times	"	3 25			

☞ LIBRARIANS and Managers of BOOK CLUBS and READING ASSOCIATIONS are especially requested to notice this. TIME, LABOR, and MONEY are saved by ordering through our agency.
☞ Catalogue sent free to any address for single stamp. Address

ALBERT H. ROFFE & CO., 11 Bromfield St., Boston, Mass.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

I.

The Chemistry of Common Life.

By the late Prof. JAMES F. W. JOHNSTON. A New Edition, revised, enlarged, and brought down to the Present Time, by ARTHUR HERBERT CHURCH, M. A., Oxon., author of "Food: its Sources, Constituents, and Uses." Illustrated with Maps and numerous Engravings on Wood. In one volume, 12mo. 592 pages. Cloth. Price, $2.00.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS:

The Air we Breathe.	The Beverages we Infuse.	The Smells we Dislike.
The Water we Drink.	The Sweets we Extract.	The Colors we Admire.
The Soil we Cultivate.	The Liquors we Ferment.	What we Breathe and Breathe for.
The Plant we Rear.	The Narcotics we Indulge in.	What, How, and Why we Digest.
The Bread we Eat.	The Poisons we Select.	The Body we Cherish.
The Beef we Cook.	The Odors we Enjoy.	The Circulation of Matter.

In the number and variety of striking illustrations, in the simplicity of its style, and in the closeness and cogency of its arguments, Professor Johnston's "Chemistry of Common Life" has as yet found no equal among the many books of a similar character which its success originated, and it steadily maintains its preëminence in the popular scientific literature of the day. In preparing this edition for the press, the editor had the opportunity of consulting Professor Johnston's private and corrected copy of "The Chemistry of Common Life," who had, before his death, gleaned very many fresh details, so that he was able not only to incorporate with his revision some really valuable matter, but to learn the kind of addition which the author contemplated.

II.

The Pathology of Mind:

BEING THE THIRD EDITION OF THE SECOND PART OF "THE PHYSIOLOGY AND PATHOLOGY OF MIND," RECAST, ENLARGED, AND REWRITTEN. By HENRY MAUDSLEY, M. D., author of "Body and Mind," "Physiology of the Mind," etc. One volume, 12mo. Cloth. 580 pages. Price, $2.00.

The new material includes chapters on "Dreaming," "Somnambulism and its Allied States," and large additions in the chapters on the "Causation and Prevention of Insanity."

III.

Erasmus Darwin.

By ERNST KRAUSE. Translated from the German by W. S. Dallas. With a Preliminary Notice by Charles Darwin. With Portrait and Woodcuts. One volume, 12mo. Cloth. Price. $1.25.

IV.

Manch.

A Novel. By MARY E. BRYAN. One volume, 12mo. Cloth. Price, $1.50.

For sale by all booksellers; or sent by mail, post-paid, on receipt of price.

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, New York.

Complete in Three Magnificent Volumes,

PICTURESQUE EUROPE.

WITH

63 Exquisite Steel Plates, and nearly 1,000 Original Illustrations on Wood.

From Original Drawings made expressly for this work by BIRKET FOSTER, HARRY FENN, J. D. WOODWARD, P. SKELTON, S. READ, W. H. BOOT, and others.

Edited by BAYARD TAYLOR.

"PICTURESQUE EUROPE" is sold only by subscription, and is published in 60 parts, royal quarto, at 50 cents each, and in three volumes, bound in full or half morocco. Price, in half morocco, $48.00; full morocco, $54.00; morocco, extra gilt, $57.00.

"With three completed quarto volumes lying around us, we survey the successive pages and engravings with fresh wonder and delight, as each picture, done with the keenest skill and most delicate taste of the artist, reproduces before the eye some familiar scene, and all the pleasing associations of other years and lands come back to the mind. From personal observation we can certify to the accurate fidelity of the artist, while the letter-press description embodies the fullest and most careful accounts of whatever the pencil has drawn. To the untraveled but cultured mind these volumes are a perpetual feast. Each picture is a finished work of art, on steel or on wood. Not one is lightly done, but all are in the best manner of the artists, whose reputation is enhanced by the effort made to illustrate this magnificent pictorial work."—*New York Observer.*

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, New York.

SEBASTIAN STROME.

A NOVEL.

By JULIAN HAWTHORNE,

AUTHOR OF "GARTH," "BRESSANT," ETC.

From the London Athenæum.

"Taken merely as a work of art, 'Sebastian Strome'—which is not so exaggerated as 'Idolatry,' and does not drag like 'Garth'—may be pronounced the most powerful novel Mr. Hawthorne has ever written. Indeed, we may go further, and say that not many more remarkable novels by any author have appeared of late. The story is interesting, and, moving swiftly and strongly along, it carries the reader with it. The force and vigor of some of the scenes are balanced by the grace and tenderness of others. There are some delightful descriptions of external nature, and there are strange glimpses into human nature, which have rather surprised us."

From the London Spectator.

"This is a story marked by very irregular power, but very powerful throughout. . . . It is not easy to conceive any sketches finer and more subtly drawn than those of Mr. and Mrs. Strome, and of Sebastian's friend Smillet. These three are not common pictures. They are painted without the smallest straining after effect, but with the vividness of real genius; and this it is which makes a tale of very irregular power, and one composed of very dark and sometimes, indeed, revolting elements, produce on the whole a single effect on the mind—the effect of the delicate golden sunset seen after a combination of earthquake, dust-storm, and hurricane, has passed in succession over the land."

8vo. Paper cover. ("*Appletons' Library of American Fiction.*") *Price, 75 cents.*

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, New York.

THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

TWENTIETH YEAR.

A Scientific, Literary, and Critical Journal. Each number containing 240 pages. Published in July, October, January, and April.

SECOND SERIES.

DAVID A. GORTON, M. D., Editor. **CHARLES H. WOODMAN, Associate Editor.**

CONTENTS FOR JANUARY, 1880.

I. The Rise and Fall of the Bonapartes.
II. The Management of the Indians.
III. The English Classics.
IV. The Hygiene of Water.
V. The Working-classes of Europe.
VI. The Nebular Hypothesis.
VII. Inter-State Extradition.
VIII. The New Eastern Question.
IX. Stephen A. Douglas.
X. Reviews and Criticisms.

The National Quarterly Review possesses many features which especially commend it to people of culture and liberal ideas, and also to those who take an interest in solid American literature. It is the aim of the Editors to make it a medium *par excellence* of literary criticism and philosophic discussion, and to keep its pages above the suspicion of interested motives, sectarian prejudice, or partisan bias. Its pages are open impartially to the discussion of both sides of all subjects, by writers of every diversity of opinion, subject only to the rules of liberal controversy. Its subjects embrace general literature; Reviews, Criticisms, and Expositions of Science, History, Philosophy, and Biography; the Ancient and Modern Classics, Belles-Lettres, Politics, Ethics, Economic Problems, Public Men and Public Measures, etc. No effort is spared to make the National Quarterly Review worthy of a permanent place in the libraries of public institutions and on the tables of gentlemen of literary taste.

The contributions to the Review are wholly original. Reprints and translations are not acceptable; nor are articles of merely transient interest. Suitable articles are accepted or rejected according to their merits or demerits, uninfluenced by the celebrity or obscurity of the writer.

SELECTED CRITICISMS.

"A particularly strong number of this old and able Review, . . . replete with very carefully written papers on topics of living interest."—*Advance.*

"No American review which comes under our eye takes so careful and extended notice of current literature as the National Quarterly."—*Christian Union.*

"This National Quarterly is particularly erudite, satisfactory, and suggestive, . . . a most enjoyable publication."—*Methodist Recorder.*

"A literary magazine of reach and weight. The National is now our only Quarterly, the only periodical that clings to the old style of space and leisure for the treatment of topics."—*Charles Dudley Warner in Hartford Courant.*

". . . This Review partakes less of the character of a magazine both in the choice and in the treatment of its themes than most of its former fellows do, since they adopted the rule of more frequent publication; and yet this Review is not by any means without that interest which comes of the discussion of matters of present concern."—*New York Evening Post.*

"For clear, logical reasoning, few if any contributions appear anywhere that will excel those that are printed in the National Quarterly Review."—*Forney's Sunday Chronicle.*

". . . The National Quarterly is the sole representative of the American literary Quarterlies. The scholarly and literary character of its articles places it in the same rank with the English Quarterlies. It sustains, moreover, a character for broad liberality in religion, science, and politics."—*Boston Transcript.*

"La cearté, l'ordre, la précision du style; ce que les Anglais appellent *humour*, et parfois l'ironie, sont les qualités qui distinguent la National Quarterly Review au-dessus de tout autre journal littéraire Américain."—*Le Pays*, Paris.

"This Review certainly stands now at the head of American critical literature, and is so esteemed in Europe."—*Philadelphia Press.*

"Its critical estimates of moral and literary merits and demerits are honest, clear, and almost always trustworthy."—*New York Independent.*

"Superior to any other secular magazine publication in America, and in no manner surpassed by any European Review."—*Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph.*

"It is a model of good taste and good sense, of sound judgment and pure diction, of earnest scholarship and patient research, of critical ability and enlarged liberality."—*Baltimore Underwriter.*

"We have been often struck with the sterling qualities of this periodical, which is an honor to our literature and a monument to our national reputation."—*Baltimore Catholic Mirror.*

Subscriptions are respectfully solicited. Terms: $4 per year; $1 single number. Reasonable Discount to the Trade. ☞ Agents wanted in every city in the Union.

Complete Sets of the Review, bound in half turkey, may be had at $3.00 per volume; in paper covers, at $2.00 per volume. Single numbers, $1.00. Address

THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW,

51 Maiden Lane, New York.

D. APPLETON & COMPANY

HAVE JUST PUBLISHED:

I.

SECOND VOLUME OF THE MEMOIRS OF MADAME DE REMUSAT.

The Memoirs of Madame de Remusat,

1802–1808. With a Preface and Notes by her Grandson, PAUL DE RÉMUSAT, Senator. In three volumes. Volume II., 8vo, paper. Price, 50 cents. (Volume III. is in press, and will follow shortly.)

"These memoirs are not only a repository of anecdotes and of portraits sketched from life by a keen-eyed, quick-witted woman, some of the author's reflections on social and political questions being remarkable for weight and penetration."—*New York Sun.*

"In appreciating the character and the policy of the most remarkable man of modern times, Madame de Rémusat is likely to remain one of the principal authorities."—*London Athenæum.*

II.

Mind in the Lower Animals, in Health and Disease.

By W. LAUDER LINDSAY, M. D., F. R. S. E., etc. In two volumes, 8vo, cloth. Price, $4.00.

"I have studied the subject of mind in other animals, as compared with that of man, for a series of years, simply as a *physician-naturalist.* . . . Regarding the whole subject of mind in animals from a medical and natural-history point of view, I have studied it from first to last without any preconceived ideas, with no theory to defend, support, or illustrate. . . . All that I attempt is to outline the subject of mind in the lower animals, to illustrate their possession of the higher mental faculties as they occur in man."—*Extract from Introduction.*

III.

Forster's Life of Charles Dickens.

THE LIFE OF CHARLES DICKENS. By JOHN FORSTER. Forming the concluding volume of Chapman & Hall's Household Edition of the Works of Charles Dickens. With Forty Illustrations. Square 8vo. Price, in cloth, $1.75; paper cover, $1.25.

The Household Edition of Dickens is now complete, consisting of twenty-two volumes, with nearly 900 illustrations. Price of the complete set, in paper covers, $22.50; in cloth binding, $33.50.

IV.

The Financial History of the United States,

From 1774 to 1789, embracing the Period of the American Revolution. By ALBERT S. BOLLES, Lecturer on Political Economy in the Boston University. 8vo, cloth. Price, $2.50.

"This work traces the causes and consequences of the financial legislation of the United States, during one of the most important periods of our history.

"It fills a place and meets a want which, so far as my observation extends, is not supplied by any one publication."—DAVID A. WELLS.

V.

Chemical Exercises in Qualitative Analysis,

For Ordinary Schools. By GEORGE W. RAINS, M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Pharmacy in the Medical Department of the University of Georgia, etc. Cloth, flexible. Price, 50 cents.

VI.

The Seamy Side.

A Novel. By WALTER BESANT and JAMES RICE. 8vo, paper cover. Price, 50 cents.

The above books for sale by all booksellers; or any volume sent by post, prepaid, on receipt of price.

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, New York.

Appletons' Journal:

A MAGAZINE OF GENERAL LITERATURE.

APPLETONS' JOURNAL is devoted to literature of a sterling and general character. Fiction occupies a place, and Descriptive Papers appear; but large place is given to articles bearing upon Literary and Art Topics, to discussions of Social and Political Progress, to papers addressed distinctly to the intellectual tastes of the public, or upon subjects in which the public welfare or public culture is concerned.

It is the growing habit of the leading minds in all countries to contribute their best intellectual work to the magazines and reviews; and, in order that APPLETONS' JOURNAL may adequately reflect the intellectual activity of the time thus expressed, it admits to its pages a selection of the more noteworthy critical, speculative, and progressive papers that come from the pens of these writers.

---

25 cents per number; $3.00 per annum, in advance, postage included. A club of five will be sent one year for $12.00.

The volumes begin January and July of each year. Subscriptions received for any length of time.

The Popular Science Monthly.

Conducted by E. L. and W. J. YOUMANS.

Containing instructive and interesting articles and abstracts of articles, original, selected, and illustrated, from the pens of the leading scientific men of different countries; accounts of important scientific discoveries; the application of science to the practical arts; the latest views put forth concerning natural phenomena, by *savants* of the highest authority.

Prominent attention is given to those various sciences which help to a better understanding of the nature of man, to the bearings of science upon the questions of society and government, to scientific education, and to the conflicts which spring from the progressive nature of scientific knowledge.

THE POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY *was enlarged, beginning with the issue for January*, 1879. It is handsomely printed on clear type, and, when necessary to further convey the ideas of the writer, fully illustrated.

TERMS: $5.00 per annum; or, 50 cents per number.

The volumes begin May and November of each year. Subscriptions may begin at any time.

THE POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY and APPLETONS' JOURNAL, together, for $7.00 per annum, postage prepaid. (Full price, $8.00.)

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, New York.

THE ART JOURNAL
FOR 1880.

NEW FEATURES.

WITH THE ART JOURNAL FOR 1880 WILL BE GIVEN

SUPPLEMENTS,

Containing Original Designs for copying on Plaques, Tiles, Panels, Screens, Vases, Fans, etc., or for other purposes in which the amateur may desire suggestions for Decorative Drawing and Painting. Each design will be accompanied with suggestions for treatment.

ILLUSTRATED PAPERS, Etc.

LEAVES FROM PAINTERS' PORTFOLIOS.—We shall begin in an early number a series of papers of an eminently interesting and artistic character, consisting of reproductions on wood of studies, sketches, out-of-door snatches of scenes or objects, from the portfolios of our artists. We can promise subscribers in this unique series drawings of singular freshness and charm.

PRINCIPLES OF DECORATION.—We have begun in the January number a series of papers explaining and illustrating the principles of Decorative Art, prepared by Mrs. SUSAN N. CARTER, Superintendent of the Woman's Art School, Cooper Union, New York.

STUDIO-LIFE IN NEW YORK. With Illustrations.

PRIZE DESIGNS FOR ART-MANUFACTURE.

THE MOSQUES OF EGYPT. By E. T. ROGERS and M. E. ROGERS. Illustrated by G. L. Seymour.

OTHER EGYPTIAN SUBJECTS. By the same authors and artist.

AMERICAN PAINTERS.—Examples of the current productions of AMERICAN ARTISTS, engraved in an artistic manner.

BRITISH AND CONTINENTAL PAINTERS.—Examples, engraved on wood, of the works of leading artists abroad.

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE.—A series of papers giving instruction in and designs for the erection of rural cottages, suburban villas, etc.

RIVER SCENERY. By Professor ANSTED.

CAUSES OF VARIETIES OF ARCHITECTURE IN SYRIA. By M. E. ROGERS. With Illustrations.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ART-MANUFACTURES.

VIEWS OF NEW CHURCHES, BUILDINGS, AND MONUMENTS.

STEEL ENGRAVINGS.

Each number of THE ART JOURNAL contains three Steel Engravings or Etchings, from Paintings by distinguished artists, or subjects in Sculpture.

THE ART JOURNAL *contains the Steel Plates and Illustrations of the* LONDON ART JOURNAL *(the exclusive right of which, for Canada and the United States, has been purchased by the undersigned), with additions specially prepared for the American edition, mainly relating to American art.* It contains features that render it invaluable to artists, amateurs, and all persons interested in PAINTING, SCULPTURE, ARCHITECTURE, DECORATION, FURNISHING, ORNAMENTATION, ENGRAVING, ETCHING, or DESIGNING in any of its branches. It is a record of Progress in the Arts; affords instruction to amateurs and students; furnishes designers with innumerable suggestions; gives examples of what is doing in Europe and America in the different arts; is a choice gallery of engravings in both steel and wood.

Published monthly. *Sold only by Subscription.* Price, 75 cents per number (payable to the carrier), or $9.00 per annum, in advance, postage prepaid by the publishers.

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, New York.

AGENCIES: Boston, 6 Hawley Street; Philadelphia, 922 Chestnut Street; Baltimore, 22 Post-Office Avenue; Pittsburg, 10½ Sixth Street; Rochester, 42 State Street; Cincinnati, 200 Main Street; Chicago, 61 Washington Street; St. Louis, 320½ North Third Street; New Orleans, 20 St. Charles Street; San Francisco, 207 Dupont Street.

1880.

THE FOUR QUARTERLY REVIEWS

AND

BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE.

THE LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY,

41 Barclay Street, New York,

CONTINUE THEIR AUTHORIZED REPRINTS OF

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW (*Whig*),
THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW (*Liberal*),
THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW (*Conservative*),
THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW (*Evangelical*),
AND **BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE.**

The REVIEWS are published Quarterly, and dated January, April, July, and October.

BLACKWOOD is Monthly.

Volumes commence in January and July. Subscriptions may begin at any time.

TERMS FOR 1880 (INCLUDING POSTAGE),

PAYABLE STRICTLY IN ADVANCE.

For any one Review	$4 per annum.	For Blackwood and one Review	$7 per annum.
For any two Reviews	7 "	For Blackwood and two Reviews	10 "
For any three Reviews	10 "	For Blackwood and three Reviews	13 "
For all four Reviews	12 "	For Blackwood and the four Reviews	15 "
For Blackwood's Magazine	4 "		

☞ These reprints, which have been established in this country for nearly half a century, are sanctioned by the British Publishers, who receive annually a large amount for early sheets; they are NOT SELECTIONS; they give the originals IN FULL, and the whole five are supplied at about ONE-THIRD the price of the English editions. The LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY are the legitimate successors of the founders of this series, which from the outset up to the present time has been received with favor by the press and the public generally, on the ground of presenting the *best foreign periodicals* in a convenient form and at a reasonable price, without abridgment or alteration.

Their edition of BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE is a fac-simile of the original. This magazine is still published by the descendants of the founder.

The Reprints of the Reviews have a page slightly larger than that of the foreign copy; but the type and paper are clear and good (with the January numbers there will be further improvement), and the numbers can be handled without inconvenience, and make handsome volumes when bound. Indexes are given to each volume.

THE LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY,
41 Barclay Street, New York.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS'

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Emotions. By JAMES MCCOSH, D. D., LL. D., President of Princeton College. 1 vol., 8vo. $2.00.

Communism and Socialism IN THEIR HISTORY AND THEORY; a Sketch. By THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, D. D., LL. D., lately President of Yale College. 1 vol., 12mo. $1.50.

The Autobiography of Prince Metternich. Edited by his Son, Prince METTERNICH. Translated by Robina Napier. 2 vols., 8vo. With Portrait and Fac-similes. $5.00.

The Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart. By GEORGE C. MASON. Containing ten reproductions of Stuart's Portraits, printed in Paris, by the photogravure process of Messrs. Goupil & Company; a superb print in pure line by Burt of the "Gibbs Washington"; an etched fac-simile by Duthie of Stuart's pen-and-ink Portrait of Himself; and an engraving by Cole of Miss Goodridge's miniature of the artist. 1 vol., 4to. $10.00.

Brazil: the Amazons and the Coast. By HERBERT H. SMITH. Illustrated from Sketches by J. Wells Champney and others. 1 vol., 8vo. Extra cloth, $5.00.

History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France. By HENRY M. BAIRD, Professor in the University of the City of New York. With Map. 2 vols., 8vo. Cloth, gilt top, $5.00.

The Letters of Charles Dickens. Edited by his Sister-in-Law and his Eldest Daughter. With several Fac-simile Letters. 2 vols., 12mo. Cloth, $3.00.

Faith and Character. By Rev. MARVIN R. VINCENT, D. D. 1 vol., 12mo. $1.50.

The Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism. By Dr. GERHARD UHLHORN. Translated by Prof. EGBERT C. SMYTH and Rev. C. J. H. ROPES. 1 vol., crown 8vo. $2.50.

Old Faiths in New Light. By NEWMAN SMYTH, author of "The Religious Feeling." 1 vol., 12mo. Cloth, $1.50.

**** *These books are for sale by all booksellers, or will be sent, prepaid, upon receipt of price, by*

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS,

NOS. 743 & 745 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.

OFFICE, Nos. 346 & 348 BROADWAY.

JANUARY 1, 1880.

Amount of Net Cash Assets, January 1, 1879		**$36,213,457.61**
Less deduction to cover decrease in value of U. S. Bonds and other assets		$135,966.93
		$36,077,490.68

REVENUE ACCOUNT.

Premiums	$6,382,875.25	
Less deferred premiums January 1, 1879	379,839.09—$6,003,036.16	
Interest and rents	2,339,875.93	
Less interest accrued January 1, 1879	306,225.93—$2,033,650.00—$8,036,686.16	
		$44,114,176.84

DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT.

Losses by death, including Reversionary additions to same	$1,569,854.22	
Endowments matured and discounted, including Reversionary additions to same.	1,015,256.22	
Annuities, dividends, and returned premiums on canceled policies	2,236,379.97	
Taxes and reinsurances	173,608.64	
Commissions, brokerages, agency expenses, and physicians' fees	626,253.30	
Office and law expenses, salaries, advertising, printing, etc	307,392.81—$5,928,745.16	
		$38,185,431.68

ASSETS.

Cash in bank, on hand, and in transit (since received)	$1,961,701.48	
Invested in United States, New York City, and other stocks (market value $14,356,192.94)	13,544,671.96	
Real estate	4,974,573.68	
Bonds and mortgages, first lien on real estate (buildings thereon insured for $14,287,000.00, and the policies assigned to the company as additional collateral security)	15,313,278.95	
Temporary loans (secured by stocks, market value $1,300,000)	850,000.00	
* Loans on existing policies (the reserve held by the company on these policies amounts to $3,160,000)	621,403.02	
* Quarterly and semi-annual premiums on existing policies, due subsequent to January 1, 1880	367,989.02	
* Premiums on existing policies in course of transmission and collection (estimated reserve on these policies, $330,000, included in liabilities)	211,625.23	
Agents' balances	22,199.23	
Accrued interest on investments January 1, 1880	317,989.11—$38,185,431.68	

* *A detailed schedule of these items will accompany the usual annual report filed with the Insurance Department of the State of New York.*

Excess of market value of securities over cost		811,520.98
CASH ASSETS, January 1, 1880		**$38,996,952.66**

Appropriated as follows:

Adjusted losses, due subsequent to January 1, 1880	$225,662.64	
Reported losses, awaiting proof, etc	213,271.31	
Matured endowments, due and unpaid	32,780.98	
Reserved for reinsurance on existing policies; participating insurance at 4 per ct. Carlisle net premium; non-participating at 5 per ct. Carlisle net premium.	34,016,840.82	
Reserved for contingent liabilities to Tontine Dividend Fund, over and above a 4 per cent. reserve on existing policies of that class	1,371,482.18	
Reserved for premiums paid in advance	16,543.25—$35,876,581.18	
Divisible surplus at 4 per cent.		3,120,371.48
		$38,996,952.66

Surplus, estimated by the New York State Standard at 4 1-2 per cent., over..$7,000,000.00

From the undivided surplus of $3,120,371.48 the Board of Trustees has declared a Reversionary dividend to participating policies in proportion to their contribution to surplus, available on settlement of next annual premium.

During the year 5,524 policies have been issued, insuring $17,098,173.

Number of policies in force January 1, 1876, 44,661.	Amount at risk, 1876, $126,132,119.
Number of policies in force January 1, 1877, 45,421.	Amount at risk, 1877, 127,748,473.
Number of policies in force January 1, 1878, 45,605.	Amount at risk, 1878, 127,901,887.
Number of policies in force January 1, 1879, 45,005.	Amount at risk, 1879, 125,232,144.
Number of policies in force January 1, 1880, 45,705.	Amount at risk, 1880, 127,417,763.
Death-claims paid 1875, $1,524,815.	Income from Interest, 1875, $1,870,658.
Death-claims paid 1876, 1,547,648.	Income from Interest, 1876, 1,906,950.
Death-claims paid 1877, 1,638,188.	Income from Interest, 1877, 1,867,457.
Death-claims paid 1878, 1,687,676.	Income from Interest, 1878, 1,948,665.
Death-claims paid 1879, 1,569,854.	Income from Interest, 1879, 2,033,650.
Divisible surplus at 4 per cent. Jan. 1, 1876, $2,499,654	Divisible surplus at 4 per cent. Jan. 1, 1878, $2,664,144
Divisible surplus at 4 per cent. Jan. 1, 1877, 2,626,816	Divisible surplus at 4 per cent. Jan. 1, 1879, 2,811,436

Divisible surplus at 4 per cent. Jan. 1, 1880, $3,120,371.

TRUSTEES.

Morris Franklin,	H. B. Claflin,	Henry Bowers,	Charles Wright, M. D.,
Wm. H. Appleton,	John M. Furman,	Loomis L. White,	Edward Martin,
William Barton,	David Dows,	Robert B. Collins,	John Mairs,
William A. Booth,	George A. Osgood,	S. S. Fisher,	Edw. A. Whittemore,
Henry Tuck, M. D.,	Alexander Studwell,	William H. Beers.	

THEODORE M. BANTA, *Cashier.*

MORRIS FRANKLIN, *President.*

D. O'DELL, *Superintendent of Agencies.*

CHARLES WRIGHT, M. D., Residence, 109 E. 26th St., } *Medical Examiners.*

HENRY TUCK, M. D., Residence, 15 E. 31st St., }

WILLIAM H. BEERS, *Vice-President and Actuary.*

Published Monthly. Volume 130. Number 4.

SIXTY-FIFTH YEAR.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITED BY ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

April, 1880.

I. McClellan's Last Service to the Republic. Part I...G. T. CURTIS.

II. Relations of Canada with the United States.....Sir F. HINCKS.

III. The Failure of the Southern Pulpit.....Rev. DAVID SWING.

IV. General Grant and a Third Term.....GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

V. The Irish Land Question.....CHARLES STEWART PARNELL.

VI. Recent Works on Trade and Finance.....EDWARD CARY.

I. Reciprocity, Bi-metallism, and Land-Tenure Reform.

II. Free Trade and English Commerce.

III. The Financial History of the United States, from 1774 to 1789.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY.

LONDON: SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON, SEARLE & RIVINGTON.—PARIS: THE GALIGNANI LIBRARY.—
BERLIN: A. ASHER & CO.—GENEVA: J. CHERBULIEZ.—ROME: LOESCHER & CO.—
MELBOURNE: W. ROBERTSON.—YOKOHAMA AND SHANGHAI: KELLY & WALSH.

TERMS.—Five Dollars a year. Single number, Fifty Cents.

red at the Post-Office at New York, and admitted for transmission through the mails as second-class matter.

Volume 129 of the North American Review,

NOW READY, COMPLETE.

CONTENTS.

JULY.

Our Success at Paris in 1878. RICHARD C. MCCORMICK.
The Revolution in Russia. A RUSSIAN NIHILIST.
The Public Schools of England. Part II. THOMAS HUGHES.
The True Story of the Wallowa Campaign. General O. O. HOWARD.
The Psychology of Spiritism. GEORGE M. BEARD.
The Education of Freedmen. Part II. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.
Recent Essays. THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

AUGUST.

The Work and Mission of my Life. Part I. RICHARD WAGNER.
The Diary of a Public Man.
Garrison. WENDELL PHILLIPS.
The Power of Dissolution. EDWARD A. FREEMAN.
The Founder of the Khedivate. The late JOHN L. STEPHENS.
The Future of Resumption. AN OLD FINANCIER.
Recent Works on Ancient History and Philology. JOHN FISKE.

SEPTEMBER.

The Genius of Nathaniel Hawthorne. ANTHONY TROLLOPE.
The Standard of Value. Professor SIMON NEWCOMB.
The Work and Mission of my Life. Part II. RICHARD WAGNER.
The Diary of a Public Man. Part II.
Confession of an Agnostic. AN AGNOSTIC.
Intrigues at the Paris Canal Congress. A. G. MENOCAL.
Three Important Publications. MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

OCTOBER.

The Woman Question. FRANCIS PARKMAN.
Science and Humanity. FREDERIC HARRISON.
Louis Napoleon and the Southern Confederacy. OWEN F. ALDIS.
The Railway Problem. ROBERT GARRETT.
The Diary of a Public Man. Part III.
Spencer's Evolution Philosophy. Professor E. L. YOUMANS.
Recent History and Biography. A. K. FISKE.

NOVEMBER.

The Other Side of the Woman Question. JULIA WARD HOWE, THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, LUCY STONE, ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, WENDELL PHILLIPS.
Malthusianism, Darwinism, and Pessimism. Professor FRANCIS BOWEN.
A Page of Political Correspondence: Stanton to Buchanan.
The Diary of a Public Man. Part IV.
Tariff Reactions. Professor ARTHUR L. PERRY.
Some Recent Works of Fiction. EDWARD EGGLESTON.

DECEMBER.

Romanism and the Irish Race in the United States. Part I. JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE.
Young Men in Politics. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.
The Religion of To-day.
Is Political Economy a Science? Professor BONAMY PRICE.
English and American Physique. GEORGE M. BEARD, M. D.
The Permanence of Political Forces. Part I. CUTHBERT MILLS.
Recent Literature. JOHN R. G. HASSARD.

Price, unbound, $2.50; bound in cloth, $3.50; in half morocco, $4.00.

Sent by mail on receipt of price.

Address THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, New York.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

APRIL, 1880.

No. 281.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY.
1880.

COPYRIGHT BY
ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.
1880.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

APRIL, 1880.

ART. PAGE

I. McClellan's Last Service to the Republic. Part I. By George Ticknor Curtis 309

II. Relations of Canada with the United States. By the Hon. Sir Francis Hincks, K. C. M. G., C. B. . 338

III. The Failure of the Southern Pulpit. By the Rev. David Swing 356

IV. General Grant and a Third Term. By George S. Boutwell 370

V. The Irish Land Question. By Charles Stewart Parnell, M. P. 388

VI. Recent Works on Trade and Finance. I. Reciprocity, Bi-metallism, and Land-Tenure Reform. II. Free Trade and English Commerce. III. The Financial History of the United States, from 1774 to 1789. By Edward Cary 407

THE Editor disclaims responsibility for the opinions of contributors, whether their articles are signed or anonymous.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCLXXXI.

APRIL, 1880.

McCLELLAN'S LAST SERVICE TO THE REPUBLIC.

PART I.

A FULL history of General McClellan's services to the country, from the time when he led the Army of the Potomac to a position of safety on the James River at Harrison's Landing, to the transfer of that army to General Pope's command, and thence to the battle of Antietam, has never been written. In that part of McClellan's official report which covers this period, there is hardly more than a skeleton of events, made up of dispatches and letters, connected by a thread of narrative, in which the personal interviews, the oral communications, the anecdotes, and the acts of individuals, are for the most part wanting. That singularly dramatic scene, which witnessed the withdrawal of McClellan's army from the James, the defeat and disorderly retreat of Pope, McClellan's resumption of the command at the sudden and unexpected request of President Lincoln, his restoration of order, his provisions for the safety of Washington, his march into northern Maryland, his repulse of Lee, his advance into Virginia, and his recall at the moment when his preparations had been so made that nothing could probably have stayed his entrance into Richmond, is now to be described. It is understood that this journal opens its pages for the purposes of history, among others. It is only for the sake of making a contribution to history that we write. Of the four principal actors in this remarkable drama, Lincoln, Stanton, Halleck, and McClellan, the last

alone survives. In what we shall say of the conduct of each of the three others toward the General who saved the capital, we may present to our readers unexpected explanations of many things which they have been accustomed to view differently, or which have remained hitherto in obscurity. They will understand, however, that we do not speak at random, and that we do not ask for their belief without having had ample means for forming our own.

The present narrative will commence at the point of time when General McClellan delivered personally into the hands of President Lincoln a letter on the general subject of the war, which has long been public, and which has been the subject of much criticism. The true history of that letter we are able to give. While General McClellan was encamped on the Chickahominy, in June, 1862, awaiting the reënforcements which he so much needed for his advance on Richmond, he said in a telegraphic dispatch to the President, relating to other matters, "I would be glad to lay before your Excellency, by letter or telegraph, my views as to the present state of military affairs throughout the whole country." The President answered on the next day, as follows: "If it would not divert too much of your time and attention from the army under your immediate command, I would be glad to have your views as to the present state of military affairs throughout the country, as you say you would be glad to give them. I would rather it should be by letter than by telegraph, because of the better chance of secrecy." To this General McClellan replied that under the circumstances he would defer for the present the communication he desired to make. It was, however, only deferred. General McClellan felt that what he desired to say to the President was too important to be forborne, but he postponed the preparation of his letter until a more convenient time.

On the 25th of June, McClellan, closely pressed by the enemy, whose force amounted, according to his best information, to two hundred thousand men, telegraphed to Stanton, the Secretary of War, as follows:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
CAMP LINCOLN, *June* 25, 1862—6.15 P. M.

I have just returned from the field, and found your dispatch in regard to Jackson.

Several contrabands, just in, give information confirming supposition that Jackson's advance is at or near Hanover Court-House, and that Beauregard arrived, with strong reënforcements, in Richmond yesterday.

I incline to think that Jackson will attack my right and rear. The rebel

force is stated at (200,000) two hundred thousand, including Jackson and Beauregard. I shall have to contend against vastly superior odds if these reports be true. But this army will do all in the power of men to hold their position and repulse any attack.

I regret my great inferiority in numbers, but feel that I am in no way responsible for it, as I have not failed to represent, repeatedly, the necessity of reënforcements; that this was the decisive point, and that all the available means of the Government should be concentrated here. I will do all that a General can do, with the splendid army I have the honor to command, and, if it is destroyed by overwhelming numbers, can at least die with it, and share its fate.

But, if the result of the action which will probably occur to-morrow, or within a short time, is a disaster, the responsibility can not be thrown on my shoulders; it must rest where it belongs.

Since I commenced this, I have received additional intelligence, confirming the supposition in regard to Jackson's movements and Beauregard's arrival. I shall probably be attacked to-morrow, and now go to the other side of the Chickahominy, to arrange for the defense on that side. I feel that there is no use in my again asking for reënforcements.

G. B. McClellan, *Major-General.*

Edwin M. Stanton, *Secretary of War.*

On the 26th, the day upon which McClellan had fixed for his final advance, although the reënforcements which he had so earnestly and repeatedly called for had been withheld from him, he was attacked by the enemy in strong force on his right. He was thus compelled to turn his attention to the protection of his communications and depots of supply. "This," he says in his report, "was a bitter confirmation of the military judgment which had been reiterated to my military superiors from the inception and through the progress of the Peninsular campaign." Then followed The Seven Days, through which he fought his way for a change of base to the James River, in a series of desperate conflicts, in every one of which the Confederates were baffled, until, on the night of the 3d of July, the last of the wagon-trains reached the new base at Harrison's Landing, and the wearied Army of the Potomac, which had battled with such heroic endurance under his skillful guidance, rested in security, protected by their own batteries and the gunboats which lay in the river. The three following days were occupied by McClellan in strengthening and guarding his position, and in a fruitless telegraphic correspondence with the President, to convince the latter that reënforcements ought to be sent to him, so that he could advance on Richmond from the James. "To reënforce you," said Mr. Lincoln, "so as to enable you to resume the offensive within a

month, or even six weeks, is impossible. . . . Under these circumstances, the defensive, for the present, must be your only care. Save the army, first, where you are, if you can ; and, secondly, by removal, if you must."

While the Army of the Potomac was thus resting in the defensive at Harrison's Landing, General McClellan wrote to the President, on the 7th of July, the letter which he had obtained permission to write. It is but fair to take his own account of the motives which actuated him in making this communication to the President. "While General-in-Chief," he said in his report, "and directing the operations of all our armies in the field, I had become deeply impressed with the importance of adopting and carrying out certain views regarding the conduct of the war, which, in my judgment, were essential to its objects and success. During an active campaign of three months in the enemy's country, these were so fully confirmed that I conceived it a duty, in the critical position we then occupied, not to withhold a candid expression of the more important of these views from the Commander-in-Chief whom the Constitution places at the head of the armies and navies, as well as of the Government of the nation." This letter, conceived in this spirit and privately delivered into the President's own hands, is the one that has been so long misrepresented as a political manifesto of General McClellan, intended to promote his personal prospects for the next Presidency.

The letter having been completed and signed, General McClellan was about to intrust it to the hands of General Marcy, his chief of staff, who was going to Washington, for delivery to the President, when intelligence was unexpectedly received that the President was coming down to Harrison's Landing. He arrived on or about the 8th of July. General McClellan went on board the steamer to receive the President, and, after they had been together for a short time in the cabin, McClellan placed his letter in the President's hands. Mr. Lincoln read it through, folded it up, and, with no comment save the two words "All right," put it in his pocket. He remained at Harrison's Landing for forty-eight hours, in constant intercourse with McClellan of the most confidential nature, and never once alluded to this letter with either commendation, criticism, censure, or complaint.* How this letter, never intended for publication as

* While Mr. Lincoln was on shore at Harrison's Landing, the soldiers exhibited no disposition to cheer him. In fact, the rank and file of the army received him very coldly. General McClellan caused the men to be told that the President should be cheered;

its context shows, came long afterward to be given to the press is not known. It was not done by General McClellan, or by his permission.

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
CAMP NEAR HARRISON'S LANDING, VIRGINIA, *July* 7, 1862.

MR. PRESIDENT: You have been duly informed that the rebel army is in our front, with the purpose of overwhelming us by attacking our positions, or reducing us by blocking our river communications. I can not but regard our condition as critical; and I earnestly desire, in view of possible contingencies, to lay before your Excellency, for your private consideration, my general views concerning the existing state of the rebellion, although they do not strictly relate to the situation of this army, or strictly come within the scope of my official duties. These views amount to convictions, and are deeply impressed on my mind and heart. Our cause must never be abandoned; it is the cause of free institutions and self-government. The Constitution and the Union must be preserved, whatever may be the cost in time, treasure, and blood. If secession is successful, other dissolutions are clearly to be seen in the future. Let neither military disaster, political faction, nor foreign war shake your settled purpose to enforce the equal operation of the laws of the United States upon the people of every State.

The time has come when the Government must determine upon a civil and military policy covering the whole ground of our national trouble. The responsibility of determining, declaring, and supporting such civil and military policy, and of directing the whole course of national affairs in regard to the rebellion, must now be assumed and exercised by you, or our cause will be lost. The Constitution gives you power sufficient even for the present terrible exigency.

This rebellion has assumed the character of a war; as such it should be regarded, and it should be conducted upon the highest principles known to Christian civilization. It should not be a war looking to the subjugation of the people of any State, in any event. It should not be at all a war upon populations, but against armed forces and political organizations. Neither confiscation of property, political executions of persons, territorial organization of States, nor forcible abolition of slavery should be contemplated for a moment. In prosecuting the war, all private property and unarmed persons should be strictly protected, subject only to the necessity of military operations. All private property taken for military use should be paid or receipted for; pillage and waste should be treated as high crimes; all unnecessary trespass sternly prohibited, and offensive demeanor by the military toward citizens promptly rebuked. Military arrests should not be tolerated, except in places where active hostilities exist, and oaths not required by enactments constitutionally made should be neither demanded nor received. Military

and then he was cheered, but not with the slightest enthusiasm. The men felt too deeply that the Government had left them to encounter terrible perils, without proper support; and they also felt that, after all their exertions and endurance, they ought to be reënforced and allowed to resume the offensive for which they ardently longed.

government should be confined to the preservation of public order and the protection of political rights. Military power should not be allowed to interfere with the relations of servitude, either by supporting or impairing the authority of the master, except for repressing disorder, as in other cases. Slaves contraband under the act of Congress, seeking military protection, should receive it. The right of the Government to appropriate permanently to its own service claims to slave-labor, should be asserted, and the right of the owner to compensation therefor should be recognized.

This principle might be extended, upon grounds of military necessity and security, to all the slaves within a particular State, thus working manumission in such State; and in Missouri, perhaps in Western Virginia also, and possibly even in Maryland, the expediency of such a measure is only a question of time.

A system of policy thus constitutional and conservative, and pervaded by the influences of Christianity and freedom, would receive the support of almost all truly loyal men, would deeply impress the rebel masses and all foreign nations, and it might be humbly hoped that it would commend itself to the favor of the Almighty.

Unless the principles governing the future conduct of our struggle shall be made known and approved, the effort to obtain requisite forces will be almost hopeless. A declaration of radical views, especially upon slavery, will rapidly disintegrate our present armies.

The policy of the Government must be supported by concentrations of military power. The national forces should not be dispersed in expeditions, posts of occupation, and numerous armies, but should be mainly collected into masses, and brought to bear upon the armies of the Confederate States. Those armies thoroughly defeated, the political structure which they support would soon cease to exist.

In carrying out any system of policy which you may form, you will require a Commander-in-Chief of the army—one who possesses your confidence, understands your views, and who is competent to execute your orders by directing the military forces of the nation to the accomplishment of the objects by you proposed. I do not ask that place for myself. I am willing to serve you in such position as you may assign me, and I will do so as faithfully as ever subordinate served superior.

I may be on the brink of eternity, and, as I hope for forgiveness from my Maker, I have written this letter with sincerity toward you, and from love for my country.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. B. McClellan.

His Excellency A. Lincoln, President.

The President returned to Washington, carrying with him General McClellan's letter, on or about the 10th of July, undecided as to the future military operations. The dispatches which followed his return are very important. On the 12th McClellan

telegraphed to him: "I am more and more convinced that this army ought not to be withdrawn from here, but promptly reënforced and thrown again upon Richmond. If we have little more than half a chance, we can take it. I dread the effects of any retreat upon the *morale* of my men." Again, on the 17th he telegraphed to the President: "I have consulted fully with General Burnside, and would commend to your favorable consideration the General's plan for bringing seven additional regiments from North Carolina, by leaving Newbern to the care of the gunboats. It appears manifestly to be our policy to concentrate here everything we can possibly spare from less important points, to make sure of crushing the enemy at Richmond, which seems clearly to be the most important point in rebeldom. Nothing should be left to chance here. I would recommend that General Burnside, with all his troops, be ordered to this army, to enable it to assume the offensive as soon as possible." On the 18th he repeated this advice, adding: "Am anxious to have determination of Government, that no time may be lost in preparing for it. Hours are very precious now, and perfect unity of action necessary."

Ten days passed away, and still no decision had been made at Washington. On the 28th McClellan telegraphed to Halleck, the General-in-Chief: "My opinion is more and more firm that here is the defense of Washington, and that I should be reënforced at once by all available troops, to enable me to advance. Retreat would be disastrous to the army and the cause. I am confident of that." On the 30th he again telegraphed to Halleck: "I hope it may soon be decided what is to be done by this army; and that the decision may be to reënforce it at once. We are losing much valuable time, and that at a moment when energy and decision are sadly needed."

We must pause here to explain that, at the time of this indecision on the part of the Government, the question was whether the enemy should be attacked by McClellan advancing on Richmond, and be thereby confined to the defense of *his* capital, or whether he should be allowed to advance on Washington by way of Fredericksburg, thus compelling the Federal Government to defend *their* capital. As a military question, considering the comparative advantages of attack and defense, and the dangers that would follow from a defeat of the Federal forces in the front of Washington, there was not much room for doubt. If McClellan were to be reënforced and ordered to attack Richmond, the troops of the Confederates would have to be concentrated for its defense. If Mc-

Clellan had been defeated in this attempt, his defeat must have cost the enemy so much that he could hardly have been in a condition to seriously menace Washington before a sufficient force could have been interposed for its defense. McClellan, be it observed, did not ask for all the forces that were at the disposal of his Government; he asked for all that were "available," which he explained to mean "everything that we can possibly spare from less important points"—a meaning that the military authorities in Washington must have understood. On the other hand, if McClellan's army were to be withdrawn from the James, the enemy would be practically invited to advance on Washington; and, if he should defeat the Federal armies gathered in front of that capital, it would be in a great peril. A vast deal, too, would depend upon the commander who was to be intrusted with the defense of Washington, in case the Army of the Potomac should be withdrawn from the James, thus encouraging the enemy to stake his utmost efforts upon a great battle, or a series of battles, in front of the Federal capital. At the time when this momentous decision was to be made by our Government, they contemplated a reliance upon General Pope to encounter General Lee; and to encounter Lee, not after he had been crippled by a previous contest with McClellan, but in the full strength which would remain to him without that contest. It is impossible, therefore, to read McClellan's dispatches at this period of the President's indecision, without being impressed by the conviction that McClellan was right in his military judgment, even if we do not look forward to what actually followed. The elements for a sound determination were as patent to the authorities in Washington, between the 10th of July and the 6th of August, as they were to McClellan. But, unfortunately, other counsels prevailed over his.

Between the 30th of July and the 3d of August the enemy made some attempts to feel McClellan's position, by demonstrations with light batteries, but they were driven back toward Petersburg, and Coggin's Point, on the south side of the James, was occupied on the same day by McClellan, and fortified. On that day also he sent forward a force of cavalry on the south side of the river, which drove back a body of five hundred of the enemy's cavalry in confusion. His whole position on the James was now therefore secure, and he was in a condition to advance, if he could have Burnside, whom he again asked for on the 2d of August. "Give me Burnside," he telegraphed to Halleck, "and I will stir these people up."

On the 30th of July the Government was apparently still undecided, but, from the tenor of Halleck's dispatches of that day and the next, McClellan had some reason to expect orders to advance on Richmond. Thus on the 30th Halleck sent two dispatches. The first said: "A dispatch just received from General Pope says that deserters report that the enemy is moving south of James River, and that the force in Richmond is very small. I suggest that he be pressed in that direction, so as to ascertain the facts of the case." But again, on the 30th, Halleck telegraphed, rather ambiguously: "In order to enable you to move in any direction, it is necessary to relieve you of your sick. The Surgeon-General has therefore been directed to make arrangements for them at other places, and the Quartermaster-General to provide transportation. I hope you will send them away as quickly as possible, and advise me of their removal." And, on the 31st, Halleck telegraphed, "General Pope again telegraphs that the enemy is reported to be evacuating Richmond, and falling back on Danville and Lynchburg." These were the only data McClellan then had, from which to form an opinion as to the intentions of the Government. They had, in fact, at this time, no fixed intentions, but the dispatches looked as if McClellan might be allowed to advance.

On the 4th of August, General Hooker, by General McClellan's orders, advanced with a large force to Malvern Hill, a strong position of the Confederates fourteen and three quarter miles distant from Richmond, and drove the forces of the enemy back toward New Market. Malvern Hill controlled the direct approach to Richmond. It was equally necessary to occupy it, for a time, whether Richmond was to be attacked by McClellan from the James, or whether he was to be ordered to abandon the Peninsula. On the 5th McClellan was himself at Malvern Hill, and thence he telegraphed to Halleck at 1 P. M.: "This is a very advantageous position to cover an advance on Richmond, and only fourteen and three quarter miles distant, and I feel confident that, with reënforcements, I could march this army there in five days." To this there came the answer from Halleck, on the 6th, "I have no reënforcements to send you."

The correspondence at this time shows the utmost impatience on the part of Halleck and the utmost exertions of McClellan to comply with his orders. By day and by night McClellan carried on his operations for the removal of the sick by all the means of transportation at his command. On the subject of the withdrawal

of the army, it is necessary to follow this correspondence carefully. The determination of the Government to withdraw the army from the Peninsula was made known by a telegram which Halleck sent on the 3d and which McClellan received on the 4th. In this dispatch Halleck said: "You will take immediate measures to effect this, covering the movement the best you can. Its real object and withdrawal should be concealed even from your own officers. Your *matériel* and transportation should be removed first. You will assume control of all the means of transportation within your reach, and apply to the naval forces for all the assistance they can render you. . . . The entire execution of the movement is left to your discretion."

"I proceeded," says McClellan, "to obey this order with all possible rapidity, firmly impressed, however, with the conviction that the withdrawal of the Army of the Potomac from Harrison's Landing, where its communications had, by the coöperation of the gunboats, been rendered perfectly secure, would at that time have the most disastrous effect upon our cause. I did not, as the commander of that army, allow the occasion to pass without distinctly setting forth my views upon the subject to the authorities." The very impressive dispatch in which McClellan, on the 4th, placed before the General-in-Chief the whole of the military argument against the order for the removal of his army is too lengthy to be quoted in full, but it was remarkable for the cogency of its reasoning and the simple earnestness of its tone. It reads now like prophecy, but like the prophecy of one who was too sincerely anxious for the success of the cause to be gratified in the end by the fulfillment of his predictions. Yet he did not refrain, as a patriot should not have refrained, from letting the Government understand plainly what he plainly foresaw. "Your telegram of last evening," he said to Halleck, "is received. I must confess that it has caused me the greatest pain I ever experienced, for I am convinced that the order to withdraw this army to Aquia Creek will prove disastrous to our cause. I fear it will be a fatal blow. Several days are necessary to complete the preparations for so important a movement as this, and while they are in progress I beg that careful consideration may be given to my statements." He then enters into the argument, showing that, with his army then in excellent discipline and condition, he was only twenty-five miles from Richmond, and that the gunboats could supply the army by water during its advance to within twelve miles of that capital, whereas the result of the retrograde movement

that had been ordered would be a march of one hundred and forty-five miles to reach the same point, and without the aid of the gun-boats and water transportation.* He then concludes as follows :

Add to this the certain demoralization of this army which would ensue, the terribly depressing effect upon the people of the North, and the strong probability that it would influence foreign powers to recognize our adversaries, and there appear to me sufficient reasons to make it my imperative duty to urge, in the strongest terms afforded by our language, that this order may be rescinded, and that, far from recalling this army, it be promptly reënforced to enable it to assume the offensive.

It may be said that there are no reënforcements available. I point to Burnside's force; to that of Pope, not necessary to maintain a strict defensive in front of Washington and Harper's Ferry; to those portions of the Army of the West not required for a strict defensive there. Here, directly in front of this army, is the heart of the rebellion; it is here that all our resources should be collected to strike the blow which will determine the fate of the nation. All points of secondary importance elsewhere should be abandoned, and every available man brought here. A decided victory here, and the military strength of the rebellion is crushed; it matters not what partial reverses we may meet with elsewhere. Here is the true defense of Washington; it is here, on the banks of the James, that the fate of the Union should be decided.

Clear in my convictions of right, strong in the consciousness that I have ever been, and still am, actuated solely by love of my country, knowing that no ambitious or selfish motives have influenced me from the commencement of this war, I do now, what I never did in my life before—I entreat that this order may be rescinded.

If my counsel does not prevail, I will with a sad heart obey your orders to the utmost of my power, directing to the movement, which I clearly foresee will be one of the utmost delicacy and difficulty, whatever skill I may possess.

Whatever the result may be, and may God grant that I am mistaken in my forebodings, I shall at least have the internal satisfaction that I have written and spoken frankly, and have sought to do the best in my power to avert disaster from my country.

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN, *Major-General commanding.*

The answer of General Halleck was at first communicated by telegram, on the 5th, saying that the order would not be rescinded, and that it must be executed with all possible promptness. He promised, however, to reply more fully by mail ; and on the 6th he

* Aquia Creek would be seventy-five miles from Richmond, with only land transportation all the way. From Harrison's Landing to Fortress Monroe would be a land march of seventy miles.

wrote to McClellan a long letter, which set forth in detail the opposite argument and the reasons for the decision which had been made. Without meaning to detract in any degree from the earnestness of General Halleck's convictions, and conceding that he had a difficult military predicament to deal with, in consequence of the division of the Federal forces and the opportunity for the enemy to fall upon McClellan or upon Pope, at his pleasure—a difficulty which General Halleck did not create—there is still one question that remains to be considered, and in reference to which the Government must be held to have made a fatal mistake.* When it had been determined to mass the Federal armies in front of Washington, the question of a commander, who was to be intrusted with the defense of Washington and with the advance upon Richmond, if haply a new advance of the united armies should prove to be practicable, was certainly one of the last importance. Why was not this command given to McClellan? This question may be asked, and it must be answered, without reference to any wishes that he may be supposed to have had on the subject. We do not know that he had any. But we do know, that when a government has a military command of the utmost importance to bestow, it will, if it is swayed by the only motives that are fit to govern it, select, of its own unprompted and unbiased accord, the General who is most fit for the exigency. It may be said with perfect truth that McClellan, at the moment when it was determined to concentrate both the Army of Virginia and the Army of the Potomac in front of Washington, was the only General within the reach of the Government who was qualified to take such a command.

From the President down, through the various ranks of politicians or soldiers by whom he was surrounded, all knew in their hearts that the only reason why McClellan had failed to reach Richmond, and been obliged to execute his flank movement to the James, was because McDowell had been arrested by express orders from Washington on his march to effect a junction with McClellan's right. Everybody knew that McClellan had handled his army with consummate skill, on that flank movement, and had saved it from a vastly superior force of the enemy; that under him that army had fought, on their perilous march, with almost unexampled bravery,

* It is almost too plain to require suggestion that if, on the one hand, the Confederates could fall upon McClellan and upon Pope separately, so also it was equally in the power of the Federal Government to divide and attack the Confederates, in separate masses, by ordering McClellan and Pope both to push toward Richmond.

preserving their discipline, and never once breaking into disorderly retreat, thus winning for their commander and themselves the applause and admiration of the most competent military judges at home and abroad. These were the patent facts that were before Mr. Lincoln and his advisers, in regard to McClellan's Peninsular campaign. Previous to that campaign, they knew what he had achieved in the West, before he was called to Washington, and what he had done after he came to the capital, in creating, organizing, and disciplining the best army that the United States had hitherto ever had. In addition to all this, the Government at Washington had before them the very important fact that there was no general in their service who could inspire officers and men with such an attachment to his person, and such devotion to the cause for which they fought, as McClellan could, and always had from the first. They knew him also to be unselfish, never waiting for arrangements that would promote his own ambition, never making any conditions but such as the good of the service demanded. Yet McClellan was not asked to take this command.

Why was this? Must this question be answered by the suggestion that McClellan had written a letter to the President which had displeased him? It must be remembered that, at the time of which we are now speaking, the Harrison's Landing letter had not been made public, and that it could have been seen only by the few persons in Washington to whom Mr. Lincoln may have shown it. As will hereafter appear, there was at least one member of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet who knew nothing of the existence of this letter until the following winter. This gentleman, the Hon. Montgomery Blair, was, although not intimate with General McClellan, one of his steadiest supporters. It is probable, too, that Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, who was always understood to hold General McClellan's military capacity and his patriotism in the highest estimation, knew nothing of this letter at this time. But there were other members of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, especially Mr. Chase and Mr. Stanton, who were exceedingly hostile to McClellan, to whom the President undoubtedly did show this letter, soon after he received it. If we are to conclude that Mr. Lincoln was personally displeased with General McClellan because he had written to him a private letter recommending a certain policy in the prosecution of the war, and that this was the reason why the command of the combined armies was not offered to McClellan, we are irresistibly forced to the conclusion that Mr. Lincoln allowed his personal feelings to prevent

him from availing himself and the country of the services of a general, in comparison with whom General Pope was not to be named in the same century. On the other hand, it is impossible to regard McClellan's earnest advice, that the Army of the Potomac be permitted to remain at Harrison's Landing and be reënforced for a new advance on Richmond, as any solid reason for not offering to him the command of the combined forces when it had been determined to withdraw that army from the Peninsula. Everybody, the President included, knew that McClellan always did his whole duty, whoever shaped the campaigns, or however contrary the military policy of the Government might be to the dictates of his own judgment.

One thing, however, will be found to be true, as we proceed, namely, that there was a malign influence in the President's counsels, which had always been adverse to McClellan. We believe that Mr. Lincoln himself was not indisposed to place a very high degree of confidence in General McClellan's military ability and his patriotic devotion to the cause of the Union; but, having allowed some of McClellan's bitterest enemies to see the private letter which McClellan had written to him, Mr. Lincoln put it in their power to do McClellan great injury. Ample as were Mr. Lincoln's opportunities for knowing McClellan, we do not think that he ever appreciated the straightforward sincerity and guilelessness of McClellan's nature. The two men were very unlike. The moral qualities which won the admiration and confidence of other men, and which were in so marked a degree united in McClellan with rare military abilities, we believe were not understood by President Lincoln. But we are not at all disposed to adopt the theory that the Harrison's Landing letter gave Mr. Lincoln any personal offense; and, while we believe that he did not wish to do General McClellan injustice, we feel bound to relate the facts as they occurred, and to give them all the bearing which they should have upon a theory which has been suggested respecting the removal of McClellan from the command of the army after the battle of Antietam.

General McClellan remained at Harrison's Landing until the 16th of August, superintending and providing for the removal of his army, with its immense trains and equipage. On the afternoon of that day, everything being arranged for the departure of the different corps, he left with an escort, and overtook the troops that were marching toward Fortress Monroe. He passed the column, and arrived at that post on the 19th. On the 23d he proceeded with his staff to Aquia Creek, where he arrived at day-

break on the 24th. Thence he telegraphed to Halleck the position of his troops, adding: "Please inform me immediately exactly where Pope is, and what doing. Until I know that I can not regulate Porter's movements; he is much exposed now, and decided measures should be taken at once. Until I know what my command and position are to be, and whether you intend to place me in the command indicated in your first letter to me, and orally through General Burnside at the Chickahominy, I can not decide where I can be of most use. If your determination is unchanged, I ought to go to Alexandria at once. Please define my position and duties." Halleck replied on the same day that he did not know where Pope was, or where the enemy in force was; he said nothing about McClellan's future position. But on the 26th he telegraphed to McClellan, "Perhaps you had better leave General Burnside in charge at Aquia Creek, and come to Alexandria, as very great irregularities are reported there." On the 27th, therefore, McClellan sailed for Alexandria. He left his cavalry escort at Fredericksburg, for General Burnside. Every part of the army which he had lately commanded went forward to be under Pope's command. McClellan took with him nothing but his personal staff, a few orderlies, and the infantry guard of his headquarters, about five hundred men all told. He encamped with these at Alexandria, in a field near the river, about half a mile above the town, and reported for orders. There he was employed in forwarding troops and ammunition to Pope until the 30th. On the morning of that day, heavy artillery-firing was heard in the direction of Fairfax Court-House. In the afternoon, McClellan telegraphed in answer to Halleck: "I have no sharp-shooters except the guard around my camp. I have sent off every man but these, and will now send them as you direct. I will also send my only remaining squadron of cavalry [now] with General Sumner. I can do no more. You now have every man of the Army of the Potomac who is within my reach."

Seated in his tent, with nothing more that he could do, McClellan was left by the Government to listen to the ominous preliminary sounds of the great battle that was then commencing, separated from the troops who had loved and obeyed him with almost unparalleled devotion, and who now terribly needed his guiding hand and his inspiring presence. It needs no words of ours to figure to the reader the situation of this faithful officer. As in all the great trials of his life, so now in this, perhaps the greatest to which he was ever subjected, his own feelings, expressed with his habitual

frankness, are the best guide to his character. At half-past ten o'clock of that evening (30th of August) he telegraphed to Halleck as follows:

CAMP NEAR ALEXANDRIA, *August* 30, 1862—10.30 P. M.

I have sent to the front all my troops with the exception of Couch's division, and have given the orders necessary to insure its being disposed of as you directed. I hourly expect the return of one of my aides, who will give authentic news from the field of battle.

I can not express to you the pain and mortification I have experienced to-day in listening to the distant sound of the firing of my men. As I can be of no further use here, I respectfully ask that, if there is a probability of the conflict being renewed to-morrow, I may be permitted to go to the scene of battle with my staff, merely to be with my own men, if nothing more; they will fight none the worse for my being with them. If it is not deemed best to intrust me with the command even of my own army, I simply ask to be permitted to share their fate on the field of battle. Please reply to this to-night.

I have been engaged for the last few hours in doing what I can to make arrangements for the wounded. I have started out all the ambulances now landed. As I have sent my escort to the front, I would be glad to take some of Gregg's cavalry with me, if allowed to go.

G. B. MCCLELLAN, *Major-General.*

To this earnest appeal to be permitted to share the fate of his own men, there came tardily on the next morning from Halleck the cold reply, "I can not answer without seeing the President, as General Pope is in command by his order of the department." Not one word of recognition of McClellan's patriotic and noble offer graced the dispatch of the General-in-Chief. On the next day, the 31st, Halleck sent the following dispatch, dated at 10.7 P. M.: "Since receiving your dispatch relating to command, I have not been able to answer any not of absolute necessity. I have not seen the order as published, but will write to you in the morning. You will retain the command of everything in this vicinity not temporarily to be Pope's army in the field. I beg of you to assist me in this crisis with your ability and experience. I am entirely tired out."

The "order" referred to in this dispatch was one that emanated on the previous day from the War Department, by direction of Secretary Stanton, who now thought it well to utter a sneer at McClellan, while defining the commands of the different generals. The order read as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August* 30, 1862.

The following are the commanders of the armies operating in Virginia:

General Burnside commands his own corps, except those that have been temporarily detached and assigned to General Pope.

General McClellan commands that portion of the Army of the Potomac that has not been sent forward to General Pope's command.

General Pope commands the Army of Virginia, and all the forces temporarily attached to it.

All the forces are under the command of Major-General Halleck, General-in-Chief.

E. D. TOWNSEND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

We have italicized the sting of this order, as most persons who read it at the time italicized it in their own minds. The whole country knew that everything had been taken from McClellan's late command and sent forward to Pope; but the public knew nothing of McClellan's earnest entreaty to be sent into the field in any capacity in which he could be of use. Mr. Stanton saw fit, therefore, to say to the people of the Union, "We have shelved McClellan, and, as he sits there in his tent at Alexandria with a body-guard of a hundred wounded men, you can look at him if you like." But, in a few short and disastrous hours, the eyes of all men were turned toward the General who could not be permitted to risk his life on the battle-field, in leading even a brigade or a regiment, because General Pope was in command.

On the morning of the 1st of September, McClellan, appealed to by Halleck for assistance, rode into Washington and went directly to Halleck's office. He told Halleck that Pope had been beaten. Halleck did not credit it. McClellan then told him that he ought to go out and see for himself. Halleck answered that he was too busy to go. "How can the General-in-Chief," said McClellan, "have more important business than to ascertain the condition of the army that is so near?" Finally, Halleck said he would send his Assistant Adjutant-General, Colonel Kelton. McClellan advised Kelton to see the general officers and learn the exact state of things. On the same afternoon, McClellan, at the urgent request of Halleck, met the President at Halleck's house. The President expressed a fear that the Army of the Potomac was not cheerfully coöperating with and supporting General Pope; that he (Mr. Lincoln) "had always been a friend" of McClellan, and he now asked, as a special favor, that McClellan would use his influence in correcting this state of things. McClellan assured the President that his fears were groundless. Mr. Lincoln was much moved, and he again requested Mc-

Clellan to telegraph to "Fitz John Porter or some other of his friends," and try to do away with any feeling that might exist, adding that no one but McClellan could rectify this evil. "I thereupon told him," says McClellan, "that I would cheerfully telegraph to General Porter, or do anything else in my power, to gratify his wishes and relieve his anxiety; upon which he thanked me very warmly, assured me that he could never forget my action in the matter, etc., and left.

"I then wrote the following telegram to General Porter, which was sent to him by the General-in-Chief":

WASHINGTON, *September* 1, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL PORTER; I ask of you for my sake, and that of the country, and the old Army of the Potomac, that you and all my friends will lend the fullest and most cordial coöperation to General Pope in all the operations now going on. The destinies of our country, the honor of our army, are at stake, and all depends now upon the cheerful coöperation of all in the field. This week is the crisis of our fate. Say the same thing to my friends in the Army of the Potomac, and that the last request I have to make of them is, that for their country's sake they will extend to General Pope the same support they ever have to me.

I am in charge of the defenses of Washington, and am doing all I can to render your retreat safe, should that become necessary.

GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN.

PORTER'S REPLY.

FAIRFAX COURT-HOUSE, 10 A. M., *September* 2, 1862.

You may rest assured that all your friends, as well as every lover of his country, will ever give as they have given to General Pope their cordial cooperation and constant support, in the execution of all orders and plans. Our killed, wounded, and enfeebled troops attest our devoted duty.

F. J. PORTER.

It was, to use a familiar expression, very natural for the President to make this request, and equally natural for McClellan to comply with it, unnecessary as he knew it to be. At such a time, a man like McClellan could not stop to consider what implication he might leave to be made by his enemies and the enemies of his lieutenants, by sending such a dispatch to his friends in the Army of the Potomac. Porter's noble reply was characteristic. He knew that McClellan could not have volunteered to ask him to do his duty. It was just as plain to him that McClellan had been asked to send this dispatch as if the words "at the request of the President" had been written at the top of it. When Porter penned his answer,

he was surrounded by the proofs of what he and his officers and men had done; but, alas! these proofs were not at that moment visible at Washington, and, when the time for investigation came, the dark clouds of prejudice, passion, misconception, and misrepresentation shut out the truth. It was reserved to a better day and to discoveries almost providential, after long years of unmerited obloquy, to give to General Porter the most signal vindication that is recorded in the military annals of any nation.

After his interview with the President, in the afternoon of September 1st, General McClellan went to the house in Washington where his family then resided, and remained there that night. At half-past seven o'clock in the morning of the 2d, the door-bell rang, and the President and General Halleck were ushered into the parlor. They said that Colonel Kelton had returned and reported a great disaster; that there were fifty thousand stragglers already on the roads leading into Washington, and that the city could not be saved. The President was deeply moved. He asked General McClellan if he was willing to take the command, *in that state of things.* McClellan expressed his willingness to take the command, and his belief that he could save the capital. Both Mr. Lincoln and General Halleck reiterated their fears that the enemy would enter the city. McClellan said he would stake his head on its safety. The President earnestly entreated him to take the command, and he assented without hesitation, without making a single condition or asking for a single promise of any kind. But what command did he then take? The whole arrangement was verbal only, made in a moment of extreme peril. Not a scrap of written order was made when the President left General McClellan's house.

Here, therefore, we must again pause to consider the unselfish devotion of the man to whom this appeal was made, and to note the peculiar magnanimity of his conduct. We will not ask our readers to praise him for forgetting the injuries and indignities that he had received from every member of the Administration who had it in his power and was disposed to harm him. Patriotism can help even an ordinary man to separate his country from those who administer its affairs. But, when a general is placed in such a situation as that in which McClellan stood at that supreme moment, does not a rational and allowable regard for his own future demand that he make some provision for his own safety against the chances of war? "Will you," asked Mr. Lincoln, in his distress—"will you, dare you, take the command in such a dangerous crisis?" The

question was a considerate one. It was meant to bring to McClellan's mind the risk that he would run, and it was a kind and thoughtful act to remind him of it. The peril was instantly assumed by McClellan, without a thought concerning himself. But why did he not ask for a written order? If he had no selfish conditions to make, no promises to exact, why did he not ask for a written order, defining the command which the President wished him to take? It could have been written in three minutes. The question which we have asked is very important, for two reasons: That he did not stipulate for a written order, shows how little he was considering his own safety. Again, as will appear hereafter, his want of written orders from that time forth exposed him to perils far beyond the loss of reputation that would have followed his failure to save the capital from falling into the hands of the Confederates. Let him be blamed, if there are any who are disposed to blame him, for not exercising the average prudence of one who owes it to himself to be made as safe as, in a perilous enterprise, he can be. But let no generous and just person fail to see what he risked, or withhold from him the recognition of his extraordinary forgetfulness of himself when he had to confront a great danger for his country. That a written order defining McClellan's command could have been prepared on the spot, and that it must have been given if he had asked for it, can not be doubted. Both the President and the General-in-Chief knew that Pope had been beaten, very badly beaten, and that he could not be relied upon to save the capital. They knew that he was in full retreat, and that there was great disorder. Delicacy toward Pope, at such a moment, should not have restrained them from superseding him, or anybody else, by ordering McClellan to go to the front and assume the supreme command, if he had asked for such orders. Nor was there afterward any good reason, whether McClellan asked for them or not, for not giving him written orders defining his command and his duties, before he marched into Maryland, fought the battles of South Mountain and Antietam, and drove Lee back into Virginia. But we must return to our narrative.

When the President and General Halleck left General McClellan's house on the morning of September 2d, the latter immediately sent for his staff and got on horseback. He at once visited various points in and around the city, and made provisional arrangements for receiving and disposing of the troops. It was his intention to go to the front and take the command of the retreating army. But

in an hour or two a staff officer came to him from General Halleck with a message that he was not to go out and take the command, but that he was to wait the arrival of the troops just in front of the defenses of Washington. He then spent the morning in perfecting the arrangements for receiving the troops. The truth is, that many of the military and civil authorities in Washington at that moment believed the city to be in such peril that the President did not dare to permit McClellan to go beyond the immediate defenses of the capital. It was believed that the Government would have to fly, until McClellan's arrangements had, during that night, restored something like confidence to the officials and the inhabitants.

At about one o'clock on that day, McClellan rode out to Upton's Hill, three or four miles on the Virginia side of Washington. He arrived there between two and three o'clock. At this spot he met the first brigade of the retreating forces, somewhat in advance of the main body. Generals Pope and McDowell rode in the middle of a regiment of cavalry. General McClellan said to General Pope that he would relieve him of the command, and asked for information of the roads on which the different corps were then retreating. Nothing very satisfactory was obtained. At that point heavy artillery-firing was heard in the distance. General Pope said that the attack was on Sumner's corps. General McClellan asked if it was a severe attack, and General Pope replied that he thought it was. McClellan then said that he should go forward to the scene of this cannonading. Generals Pope and McDowell asked if they could go into Washington, and, on being informed that they could, they rode on. McClellan went forward with one aide and three orderlies across the country in the direction of the firing, to reach the troops engaged. He struck the column on the Lewinsville road, about six miles from Upton's Hill. At this point the first body of troops of the regular service recognized him, and instantly raised a great shout, which went down the lines for miles back. The men who did not see him inferred from the shouts of their comrades that he was again in command. Those who were about him insisted on his leading them back against the enemy. But no, it could not be ; his orders restrained him. It was now evening, and darkness had settled down upon the landscape. McClellan pushed on toward Sumner's rear, and found that the firing had ceased ; from which he concluded that Sumner's corps could reach in safety the position he had assigned for it. He then returned rapidly to Washington, and remained the greater

part of the night near the chain-bridge, receiving reports and giving orders. During that night the troops as they came in were posted, and the next day, the 3d, was spent by McClellan in rectifying their positions. During that day the enemy disappeared from the front of Washington, and McClellan's information satisfied him that he intended to cross the Upper Potomac into Maryland. "This," he says in his report, "materially changed the aspect of affairs, and enlarged the sphere of operations; for, in case of a crossing in force, an active campaign would be necessary to cover Baltimore, prevent the invasion of Pennsylvania, and clear Maryland." On the 3d McClellan reported to Halleck in person that he had sent forward the Second, Twelfth, and Ninth Corps to various positions on the roads north of Washington. Halleck asked who had been put in command of those corps. McClellan answered that he had designated no one to command them, but if there should be any necessity for them to act, in consequence of the enemy suddenly crossing the river, he would command them himself. Halleck replied that it had not been determined who should command the troops sent out from Washington. McClellan therefore rejoined that he would not assign any one to command those troops, but would look out for them himself. At least on two or three other occasions, Halleck repeated what he had said about the command of troops sent out from Washington as a thing not determined.

It is now necessary to return to the previous day, the 2d of September, the day on which the President and General Halleck ordered General McClellan to take command and save the capital. At some time during that day the following order emanated from the War Department:

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, *September* 2, 1862.

Major-General McClellan will have command of the fortifications of Washington, and of all the troops for the defense of the capital.

(By order of Major-General HALLECK.)

E. D. TOWNSEND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

Construed by the existing state of things on that day, when it was expected that the fortifications of Washington would be immediately assailed by the enemy, the meaning of this order was plain. Construed by the state of things on the following day, when the enemy was moving north with an evident purpose to cross into Maryland above Washington, what did this order mean? Where

would *then* be the defense of Washington? Within its fortifications, or beyond them? What would be the "troops for the defense of the capital," with the command of which General McClellan had been invested? Strange to say, this was the only written order, defining McClellan's command, that ever proceeded from the War Department from that day until after McClellan had driven Lee across the Potomac. We have seen that General Halleck on the 3d did not consider the command of troops advancing beyond the immediate fortifications of Washington as settled; nor was it formally settled at any time thereafter until McClellan was displaced by Burnside. It was practically impossible for McClellan, while forwarding the troops, to busy himself with the settlement of the precise limits and scope of his command. He had consented, at the earnest entreaty of the President and General Halleck, to undertake for the safety of the capital.

The rapidly shifting scenes of this extraordinary drama, enlarging every hour the sphere of defensive operations until they would have to pass into offensive movements, left no time for McClellan to ask for more expanded orders. It was the duty of the Government to foresee and provide for the moment when he would have to go out of the fortified defenses of the city, and defend it and Baltimore and Pennsylvania by aggressive attacks on the advancing hosts of the Confederates. But for this they never provided, by written orders, defining McClellan's command. McClellan kept on for four days, making movements of the troops on the roads which led north from Washington. On the 7th, he ordered up his staff and escort and started for the head of the moving columns. But, before he rode out of Washington, he left his card as major-general for the President, the Secretary of State, and General Halleck. The President and General Halleck he saw. Halleck did not object to the movement of the troops. The President asked General McClellan if he had seen the Secretary of War, and begged him to do so as a personal favor. McClellan called upon Mr. Stanton, who received him with exuberant expressions of affection, said that he had always been McClellan's best friend, that bad men had made mischief between them, but that he should nevertheless always continue to support him cordially. Embracing the General with tenderness, Stanton bade him God-speed. But the General had not been gone from the War Department five minutes, when the Secretary spoke of him in terms of gross and shocking abuse.

Whether he trusted or distrusted the Secretary at that time, there was nothing for McClellan to do but to go forward and take the command. There was no one else who could take it—no one else who could handle that army. He could not stop to make conditions. He could think of but one thing—how to arrest the descent of Lee upon Washington, and to drive him back into Virginia. Shortly before the battle of South Mountain, which occurred on the 14th, General Lee was seated in his tent reading a dispatch that had been brought to him at that moment. General Longstreet, who was with him, asked for the news. "The worst possible news," said Lee; "McClellan is again in command."

We do not propose to describe battles, the details of which are familiar to all who have read of them. One thing, however, is not to be overlooked. During the first five days that followed McClellan's return to active duty, there had been no time to properly complete the reëquipment of the troops which came pouring into Washington after Pope's defeat. All military persons know that whatever may be the spirit of an army, after such fighting, such a defeat, and such a retreat, to put it again in active and aggressive movement, with the proper material for long marches and encounters with the same foe, is a mighty work. The best that McClellan could do, before he marched out of Washington, was to restore in some degree the shattered organizations of the different corps, and to assign to them their lines of march. His movements northward had to be made carefully, so as not to uncover Washington before the enemy's position and plans were developed. But he was constantly impeded by General Halleck's cautions not to be too precipitate. On the 10th he learned from his scouts that Lee's army was probably in the vicinity of Frederick. On the 13th an order issued by General Lee on the 9th fell into McClellan's hands. It revealed the whole of Lee's plans. On the 14th the battle of South Mountain occurred, in which the Confederates were defeated, with a great loss in killed and wounded, and 1,500 prisoners were taken. The aggregate Federal loss was 1,568. On the following day, this dispatch came from the President to General McClellan:

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON,
September 15, 1862—2.45 P. M.

Your dispatch of to-day received. God bless you, and all with you! Destroy the rebel army if possible.

A. LINCOLN.

To Major-General McCLELLAN.

General McClellan pressed forward his army in pursuit of the enemy, and on the 17th the long and desperately contested battle of Antietam, in which nearly the whole of the troops on both sides were actively engaged, ended in the defeat of the Confederates. On the night of the 18th the Confederate army recrossed the Potomac into Virginia, leaving 2,700 of their dead unburied on the field. Thirteen guns, thirty-nine colors, upward of fifteen thousand stand of small-arms, and more than six thousand prisoners, were captured by the Federals in the three battles of South Mountain, Crampton's Gap, and Antietam, without losing a single gun or a single color. The grand aggregate of the Federal killed, wounded, and missing, in the battle of Antietam was 12,469. The total number of the Federal forces was 87,164 men. The enemy had about 10,000 more.

On the night after the battle of Antietam, McClellan anxiously deliberated whether he should pursue the enemy. If he had done so, and had lost the next battle, Lee could have marched as he pleased on Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York. Nowhere east of the Alleghanies was there another organized force that could have arrested his march through an undevastated country, levying tribute as he went from populous and wealthy cities. It would not do for McClellan to risk another battle with less than absolute assurance of success. The elements of even a probable assurance of success were entirely wanting. The troops were overcome by the fatigue and exertion of the prolonged and severe battle of the 17th, and the day and night marches of the three previous days. The supply-trains were in the rear, and the troops had suffered from hunger. They required rest and refreshment. The means of transportation, if the troops had been pushed across the Potomac, were inadequate to furnish a single day's supply of subsistence in advance. Ten general officers and many regimental and company officers, and a great number of the enlisted men, had been killed or disabled. Above all, it should not be forgotten that this army which had, under McClellan, thus fought and won these two sanguinary battles, was the same army that had come back to Washington disheartened by the defeat which it had suffered under General Pope, and that many of its organized bodies had left behind, lost, or worn out the greater part of their clothing and camp equipage, which required renewal before they could be in a suitable condition again to take the field. General McClellan, therefore, properly determined that the army should rest and be refitted.

But now there broke forth from all the organs of the Administration the bitterest reproaches of McClellan and accusations of his slowness and inefficiency. Why did he not pursue Lee? Why did he not follow up the advantages he had gained? Hesitation, too much deliberation, a total want of "dash"—these were his supposed failings. The people of the North did not know, or did not heed, the fact, that McClellan held no orders but that one which had invested him with the command of the troops for the defense of Washington. It was only by acting on the military principle of offensive-defensive war that he could lead his army sixty or seventy miles from Washington in aggressive attacks upon Lee. When he had reached the Potomac and driven Lee beyond it, his order, upon the broadest construction, was exhausted. But, while a senseless clamor was incessantly dinned into the public ear, General McClellan was constantly occupied in reorganizing, drilling, and endeavoring to supply his army, and in watching and guarding all the passes of the river for a long distance. While this was going on, the President determined to make a visit to the army, and to learn for himself the real state of affairs. He arrived at General McClellan's headquarters on the 1st of October, and remained there three days. He rode over the field and made himself fully acquainted with the details of the battle. To several of General McClellan's officers he expressed in the strongest terms his thanks for what had been done, spoke of McClellan with great praise, and said that his confidence in him was entire. On the last day of his visit he had a long conversation with McClellan himself. They sat together on a rock in the neighborhood of the General's tent, some of the staff standing near. The President said to McClellan that the only fault he had ever had to find with him was that he was too "slow"; that he had thought so heretofore, but that he now saw his mistake; that he was the only General in the service who could handle a large army; that he had his absolute and entire confidence; that he must go on and do what he thought right—move when he was ready, and not before—and, when he moved, do as he thought best; that he must make his mind easy, that he should not be removed from the command, and that he should have his (Mr. Lincoln's) full and unqualified support. The President had seen the destitute condition of the army, and promised that it should be remedied as quickly as practicable. He then went away.

It appears to us that the President, after his return to Washing-

ton, continued for a short time to be as firm in his support of McClellan as it was in his nature to be in regard to anything. But the bad influences soon began to work anew; and Mr. Lincoln apparently did not fortify himself against those influences, by making known to the members of his Cabinet who were unfriendly to McClellan the pledges that he had given on the field of Antietam. On the 6th of October, about three days after Mr. Lincoln's return, General Halleck sent the following dispatch, which General McClellan received on the 7th:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October* 6, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL McCLELLAN: I am instructed to telegraph you as follows: The President directs that you cross the Potomac and give battle to the enemy, or drive him south. Your army must move now, while the roads are good. If you cross the river between the enemy and Washington, and cover the latter by your operations, you can be reënforced with thirty thousand men. If you move up the valley of the Shenandoah, not more than twelve or fifteen thousand can be sent to you. The President advises the interior line between Washington and the enemy, but does not order it. He is very desirous that your army move as soon as possible. You will immediately report what line you adopt, and when you intend to cross the river. Also to what point the reënforcements are to be sent. It is necessary that the plan of your operations be positively determined on before orders are given for building bridges and repairing railroads. I am directed to add that the Secretary of War and the General-in-Chief fully concur with the President in these instructions.

H. W. HALLECK, *General-in-Chief.*

This order was, of course, entirely inconsistent with what the President had said to McClellan only three or four days previously—that he was to move when he was ready and not before. But the order is to be explained by the "pressure" of which Mr. Lincoln often spoke, and which was constantly brought to bear upon him whenever and wherever McClellan was concerned. The last sentence of the dispatch shows the quarter from which the pressure came. The Secretary of War and the General-in-Chief had persuaded the President to speak in this order as if he did not intend to leave General McClellan to act on his own judgment as the President had voluntarily promised to do. The whole occurrence is a strong illustration of the folly of giving such orders to a general in the field who must know whether his army is in a condition to march into the enemy's country better than his government at home, unless he is entirely unfit for his place. If he is, he should be at once superseded. If he is not unfit for his position, his judgment

should be followed, and everything should be done for him that is needful. As we proceed, we shall adduce not only the old but some entirely new and conclusive proof that General McClellan was right, and that the Secretary of War and the General-in-Chief were wrong.

At the time of the receipt of this dispatch of the 6th, notwithstanding the appearance of a peremptory direction to march which the Secretary and the General-in-Chief had infused into its words, it is apparent from the context that something was left to General McClellan's discretion as to the line of movement, and that the President could not be persuaded to make the order peremptory in this particular. Moreover, General McClellan had to construe this order by the solemn assurance that Mr. Lincoln had given him, only a few days before, that he should not be required to move on the enemy before he was ready. Whether he was to invade Virginia by either of the two lines indicated in the order, the fact of his being or not being in a condition to make an aggressive movement into the enemy's country remained exactly as it in truth was. The condition of his army was a most essential element in the problem, by whatever line he was to move. That condition had not changed in the three days that elapsed from the time when the President himself saw what it was; and, as we go on, we shall show that it had not so materially changed, for three weeks after the date of this order, that the army could have been safely marched upon a new and aggressive campaign in the enemy's country.

General McClellan fought the battles of South Mountain and Antietam without any written order defining his command, excepting the ambiguous one of September 2d—ambiguous, that is to say, after the date on which it was issued from the War Department. What, then, would have been his fate if he had lost those battles, and especially the last? We must carry the reader back to a period when mean rivalries, deep hatreds, and vengeful prejudices had their sway. It can not be doubted that, if McClellan had been defeated in the battle of Antietam, he would have had to answer for it before a court-martial, and that his blood would have been demanded. We know what deeds were done in that period under the forms and mockeries of military justice. McClellan's bitterest enemies were among those who, from their official stations, would have had the power, which they would not have scrupled to use, to arraign him for having assumed a command to which he had not been legally assigned. They could have pointed to the narrow scope of the order of September 2d, and they would have pointed to the

lives of brave men that had been lost and the public property that had been destroyed beyond what, they would have contended, was the scope of the only authority that he had received which could avail him as a legal order. In suffering McClellan to be thus exposed, President Lincoln would seem to have been unconscious of what a strain might be brought upon his own sense of executive justice if any disaster should befall the General who had taken the command at his earnest personal entreaty, and who had been left without a proper legal authority for the acts which he was expected to perform. Beyond all doubt it would have cost Mr. Lincoln the deepest pain if any misfortune had exposed one hair of McClellan's head to any danger. At the base of Mr. Lincoln's statue which stands in the heart of this metropolis, and is passed every day by half a million of people, there is inscribed a legend which imputes to him that he had "charity for all, malice toward none." We may believe that the ascription is just. But what would Mr. Lincoln's amiable qualities have availed against the hatreds, the machinations, and the devices of McClellan's enemies if he had not been victorious in the battles which he fought without other than an implied authority for fighting them? When McClellan overtook and gave battle to the enemy on the field of Antietam, he may without exaggeration be said to have twice taken his life in his hand.*

G. T. C.

* General McClellan was under fire during the battle of Antietam several times, and on each occasion for a considerable period, and with great exposure. His duties required him to expose himself both to artillery and infantry fire, at many critical periods of the day. At one time, he rode along the lines for the very purpose of drawing the fire of a supposed concealed battery, in order to reveal its position. It opened upon him and his staff as soon as they were within range.

RELATIONS OF CANADA WITH THE UNITED STATES.

It can not be undesirable that the people of the United States should make themselves acquainted with the commercial policy of a people with whom they carry on an extensive commerce, and whose railroads and canals are used for the transportation of United States products in common with their own. The modern policy of Great Britain toward her colonies and dependencies is so widely different from what it was within the last half-century, that it is doubtful whether the people of the United States realize the fact that Canada is practically an independent nation, enjoying a system of government which, it may be safely affirmed, gives as much general satisfaction to its inhabitants as any that could be devised.

It would be strange indeed if in a country where the utmost freedom of discussion is permitted, and which adjoins a great nation like the United States, there were no individuals entertaining a preference for republican institutions, and more especially when it is borne in mind that many influential inhabitants of our principal cities have either themselves immigrated from the United States, or are descendants of citizens of that country. It is, however, worthy of notice that any dissatisfaction which has been expressed with the political state of Canada has been based, not on the imperfection of the system of government, but on the obstructions to free commercial intercourse which have existed since the abrogation of the treaty of reciprocity negotiated in the year 1854. Since the termination of that treaty agitators have, from time to time, endeavored to create disaffection among the people by representing the advantages that would result from a commercial union, which they maintain is unattainable so long as the Canadian Dominion is a dependency of Great Britain. Ample proof can be given that the untiring efforts of the few, who have endeavored to create dis-

affection, have been wholly unavailing, but it is likewise desirable to convince the people of the United States that for many years Canada has enjoyed practical independence. This fact has been conceded by a writer (Mr. Goldwin Smith) who has no confidence in the stability of its existing institutions. In his essay on "The Political Destiny of Canada," in the London "Fortnightly Review" of April, 1878, the following passages occur: "Self-government is independence; perfect self-government is perfect independence; and all the questions that arise between Ottawa and Downing Street, including the recent question about appeals, are successively settled in favor of self-government. . . . In Canada, government being parliamentary and constitutional, monarchy is the delegation of a shadow. . . . Canada, though adorned with the paraphernalia of eight constitutional monarchies (one central and seven provincial) is a democracy of the most pronounced kind; the Governor-General was not wrong in saying that she is more democratic than the United States, where the President is an elective king, and where the Senate, which, though elective is conservative, possesses great power, whereas the nominated Senate of Canada is a cipher."

In the exercise of its self-governing powers, the Canadian Parliament has recently enacted a tariff which has created a good deal of dissatisfaction in Great Britain, while in the United States an impression has been created that its main object was to retaliate against that country for its persistent refusal to entertain any measure for establishing reciprocal free trade between the two countries in products and manufactures which are natural to both. It can not be denied that such an inference might be drawn from statements made in the course of heated party discussions, but the impression is by no means strictly correct. In one or two instances, to which special reference will be made, the Canadian tariff may be deemed retaliatory, but when it is borne in mind that the duties are almost invariably the same on the products and manufactures of the United States as on those of Great Britain, against which country there is no ground whatever for retaliation, it may fairly be urged that the United States can have no just ground of complaint against the Canadian tariff.

In order to place the subject fairly before the people of the United States, reference must be made to the imports into Canada, and to the course of its trade with Great Britain and the United States. The last published trade returns are for the year ending June 30, 1878, and a fair comparison can be instituted between that

year and the one ending June 30, 1875, there having been no material difference in the tariff. It must be borne in mind that the bulk of Canadian imports are received from Great Britain and the United States, the proportions having been, in the year 1878, from Great Britain $37,431,180, from the United States $48,628,189, and from all other countries $5,136,658. Of the goods imported from the United States $25,163,686 were admitted free of duty, and $23,468,053 at various rates of duty, while from Great Britain $5,291,397 were free and $32,139,783 were subjected to duty. In that year there were exports of the value of $11,164,878 not the produce of Canada, of which over $9,000,000 were agricultural products. Thus the *bona fide* free imports from the United States must be reduced to about $14,000,000.* In the year ending June 30, 1875, the aggregate imports from Great Britain were $60,347,067, and from the United States $50,802,899. The dutiable goods from Great Britain were $49,239,119, and from the United States $22,023,665, the free goods from Great Britain $11,107,948, and from the United States $28,779,234.

On comparing the imports of 1875 and 1878 it will be found that there was a decrease of about seventeen millions of dutiable goods from Great Britain, while there was a decrease of a little over one million from the United States; and, when the shrinkage in the value of goods is taken into consideration, there can be no doubt that there was a considerable increase in quantity in 1878. The duties in 1875 were in the aggregate $15,354,616, and in 1878 $12,795,693. While such was the decrease in the principal branch of revenue, there was an increase in the interest and sinking fund of the public debt of nearly a million. The facts stated afford conclusive proof that it was absolutely necessary to obtain additional revenue, irrespective altogether of any question either of retalia-

* Since this article was in type the Canadian trade returns for the year ending June 30, 1879, have been laid before Parliament, and it may be interesting to give the latest figures. The aggregate imports from Great Britain were $30,943,703, of which $27,026,210 were dutiable and $3,917,493 free. From the United States the aggregate was $43,626,027, of which $23,693,359 were dutiable and $19,932,668 free. From all other countries the imports were $5,609,259, of which about a million were free. The falling off in imports from 1878 was about $11,000,000. The exports not the produce of Canada amounted to $8,355,644—chiefly agricultural products—which will reduce the free imports from the United States to $11,577,024. On comparing the returns for 1879 with those of 1878, it will be found that in dutiable goods there was a decrease from Great Britain of $5,113,573, and an increase from the United States of $218,306.

tion or protection. The decrease in the imports between the two years is to be accounted for chiefly by the shrinkage in values caused by the commercial depression, which was severely felt both in the United States and Canada. This depression was doubtless the cause of the proportionately largely increased imports from the United States, and, as many of the industries in that country are similar to those of Canada, the competition was bitterly complained of by manufacturers who were completely excluded from the markets of the United States. The great extent of the home market of the United States enables the manufacturers of that country to produce goods cheaper than they can possibly be supplied in a country with such a limited demand as that of Canada. During the period between 1873 and 1878 the demand for protective duties became very general among large classes of the Canadian people. The Canadian Administration then in power was favorable to free trade so far as was consistent with levying customs duties on articles produced and manufactured in the country. Being desirous of establishing satisfactory commercial relations with the United States, it obtained the consent of the Government of Great Britain to the opening of a fresh negotiation with the republic. Accordingly, early in the year 1874, Sir Edward Thornton, the resident British Minister at Washington, and the Hon. George Brown, a Senator of the Dominion, were duly accredited as joint plenipotentiaries to negotiate a treaty of fisheries, commerce, and navigation with the United States.

The negotiations at Washington in 1874 are but little known to the public in the United States, owing to the refusal of the Senate to entertain a proposal which, after much deliberation, and after numerous concessions on the part of the British Commissioners, had received the approval of the Governments of Great Britain, of the United States, and of Canada. In his speech in the Canadian Senate, on the subject of the negotiations, Senator Brown adverted to the alarm which had been created in the United States, owing entirely to the ignorance which prevailed as to the provisions of the contemplated treaty. He mentioned that there had been an excited meeting of New York druggists to denounce the injurious influence of the treaty on their trade, although not a single article in their business was touched by its provisions.

The leading principle of the treaty of 1854 was that natural products of both countries, including agricultural products, animals, lumber, coal, ores, wool, etc., should be admitted into each free of

duty, and the valuable privilege of fishing in Canadian waters was conceded to the United States. The desire of Canada was that the new treaty should be substantially the same as that of 1854; but, as a strong desire was expressed by the negotiators on the part of the United States that certain manufactures, supposed to be common to both countries, should be included, the British Commissioners consented to their demands, and accordingly a list of manufactures was agreed to which it may be interesting to specify. It included agricultural implements of all kinds, axles of all kinds, boots and shoes of leather, boot- and shoe-making machines, buffalo-robes dressed and trimmed, cotton grain-bags, cotton denims, cotton jeans unbleached, cotton drillings unbleached; cotton plaids and tickings; cottonnades unbleached; cabinet ware and furniture or parts thereof; carriages, carts, wagons, and other wheeled vehicles, and sleighs or parts thereof; fire-engines or parts thereof; felt covering for boilers; gutta-percha belting and tubing; iron — bar, hoop, pig, puddled, rod, sheet, or scrap; iron nails, spikes, bolts, tacks, brads, or springs; iron castings; India-rubber belting and tubing; locomotives for railways or parts thereof; lead, sheet or pig; leather, sole or upper; harness and saddlery; mill or factory or steamboat fixed engines and machines, or parts thereof; manufactures of marble, stone, slate, or granite, manufactures of wood solely, or of wood nailed, bound, hinged, or locked with metal materials; mangles, washing-machines, wringing-machines, and drying-machines, or parts thereof; printing-paper for newspapers, paper-making machines, or parts thereof; printing-type, presses, and folders, paper-cutters, ruling-machines, page-numbering machines, and stereotyping and electrotyping apparatus, or parts thereof; refrigerators, or parts thereof; railroad cars, carriages, and trucks, or parts thereof; satinets of wool and cotton; steam-engines, or parts thereof; steel, wrought or cast, and steel plates and rails; tin tubes and piping; tweeds of wool solely; water-wheel machines and apparatus, or parts thereof.

It may safely be affirmed that Canada did not desire nor ask for the reciprocal free admission of a single article in the foregoing list. On the contrary, all the manufactures were being exported from the United States to Canada at duties varying from five to seventeen and a half per cent. *ad valorem*, but chiefly at the higher rate. The aggregate amount of the imports of those goods in 1878 was about three million dollars, and the duties about five hundred thousand dollars, an amount which the Canadian Trea-

sury could badly afford to lose. When it became known in Canada that reciprocal free trade in natural products had only been obtained by the sacrifice of the manufacturing interests in addition to the fisheries, there was considerable alarm and indignation; but it never occurred to any one that it would be justifiable to reject an arrangement deliberately entered into by the two Governments. When it was subsequently ascertained that the Senate of the United States had refused even to consider the President's message, it would be difficult to determine whether a feeling of indignation or of relief preponderated.

When the Senate rejected the treaty negotiated in England by their own Minister for the settlement of the Alabama claims, the feeling was very similar, and was caused by a failure to give due weight to the difference in the two systems of government. In Canada, as in England, there is a government which, during its incumbency of office, is armed with substantial power, and may be almost said to be absolute in its negotiations with foreign powers. The particular transaction may be severely criticised, and the opposition may endeavor to influence public opinion in a direction hostile to the Government; but a foreign Government, when dealing either with the Imperial, or any Colonial Government, may rest assured that any agreement made with a duly accredited agent will be scrupulously carried out. The republican system is one of checks, and the government of the day can only undertake to submit a treaty to the Senate accompanied by its recommendation. It would seem advisable, in the event of the United States deeming it expedient to comply with the wishes of those of its own citizens who are favorable to freer commercial intercourse with Canada, that it should formulate a distinct proposition which the Canadian Government would at once accept or reject.

The proposition to appoint commissioners to go over the ground again, after the failure of the negotiations between the Government of the United States and Sir Edward Thornton and Senator Brown, is not likely to be acceptable. The most formidable difficulty in the way of the satisfactory settlement of this question is that the majority of the States in the Union have no interest in it, and that the volume of trade between the United States and Canada would be so small in proportion to that of the former with other countries that it is felt to be undeserving of notice. The time, however, is approaching when it will be absolutely necessary to reconsider the whole subject, in connection with the termination of the present arrangement

regarding the fisheries. The dissatisfaction with the award of the arbitrators as to the value of the fishing privileges was very general in the United States, but it is not so well known that those who rejected the draft treaty are responsible for it. An extract from Senator Brown's speech in the Canadian Senate on this point may not be without interest:

"Mr. Rothery, a distinguished English jurisconsult and Registrar of the High Court of Admiralty, arrived in Canada shortly before the late Government left office in 1873, as the duly appointed agent of the British Government to get up the case of Canada in the fishing arbitration provided for by these articles. I know nothing of what passed between either the late or the present Government and Mr. Rothery, while he was at Ottawa; but in passing through Toronto, on his way to Washington, Mr. Rothery saw several prominent public men with a view to acquiring information as to the value of our seacoast fisheries and the best mode of collecting evidence to sustain our claim, and among them I had the honor to be included. I availed myself of the opportunity to express to Mr. Rothery my strong conviction that the submission to any three arbitrators of the power to place a cash value on our great sea-fisheries was exceedingly distasteful to the great mass of the Canadian people. I reminded him that Canada in 1854 conceded these fisheries to the United States for a term of years as part of a commercial arrangement between the two countries; and I ventured to suggest how much better it would be were the same thing repeated now, and the concession of the fisheries merged in a general treaty of commercial reciprocity for a term of years and on a mutually advantageous basis. I expressed my belief to Mr. Rothery that if he could succeed in bringing this about he would confer a great benefit on both countries, and establish good relations between them for years to come, and that probably he might find the United States Government not disinclined to entertain the proposition. Who that owns a property of enormous value would voluntarily consent to dispose of it for a price to be determined by three persons of whose very names he was ignorant? Would he not say: 'Let us dispense with arbitrators; tell me the compensation you propose, and then I will tell you if I will dispose of it'? Who can tell what view may be taken of our fisheries by the umpire selected by the Austrian Ambassador? Would the Americans be satisfied if he gave an award equal to the great estimate that we place upon them? And what would be the feeling of our people if

he named a sum much under their expectation? Nay, in view of the vast annual value now drawn from the St. Lawrence fisheries —the exhaustless character of those fisheries—the rapidly increasing population of this continent dependent on them for daily supplies of fish—and the fact that there is no other fishery in the world to enter into competition with them—what greater folly could be imagined than to have a money value placed upon these at all? Mr. Rothery went on to Washington, and some weeks after I had the pleasure of hearing from him that he had suggested the substitution of a general commercial treaty for the fishery arbitration, and there was some hope of its being favorably entertained. But meantime the Canadian Government had been moving in the matter, and in February of last year I was informed by them that there was some movement in Washington in favor of a renewal of the old reciprocity treaty, and they were anxious I should visit that city unofficially and ascertain what were the prospects of success. I went immediately to Washington and had the advantage of discussing the subject with many of the prominent men of the republic. I heard a very general desire expressed for the establishment of better commercial relations with Canada if terms could be arranged to mutual satisfaction; this I communicated to the Government on my return home. Of the official action that followed I have no personal knowledge, but on the 17th of March a commission was issued under the great seal of Great Britain, appointing Sir Edward Thornton and myself joint plenipotentiaries on the part of her Majesty to negotiate a treaty of fisheries, commerce, and navigation, with the Government of the United States."

It must be evident, on a perusal of the foregoing extract, that the Canadian Government spared no effort to prevent the fishery privileges being made the subject of an award in money, and that there was no indisposition on the part of the Government of President Grant to meet the British Commissioners in a conciliatory spirit. Senator Brown bore ample testimony to the good faith of the President in the following words:

"I take this opportunity of expressing my regret that heated partisans outside the walls of Parliament should have spoken of the attitude held by the United States Government in these negotiations as if it had been intended to delude or overreach. Nothing could be more unfounded or unjust. The President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and all the other distinguished persons who took an interest in the negotiations, with

hardly an exception, showed the most friendly feeling toward Canada, and a sincere desire to bring about more satisfactory commercial relations. True, they naturally enough looked at the question from their own point of view, and sought to get an advantageous arrangement for their own country; but they never concealed or undervalued the difficulties that stood in the way of success, and to the unsettled condition of the country and the financial difficulties now pressing for adjustment may, in a great measure, be attributed the unfavorable advice in the matter recently given to the President by the Senate of the United States."

In describing the manner in which the negotiations proceeded, Senator Brown stated that the American Government suggested an enlargement of the scope of the old treaty, which was agreed to. Mr. Fish suggested the enlargement of the Canadian canals, and was at once assured that the Canadian Commissioners would treat for their enlargement. Mr. Fish likewise suggested the addition of manufactures to the free list, and this was acceded to, to the extent already stated. If the impressions made on Senator Brown's mind were correct, the difficulties which existed in 1874, and which he believed to have caused the unfavorable advice given by the Senate, have been entirely removed. The United States has since resumed specie payments, and there are no longer financial difficulties. It has been ascertained since 1874 that the fishing privileges are, in the estimation of a disinterested umpire, much more valuable than the United States has been willing to acknowledge. And yet it is not many years since the strongest testimony was given by United States Commissioners to the value of the fisheries. In Mr. J. D. Andrews's report he says, "Without participation in the sea-fisheries near the shores of the colonies our deep-sea fisheries in that region will become valueless"; and in the report of Mr. E. H. Derby he says, "Nearly one fourth of our fishing fleet, with a tonnage of 40,000 to 50,000 tons, worth $5,000,000 to $7,000,000 annually, fish near the three-mile line of the province."

It will be most unfortunate, having reference to the fishery award, if future negotiations for privileges which are indispensable to the United States should be conducted with reference to pecuniary considerations. And it may be hoped that it has been sufficiently established that the fisheries are of great value, and that the Canadians are fully aware that they are. Reference has been already made to the dissatisfaction which prevailed among influential classes in Canada, when it became known that Senator

Brown had yielded to the pressing demand of Mr. Fish that the various manufactures already specified should be included in the free list. Senator Brown did not fail to advert to this subject in the speech from which quotations have been already made. The following are the reasons which he assigned for consenting to it :

"These articles were selected with a triple object. The first was, as I have already stated, that they should be articles of common daily use among the people or affecting the prosecution of our leading industries. The second was that they should be of such a character as to be difficult to smuggle across the lines, and easy of identification as the genuine production of Canada or the States, and the third was that they should be as far as possible the productions of branches of industry natural to Canada and the United States, and in which a considerable intertraffic between the two countries might reasonably be expected. And, if the list is carefully examined, I think it will be admitted that the articles fairly fulfill these three conditions. Could anything be more impolitic than the imposition of customs duties on such articles as these!"

The failure of the negotiations at Washington in 1874 gave increased influence to the advocates of protection in Canada, and the leaders of the Parliamentary opposition proclaimed themselves the advocates of what has since been termed a national policy. When the general election took place in the autumn of 1878 the Protectionist party received the support of a considerable majority, and its leader, Sir John A. Macdonald, was in due course called upon to form a government. During the ensuing session of Parliament the tariff, which has been made the subject of so much complaint, was enacted, though not without vehement protests from the opposition. It has been already pointed out that it was absolutely necessary to increase the duties in order to obtain more revenue, and it will be found that the tariff has been defended chiefly on the ground of necessity. In one of his speeches on the subject during the past autumn, the Minister of Finance, replying to the charge against the Government of having increased the taxation of the country, said : "Those that point to the increased taxes that were necessary for Parliament to impose keep out of sight the fact that for the past four years there was an average deficiency of two millions of dollars a year, that had to be met if our credit was to be maintained. Gentlemen, the Parliament of which I am a member decided that, whatever may have been the case in the past, these accumulated deficiencies must be met, that deficiencies must be stopped in the future,

and that the income and the expenditure must be made to balance." It can not be alleged that the reason assigned by the Minister of Finance for introducing a new tariff was not justifiable, and there is much to be said in favor of many of the alterations that were made, which are in a great measure based on the principle of the tariff of the United States. A considerable portion of the Canadian revenue is obtained from duties on woolens, cottons, hardware, and other staple manufactures, and the principal change in the new tariff was to substitute for the *ad valorem* duties others in which specific and *ad valorem* duties were combined. It can not be denied that the protection of native industries was kept constantly in view, but it is likewise certain that the imposition of specific duties was with the view of preventing the serious loss of revenue resulting from fluctuations in the value of goods, as well as from the frauds which are invariably perpetrated when there are very high *ad valorem* rates of duty.

Another subject requires serious consideration : Under the old tariff a number of articles used in manufactures were admitted either duty free or at low duties, and as, in order to obtain revenue, it became necessary to subject these articles to duty, it was deemed only fair to increase the duties proportionately on the finished article. Among other articles on the free list was coal, and there has always been a strong desire in Canada that this natural product of both countries should be admitted into both free of duty. As, however, the United States insists on levying a duty on Canadian coal, it was difficult to avoid including that article among dutiable goods at a time when increased revenue was required. There is reason to believe that a considerable revenue will be obtained from it, but it can not be denied that it is an unpopular tax, and that it bears heavily on many of the manufacturers and on the railway and steamboat companies. This may be considered one of the retaliatory taxes, and the Government has taken authority to repeal it, and some other duties, if the United States can be induced to reciprocate.

It has long been the policy of the United States to encourage the direct importation of tea from China and Japan by imposing an extra duty of 10 per cent. on teas imported from places situated westward of the Cape of Good Hope. Some years ago Canada adopted a similar policy, but during the administration of the Reform Government the countervailing duty was repealed, and all tea was placed on the same footing. In the last tariff the

former policy of Sir John A. Macdonald's Government was reëstablished, and the same duty which is imposed by the United States on tea imported from Canada is placed by Canada on tea imported from the United States in addition to the duty on direct importations. This may be considered retaliatory, but it would be taken off at once if the United States would set the example.

The sugar duties have been a prominent subject of discussion for several years. It was maintained by the Canadian sugar-refiners that, owing to the bounties granted by the United States on the export of refined sugar, it was impossible for them to compete with the foreign refiners, and their statements were borne out to some extent by the United States Government reports. After unavailing efforts to induce the Government to impose countervailing duties on sugar, which had received the drawback, the principal sugar-refinery in Montreal closed its business, and the consequence was that Canada was largely supplied with United States sugar prior to the present tariff coming into operation. Under that tariff the duty on sugar is a combined specific and *ad valorem* rate, but it requires that the *ad valorem* rate should be levied on the long price. In consequence of this change, the Montreal refinery has been reopened for business, and there has been a revival of the direct trade with the West Indies, which had been almost completely abandoned. Of the manufactured articles on which increased duties have been imposed by the present tariff, the principal are manufactures of wool, cotton, iron, and steel. The old duty on woolen manufactures was 17½ per cent.; under the present tariff there are a variety of rates, all not enumerated being admitted at 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, while the rate in the United States is 50 cents per pound and 35 per cent. Clothing, which is charged as high as any other description of woolens, is 10 cents per pound and 25 per cent., while in the United States it is 50 cents per pound and 40 per cent. The old duty on cotton goods of all kinds was 17½ per cent.; the present one is 20 per cent. on all not specially enumerated. On bleached and unbleached sheetings, drills, ducks, etc., not stained, painted, or printed, the *ad valorem* rate has been placed at 15 per cent., with a specific duty of one cent per square yard. On jeans, denims, drillings, etc., 2 cents per yard and 15 per cent. On cotton wadding, batting, warps, etc., not bleached, dyed, or colored, 3 cents per pound and 15 per cent.; on cotton clothing, 30 per cent. The aggregate imports of cottons in 1878 were about $7,000,000, of which about two thirds were re-

ceived from Great Britain, and one third from the United States. The value of the cotton-wool imported into the Dominion was under $800,000, so that the extent of the domestic manufactures may easily be estimated.

Many of the articles subjected to specific duties will be found in the list which, at Secretary Fish's request, Senator Brown had consented to place in the free list. There has been a considerable change in the duties on manufactures of iron and steel. Under the old tariff, pig-iron, railroad bars, iron or steel chairs, and fish-plates, car-axles, and frogs, were admitted duty free; while bar and rod iron, hoop and sheet, blooms and billets, boiler-plate, bolts and spikes, nail and spike and scrap paid only 5 per cent. Locomotive-engine frames, axles, cranks, etc., paid 10 per cent. Under the present tariff pig and scrap iron are placed at $2 per ton; slabs, blooms, and billets at 12½ per cent.; stoves and castings 25 per cent., and locomotives also 25 per cent. The highest rates are 30 per cent., and the duties range between that and 12½. On a comparison of the Canadian duties on this branch of manufacture with those of the United States, it will be found that the latter are very much higher than the former. The duty on pig and scrap iron in Canada is $2 per ton, and in the United States $7 and $8 respectively; on slabs and blooms in Canada 12½ per cent., and in the United States 35 per cent.

In regard to agricultural products prior to the enactment of the present tariff, all grain was admitted duty free into Canada, and authority is given to the Government by the present tariff to remove all duties imposed by it on such products whenever any measure of reciprocity shall be agreed to by the United States. The duties imposed are 15 cents on wheat against 20 cents in the United States; 7½ cents on Indian corn, against 10 cents; and 50 cents per barrel on flour, against 20 per cent. As the price of many of these products is regulated by the European demand, it is to be regretted that the carrying trade of the two countries should be obstructed by customs duties which are in a great degree inoperative. In the case of Indian corn the policy of the United States is inexplicable. Canada has been, and would continue to be, a large consumer of Indian corn under free imports, and there can be little doubt that the duty will interfere very much with the consumption. No Indian corn is exported from Canada, and none, probably, is imported into the United States.

It has been sufficiently established that, whatever may be the

demerits of the Canadian tariff, it is not one of which the United States can justly complain, especially in view of its persistent refusal to renew a treaty for reciprocal free trade between the two countries on a practical basis. There is reason to fear that a good deal of misapprehension prevails in the United States with regard to public opinion in Canada on the subject of the commercial relations between the two countries. It can not be denied by the warmest admirers of parliamentary government, which is necessarily a government by party, that its tendency is to lead opposing parties to exaggerate the shortcomings of each other. It has been already stated that the opposition to the Government of Mr. Mackenzie adopted protection to native industry as the test question at the general election for the Dominion in the autumn of 1878, and the tariff of last year was the consequence of their success at the polls. The present opposition, having gone to the country as free-traders, has endeavored to represent the new tariff in the most objectionable point of view possible, while its supporters are willing enough that it should be considered highly protective, under the belief that public opinion is with them. The strong feeling in England has been a source of embarrassment. The exports of Canada are all admitted duty free into England, and it has not unnaturally been made a subject of great complaint that British exports should be subjected to protective duties in a colony of the Empire. A writer in the "Westminster Review" has not hesitated to give his opinion that the persistence in such a policy must lead to a dissolution of the subsisting connection, but it is highly improbable that such an opinion will find any support in Parliament worthy of notice. The Canadian opposition has not failed to recognize the justice of the complaints which have been made in Great Britain, and to charge the Conservative party with inaugurating a policy which is calculated to sever the connection. In defending themselves the Ministerialists have endeavored to represent the high duties as being aimed chiefly at United States manufactures, and as not likely to affect the trade with Great Britain. Now, it must be constantly borne in mind that the duties are precisely the same on British and United States manufactures, and that, to whatever extent they encourage home manufactures, the trade with both countries will be obstructed.

No reference has yet been made to the opinions of those who desire what they designate as a Commercial Union between the United States and Canada, and who have recently been making

efforts to persuade the people of the former country that their opinions are held in secret by many prominent politicians. It is very difficult to meet such assertions. The interest of party leaders on both sides is to expose the shortcomings of their adversaries, and most assuredly they are far from remiss in doing so. No allegation has been made by the leading party journals on either side that their opponents hold any such views as those which have been attributed to them by self-constituted agents. Neither in the Parliament of the Dominion nor in any public addresses to the electors has any scheme for commercial union been suggested, nor is there any reason whatever to suppose that it would be practicable. It would render a common tariff necessary, and likewise a fair distribution of the revenue obtained from it. Assuming for the sake of argument that no opposition to such a scheme were made by Great Britain, it seems highly improbable that the United States would permit Canada to have a voice in framing a common tariff, or in adjusting the distribution of the revenue. There is no reason to suppose that even a single individual believes in the practicability of such a scheme. It is proposed by persons who are in secret advocates of the annexation of Canada to the United States, and who deem it wise to adopt a circuitous mode of accomplishing their object. Representations have lately been made that the only practicable mode of Canada's obtaining commercial union is by separation from Great Britain, and that the chief object of the United States in refusing to negotiate a reciprocity treaty is to force Canada into the Union. Whether there is any truth in such allegations is best known to citizens of the United States ; but it is highly improbable that they will have any influence over Canadian public opinion. Unceasing efforts have likewise been made by the advocates of separation from Great Britain to create dissatisfaction with the Imperial Government. Canada has, since the period of confederation, undertaken some great public works, notably the Intercolonial Railway connecting the cities of Quebec and Halifax, the Pacific Railway, and the enlargement of the ship-canals. At the urgent solicitation of Canada, the Imperial Government has lent its aid to some of these undertakings in the form of a guarantee so as to enable Canada to obtain the money required on the most favorable terms. Those hostile to British connection have maintained that Great Britain, by affording its guarantee, has assumed a responsibility for these undertakings which are not likely to be remunerative, and were never expected to be

so; and that the deficit in the revenue, which has been the principal cause of the high tariff, is the result of imperial policy. It is hardly necessary to point out that Great Britain has no interest in these public works, and that they were never encouraged by the Imperial Ministers. They were projected in British America for local objects, and the Imperial Government was generous enough to accede to the urgent request of Canada to assist it by its guarantee.

Another argument, that has recently been employed to create dissatisfaction with Great Britain, is that Canada, as a colony, can not negotiate commercial treaties, and that if it were independent it could obtain more favorable terms from foreign nations. France does not admit Canadian exports into her markets on the same terms as the most favored nations, although Canada has always admitted French exports on the same terms as those from Great Britain. There is no reason whatever to suppose that if Canada were independent she would succeed in negotiating a commercial treaty with France on more favorable terms than she can do with the powerful influence of Great Britain, which is at all times available to the Canadian Ministers. Reference has been already made to the aid rendered by the Imperial Government to that of Canada in the negotiations which were conducted at Washington in 1874 by Sir Edward Thornton and Senator Brown. In considering the commercial relations between the United States and Canada, it is highly important that it should be borne in mind that peaceable separation from Great Britain, on the part of the latter, is a very improbable contingency. This opinion is not predicated on the supposition that Great Britain would be inclined to coerce Canada as she attempted to coerce the United States. There is no probability that if Canada were disposed to demand separation she would meet with opposition. Many influential British statesmen are of opinion that the colonies are not a source of strength to the mother-country, and that the adoption of a protective policy has weakened the tie which bands the two countries together.

In an article contributed to the London "Fortnightly Review" by the Rt. Hon. Robert Lowe, ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is said: "To those who view the probable separation of the colonies from the mother-country, at some period more or less remote, as a proof of our degeneracy, as compared with those who founded them, it may be some consolation to observe that hardly any of these settlements at the present day are answering the purposes

for which they were founded. The great object in founding a colony was undoubtedly to secure a monopoly of its trade, and, so long as we confined ourselves to that, the American colonies were among the most loyal of our fellow subjects." Mr. Lowe's conclusion is that, in the course of time, the larger colonies will make a claim to have a voice in imperial affairs, and he maintains that, when that day shall arrive, "there is nothing for it but separation." But even Mr. Lowe, who is a fair representative of what may be termed the anti-Colonial party in Great Britain, admits that "our wisdom is to defer the change as long as possible." Now, it is highly improbable that there is any desire among Canadians to have a voice in imperial affairs, assuming, for the sake of argument, that it was possible. It has long been obvious that Imperial Federation, if practicable, would result in the colonies having to share in the cost of the military and naval services, and in all others of a strictly imperial character, and this Canada would be unlikely to consent to. There is no ground for supposing that Imperial Federation has many advocates in Canada, and it has been condemned in the strongest terms by those favorable to separation. There is no reason to believe that, provided Canada is willing to continue the connection on its present basis, any proposition either to dissolve it or to make it more burdensome will emanate from Great Britain. How, then, is a change of government to be brought about? Up to the present time, there has been no public manifestation of discontent; but, on the assumption that those favorable to separation, whether from a preference for republican institutions or from a conviction that in no other way can satisfactory commercial relations with the United States be established, were able to form a party, the question has to be considered whether there is the most remote probability of a peaceable revolution.

Canada, as has been shown, has no grievance, and it would require grievances of no ordinary magnitude to induce a considerable number of people to engage in revolutionary proceedings, especially when those who prefer the institutions of the United States can so easily remove there without risk of life or sacrifice of property. Little over forty years have elapsed since the experiment was tried, under circumstances much more favorable than are likely to occur again. In 1837 there was a wretched system of government, and there were grievances of great magnitude, which had long been the subject of unavailing complaint by the representatives of the Canadian people, and yet it was found impossible to induce any

considerable number to engage in rebellion. A statement has been made that, in contemplation of some renewed attempt of a similar character, an influential citizen of the United States lately observed to a discontented Canadian that, however good might be the intention of the Government of that country, it might find it impossible, in the event of civil war, to prevent sympathizers from joining with their Canadian neighbors, and, referring to the rebellion of 1837, he added that "the heart of Americans was with Canadians in that struggle." It is, of course, far from improbable that if a rebellion were to take place hereafter, as in 1837, aid would be given in the same way; but in such a case it is not likely that Great Britain would look on with folded arms, while the loyal Canadians were attacked by foreign sympathizers. In the old contest, if it can be called one, the United States Government did not interfere, and there was no difficulty between Great Britain and the United States but what was amicably settled by the diplomatists.

The rebellion of 1837 was preceded by a long period of discontent, and, before there was a resort to arms, there had been strong representations from the Canadian Legislatures. It is hardly possible that with the present political institutions of Canada any discontent could provoke rebellion to authority; indeed, the advocates for separation never pretend to believe in the possibility of civil war. It is consequently delusive to speculate on revolution as a contingency likely to occur, unless circumstances wholly unforeseen at present should arise. The conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing statements is, that the United States has no just ground to complain of the Canadian tariff; that Canada has endeavored to renew the reciprocity treaty with the United States, and has evinced a readiness to concede all reasonable demands; that the fishery question must very soon become again a subject for negotiation; that there is no probability of change in the political state of Canada; and that it is most desirable that some effort should be made by the United States to establish satisfactory commercial relations between the two countries.

F. Hincks.

THE FAILURE OF THE SOUTHERN PULPIT.

From courses of reasoning, founded upon abstract theory, Lord Bacon helped greatly to turn mankind toward a reasoning founded upon fact. He framed a logical appeal to all philosophers, begging them to abandon the inquiry how many angels might take up a position on the point of a needle, and espouse the question how many men, women, and children should live in a room ten feet square, or how many bushels of wheat may reasonably be expected from an acre of ground, and by what instrument may the grain be harvested, and by what bag or wagon or car may it be best transported to a market. It seemed to him amazing that man had not gathered up all the facts about the winds, the rains, and the soils, to deduce from those habits or qualities lessons of immediate usefulness. Virtually, Bacon was the discoverer of earth in contradistinction from those who had discovered only the world of the spiritual, and fanciful, and the enigmatical. Philosophy has gone beyond the most sanguine hope of this one apostle, and, in dismissing the fanciful and in clinging to the actual, the pupil at last outdoes the instructor. The children of this great earthly house are studying well their temporary home, trying to repair it, and even to decorate it; but their task is arduous, for great was the damage done the mansion in all the middle centuries.

It is one of the pleasures of the passing times to note what strange results are coming from this almost universal study of the earth by those who once studied only an abstract theology or a metaphysical form of science; but this delight is yet much modified by the unavoidable reflection that many individual minds and many districts of country, called civilized regions, are still "up in the air" in all their forms of theory and practice. It is particularly true of that professional pursuit called the pulpit, that it betrays the utmost reluctance to a faithful building up of this world in all

its temporal interests, and in many ways expresses the idea that the best religion is that which simply jumps over earth and lands upon Jordan's better side. In harmony with this humble estimate of this little planet, a clergyman recently, after performing a marriage ceremony for a youthful couple at the altar, submitted to their thought a brief address to the effect that marriage is only a handmaid of salvation, that the chief duty of husband and wife is to help hold each other from falling into the sin of unbelief; an address not particularly bad, but indicating how wont the pulpit at large is to try to sail through the sea of this life, that sea of a thousand glorious islands, without making a landing in a single alluring harbor. Many, perceiving this defect of the Christian clergy, will thank John Ruskin for his recent little letters to a group of Churchmen, in which he urges them to condense their Christianity into those doctrines outlined in the Lord's Prayer.

While it is evident that no geographical division of the Christian Church may boast of a pulpit which studies sufficiently the temporal welfare of society, or which sufficiently erases the difference between man in time and man in the assumed eternity, yet it must be confessed by all fair-minded persons that the pulpit of the old slave States surpasses its companion pulpits in the North and in Europe in its neglect of the surrounding multitudes, and perhaps in its ignorance of their wants. Our national Government, yielding to the public taste for facts and for information particularly regarding the habits and riches of the material America, has recently published maps of the coal formations and of the limestone and ore deposits; and, gathering courage as it advanced, it has even issued maps of fever and ague, and of education and ignorance. Having, for example, adopted yellow as the color of malarial disease, that color deepens where the disease increases, and fades in the high and dry countries, so that a person not fond of sickness can tell by a glance at his map where he and his little ones would best pitch tent for a season or for life. Thus information which once came by legend, or by a fee paid a physician, or, what is most probable, by experience, comes now by a simple glance at an open map of human malady. No one can look for a moment upon these governmental leaves without wishing that our statisticians might be able to lay before us charts of the Christian Pulpit, revealing to our wondering eyes places and times where that moral and mental force has waxed and waned in ages past, and places where now that same influence were rising or falling, were living or dead. If the red color, the

common emblem of love and charity, were assumed to stand for this gospel power, and a map of the pulpit were elaborated in the different tints of that general hue, it is evident the deepest red would be found in the region of the cities of New York and Brooklyn ; for it seems equally evident that, while a generation ago the deepest color would have been found farther north where New England preached and prayed, the average of pulpit greatness has slowly moved away toward the Hudson. But, leaving in debate the exact locality of the deepest red, it will be perceived that, as this color-wave passes into the valley of the Susquehanna, it perceptibly fades, and passing onward into Virginia it grows paler still, and at last becomes in the Gulf States too delicate a tint for the unaided eye to detect ; and the one tracing the interesting stream must raise his eyes at Mobile and New Orleans, with the words, " No greatness of pulpit here."

The fact is not pleasurable, but sad. In all the many forms of happiness and human welfare, the pulpit of the past has acted a large part as discoverer and advocate and defender. Led by the mysterious sentiment of religion, the whole human family has, in its three forms of youth and middle life and old age, gone up to the temple of the Almighty not only to seek forgiveness of sins, but to seek guidance in the paths of varied duty. In the absence of a visible or audible God, His place has been supplied by chosen men called rabbis, or magi, or priests, or preachers—one in essence, peculiar only in some minor qualities of dress or office. These have always spoken to the people in the name of Heaven, and are the only teachers on earth who have ever had for their audience all the human family, and who have had the ear and the heart of all the formative years of youth ; and, what is still more momentous, have spoken to the mind and heart as affected by conscience, and by all the hopes and fears of an impressive world to come. The statesmen have not enjoyed the advantage of having an audience furnished them every Sunday—an audience called together by conscience and by a powerful mystery. No philosophers or orators or common casuists have been permitted to address constantly all the young minds of any generation, and to add to their words the sanction of the Deity and those motives called heaven and hell. It has been the privilege of the clergy alone to find a perpetual audience, which dissolves only to reassemble, and which comes in that form of youth which accepts of molding words, and in that form of mature age which craves guidance and consolation. The spec-

tacle of the Christian multitudes assembling once each week to listen to men speaking in the name of the infinite love and the infinite wisdom, is one that has no parallel in our world, full as it is of multiform influences. If, therefore, any one mindful of this vantage-ground held by the clergyman shall look through the Southern States of the nation, and shall see there a ruined or a failing pulpit, his reflections will not be pleasurable, but will be as pathetic as though the winds were repeating to his heart the words, "How are the mighty fallen!"

This failure or lamentable shortcoming has resulted from a combination of causes. In the diagnosis of a case of sickness, physicians are often compelled to declare that several diseases have met in their patient, and that they know not what form of enemy to attack, nor by what path the dissolution will come. All must at first smile at that attending doctor, but must sympathize at last with him who reported as cause of the demise of a citizen, that "*he never was well.*" Amid a complication and surplus of causes, an exact diagnosis was gracefully declined by the wise man. It is the first impulse of all who think of the Southern pulpit to abandon the thought with the generalization that "it never was well"; but that land is so inviting, the people so warm-hearted, the climate so mild, the women so beautiful, the present and future so full of peril, and reform so perfectly possible, that only criminal indolence or indifference can dismiss with a contemptuous word the average clergyman of that part of our domain.

All will at once affirm that the institution of slavery laid low this organized eloquence, and indeed a large part of the explanation must be found in the fact that two hundred years ago our ancestors mixed a slow poison in the Southern cup. Unwittingly, the fathers poisoned their children. Under a political and social philosophy which stole labor, all intellectual pursuits declined on account of a violation of the well-known principle that the mind is brought out by action, just as the luster of the diamond is brought into existence by the polishing process of the lapidary. Of all labor, intellectual toil is the most exhausting, and an age must be full of industry of all forms before it will persuade even gifted minds to bend to the yoke of mental and spiritual labor. The fact that the largest number of our intellectual leaders passed their early years in comparative poverty does not necessitate the conclusion that poverty is the mother of mental greatness, but it does announce to us the fact that manual labor must precede mental labor, and

that cruel poverty, in compelling the former, prepares its pupil for the latter. Having been compelled to work, man accepts reluctantly of what he at first thinks a misfortune, and at last finds his calamity to be his success. In importing workmen from Africa in order to escape from the misfortune of drudgery, the South escaped at the same moment her triumph, and, at the end of a few generations, came into the scene of human life as weak and as ignorant as she had been idle. While she stole labor, Nature in a dreadful equity was stealing away her intellect and sentiment. In this general fall of mental power, which included the brain of statesman, and scientific man, and novelist, and poet, the clergyman also went down. In such a retrospect must be found a large part of the reason for what we may call the failure of the Southern pulpit; and what died by a slow process must revive with equal slowness.

To the intellectual sluggishness which the prevalence of substitutional labor entailed upon all the forms of mental activity in common, slavery added a special shape of misfortune to the lot of the Southern clergyman. It divided society into three castes, and made him the pastor of only one division. In a slightly modified form, caste holds or held the South as firmly as it held India before it was subject to British rule. Three shapes of humanity lay before the parson of the cotton States—the slaveholders, the poor whites, and the slaves. Immense merit attached to the first class; the last class lay far over toward the animal world, and salvation followed this law of decrease, and was offered with some zeal to the first families, was often suggested to the poor whites as being desirable, and died away wholly before it reached the ears of those whose complexion was of a dark or mixed character. Prevented thus by political interest and prejudices from dealing with those who most needed the teachings and pity of Heaven, compelled to harden his heart against the cries of those in bonds, and often in torments under the lash, the herald of Jesus Christ slowly became a dealer in intellectual abstractions, or an apologist for a shameful institution and its attendant personal vices. Without doubt the situation was peculiar: the slave was too contemptible to merit any salvation, the master too great to need any. Without possessing the mental power of Seneca, the Southern preacher resembled that moralist in the sublimity of his pupil. Nero was so illustrious as emperor that he might carry on any form of revel or crime, and might put out of the way his own mother if she gave signs of living too long, or was too full of personal thought and opinion. The planter was

some such a piece of human absolutism, and did not need much rebuke for sins, nor much instruction in the line of common morals, inasmuch as his position in society made him a natural heir of the good things of the two worlds. In all times the noblest politics, or philanthropy, or religion has been that which has carried in its heart the common people; and the caste brought into a part of our land by enforced labor was, therefore, a perpetual drying up of that love which lies at the basis of the clergyman's office. Hence the injury of the pulpit was deeper than that which fell upon letters and art and science, for they were only robbed of most of their activity; but the pulpit suffered more, for, besides being weakened in intellect, what life and love remained were exhausted upon families too full of noble blood to be exposed to either sin or perdition. The sermons fell upon only a small area, and fell there like a scanty shower in a burning desert.

Let us advance now to contemplate a third reason why the Southern pulpit must be estimated as a moral failure. It fails utterly to grasp the meaning of the Christian religion. It assumes that the sole purpose of Christianity is to save the soul from sufferings after death, and to secure for it a certain great positive happiness in a second world; whereas that religious system attempts a release also from sufferings here, and offers also a happiness in this first stage of man. No religion has ever exhausted itself upon the second life. Whether man's religious ideas have formulated themselves in Egypt, or in Persia, or in India, or in Palestine under the Hebrews, they have made the virtue and the success and happiness of these threescore years at least the one half of their message and longing. In that highest form of philosophy man has been a simple unit, and, whether his life lay outspread here, or lay reaching beyond these confines, it has been all of one piece, like the unity of childhood and middle life. If we open a Persian religion—the religion of those magis who came in such affection to honor the babe in the manger—we find their doctrines to be shapes of duty and of success on this side the grave. The Persians prayed that "they might never be carried away by anger, that angry words and looks might seem to them a sin, that they might reply to an enemy with gentleness, that they might contend constantly against evil morally and physically"; "I would praise all good thoughts, words, and works: I would curse all evil thoughts, words, and works"; thus disclosing their conviction that the paradise beyond death was only to be a continuation of a paradise well founded

here. Of similar purport is the theology of the ancient Egyptians. It did not call man a worm, and jump over his earthly career as being contemptible, but it placed upon tombs these epitaphs: "He loved his father, he honored his mother, he loved his brethren; he never went away from home in anger; he never preferred the great man to the humble one"; "He gave bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, shelter to the stranger."

To open the sacred chapters of the Greeks is to find in Pythagoras and Plato and Socrates and Xenophon the same estimate of religion, an estimate which makes it a sublime unfolding of human purity and charity. Pythagoras led the way in the formal statement of the divinest truths in the world around him. He said: "Man is perfected by communing with the gods, which he can do only when he abstains from evil and attempts to resemble the divine nature, and, secondly, by doing good to others. . . . We should eliminate from the body disease, from the mind ignorance, from the appetites luxury, from a city sedition, from a house discord, from all things immoderation." Socrates followed with his notable prayer: "Grant me to become beautiful in the inner man, and that all outward things may be at peace with the things within. May I deem the wise man rich, and may I reach only such a portion of gold as a prudent man may employ!" Plato took up the broken-off music, and, in his loftier notes, approached Christ's greatest generalization, and uttered the words, "May I not do to others what I would not have them do to me!"—the passive shape of the coming Golden Rule.

It is notorious that in the religion of the greatest Latins this world was the most important arena. All was based upon the dignity and demands of this life, and both Aurelius and Seneca declared that the very essence of piety was to do the will of God in this life, and leave to the divine knowledge and wish the existence of any life after this. Seneca says: "It is the care of the wise and good man to look to his manners and actions, and rather to how well he lives than how long; for whether he shall die sooner or later is not his business, but whether he shall die ill or well." Exactly such sentiments pervade the prayers of Aurelius and Epictetus. In parallel lines with all such pagan thoughts appears on the scene the religion of the Hebrews, confessed by all Christians to be the immediate fountain of the New Testament. But, strange to say, that Mosaic religion was wholly occupied in the reform of man's earthly affairs. The antagonists of the theory

of a revelation adduce as an argument that the Old Testament makes no logical use of a future life. Evidently the mission of Mosaism was to build up an improved nation, an improved morals, and a better manhood. It made no effort to save man from a hell beyond the tomb. The theme of the whole period rises to its highest eloquence in Isaiah when he said, "Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show thy people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins." "Is not this the fast (the worship) that I have chosen? to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo heavy burdens, and that ye break every yoke and let the oppressed go free? Is it not to deal out bread to the hungry, and that thou bring to thy house the poor that are cast out? that when thou seest the naked thou cover him, and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?" Employed chiefly in the affairs of state, when the Hebrew thought moved out upon the absolute doctrines of religion, it invariably made its altar a place where man learned his highest duty and drank in his noblest impulses.

Thus, turn whither we may, go back as far as all records will lead us, read in all the old manuscripts or stand by all the old sculptured columns or tombs, and one song comes to us from these combined and harmonious voices, the burden of which song is that religion is an imitation of God in the two attributes of purity and love. It is a purification of self and a perpetual intercession for others. You can not travel so far back in pagan or Hebrew times as to get away from this general doctrine. Sir William Jones found upon an island in the Pacific, carved in Arabic over the door of a temple of God, these words:

> The world was given for our own upbuilding, not for the purpose of raising sumptuous houses; life for the discharge of moral and religious duties, not for pleasurable indulgence; wealth to be liberally bestowed, not avariciously hoarded; and learning to produce good actions, not empty disputes—

an inscription which teaches us that even the islands of the sea unite with the continents in assuring us that religion is a combined care for God and for the immediate welfare of man.

These citations and reflections come in now to justify our charge that the Southern pulpit has come to a condition of abject powerlessness, because it has failed to grasp the meaning of the gospel it has presumed to preach. It separated between gospel and civilization, and made what pity it possessed exhaust itself upon some re-

mote misfortune, and made those tears fall upon hell which should have fallen upon the sorrows of this life. If this pulpit in its decrepitude could frame a reply to this charge, it would say, "You have cited the religions of heathen, while I am busy with the religion of Jesus Christ." The plea is heard, but it is in vain; for Christ is only the final synthesis of all the imitation of God and service of man of which all other times have dreamed. St. Augustine in the fourth century perceived this, for he says, "What is called the Christian religion existed among the ancients, and was not absent from the beginning of the human race up to the time when Christ came, from which time it began to be called Christian." But one may easily find better authority than Augustine in Christ himself. His discourses lie almost wholly within the field of duty between men. They are a perpetuation of all those morals toward which all the ancients looked with more or less clearness of sight, it having been the office of the Man of Nazareth to survey with divine mind what man had attempted to see through the veil of imperfect sense. It was this One who came at last to say, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Hence the Southern pulpit, in its long neglect to preach the elevation of man here, to proclaim the worth and the rights of the African race; in its long cowardice shown toward dueling; in its silence over street-encounters between white men, and over the sickening assassinations of poor negroes by day and by night; in its utter want of even middle-age chivalry over the brutal massacre of the Chisolm family; in its neglect to urge upon young men the unavoidable duties of industry and mental and moral culture—in all this whole catalogue of neglect it has revealed not only its inability to preach the religion of Jesus, but any other system of morals or piety which can be found even in pagan annals. Whenever that voice which claims to speak the will of God to the cotton States has touched at all earthly affairs, it has exhausted its logic and passion upon apologies for slavery; and indeed the last printed form of piety it sent over the world was an argument tending to show that the bondage of the negro to the superior white race was a relationship natural and valuable, and that it must be for ever esteemed and preserved. Since the practical defeat it sustained in that direction the Southern pulpit has let alone all mundane affairs, and has confined itself with great fidelity to metaphysical disquisitions on the nature of Christ, upon the mode of baptism, the necessity of faith, the futility of human good works, the sovereignty of God, and the importance of making some formal

and immediate arrangement touching the next form of existence. Under which devotion to abstractions even the duelist has sunk to the lower condition of an assassin, and what was called once a statesman is content now to appear at night only and in the masked and sepulchral dress of a Ku-klux.

Barbarous as was the old practice of dueling, its history has become whitened in these darker days which have substituted for it the hideous form of murder. Much as one may denounce the challenge and the thirty paces in some secluded vale, yet all must regret that Dixon could not have had the privilege of some self-defense, and that Judge Elliott had not been invited to repair to some field with his weapons and his second, and that Chisolm and his tender daughter could not have enjoyed the code of the duello—a comparative gospel as it would now seem. Not that all these vices and crimes can be charged upon the deadness of the adjoining pulpit, but that the pulpit might have checked much this headlong course of crime, or might at least have made itself great and eloquent in the attempt. It was the hour for transforming preachers into heroes, but an hour unread, and passed by, therefore, in a peaceful religious sleep.

The pulpit under our study will say: "We are orthodox clergymen. We preach nothing but Christ and him crucified. We do not descend to such political and social strifes. We do not, like a Starr King or a Theodore Parker, or like all the semi-infidels of the North, go before our people with essays on industry and liberty and morality. We do not count much on mere morality. We preach salvation by faith in Jesus Christ." And in such words we find further reason for the humble condition of the Southern pulpit. It has misconceived the nature of even its own form of orthodoxy. Admitting that certain doctrines called "orthodox" do belong to the Christian system, yet they do not exhaust the duties and powers of the clergyman; for Paul himself made Felix tremble by a discourse upon temperance and "mere morality"; and, sacred as the hours and opportunities of Jesus must have been, instead of finding no time for inculcating the lessons of the earthly life, he absolutely died before he had come to the doctrines which his followers preach with so much endless repetition. The Master preached the doctrines of human righteousness and responsibility in a manner never equaled since; and, assuming that those dogmas called orthodox are true, they form only a part of Christianity, and the voice of the pulpit sins painfully and fatally if it does not include in its

themes all the duties, and equities, and amenities of this earthly career.

It is possible that a special reason for the decline of the Southern clergy may be found in that narrowness of Christian doctrine which made it necessary for them to be guilty of endless repetitions. With only a half score of ideas to present, in the never-ending reappearance of these the audience yawned and slept, and at last disappeared ; and, what was as bad as the gradual evaporation of the audience, there came the unwillingness of the clergyman to perform the labor necessary to the development of any new application of truth to society. It is the quality of all vain repetition that it kills not only the patience of the audience, but the mind of the performer. And, from some facts in the history of persuasion, it is to be believed that there is a quantity of affirmation which gradually brings infidelity to the very minds to which the innocent clergyman imagines he is bringing faith. Dr. Robert Hall tells of a preacher who proved so earnestly each Sunday the deity of Christ, that his audience became at last Unitarians from the mere reaction of too much argumentation. The convert from some pagan religion to Christianity accepted, after some logic and some entreaty from the missionary, the story of the whale and Jonah, and at the next Sunday lesson he advanced with some hesitation to the episode of Samson and the foxes ; but on the third Sunday, when he was asked to believe in the narrative about the three children in the furnace, he failed, and said, " And I won't believe any longer that story about Jonah." His faith died of excessive argument. In part of such painful illness the Southern pulpit entered upon its last sickness ; for, undoubtedly, there is a preaching of Christ crucified which leads to the wonder whether such a being as Jesus lived and died, and, if so, for what purpose ? Under repetition the mind grows weary, and, being taught immersion for a thousand Sundays, it goes away and is baptized by sprinkling ; or, being taught for a thousand Sundays that all moralists will be lost, the mind, from a strange form of sympathy, longs more and more to attach itself to such moral companionship and risk their destiny.

Let us assume that the doctrines of " orthodoxy " are true : they are not the whole of Christianity, but, on the contrary, they are only for the most part the divine side of theology, and in preaching them the Southern pulpit has generally omitted its own business to attend to that of the Almighty. The nature of Jesus Christ, and the details of any settlement made between him and the Father, are

known only in the courts of heaven; but that man must obey the laws of God, that he must care for his brother, that he must lift up his voice against all crime and injustice, are things known to man, and here is where his preaching must swell up into eloquence; and here, in this department of human welfare and duty, the pulpit in its most evangelical form has made itself felt in all the centuries which have come and gone since the times of Jesus. Here and there heroic servants of the Lord have appeared to espouse all the temporal good of the multitude, and, if need be, to fight the bloody battles of personal and civil liberty. The remote ancestors of the Southern pulpit, the Knoxes and that whole school, planted their feet firmly upon the earth, and made the banners of the cross and of human right wave from one staff. Indeed, it is the glory of all the evangelical sects, from Presbyterianism to the simplest group of Quakers, that in their histories the happiness and rights of man here were joined to his salvation hereafter, and were mingled together in hymn and sermon and prayer. The pulpit helped America discover her right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and helped her secure that right. The name of John Witherspoon alone will suffice to illustrate the right and the unspeakable power of this holy office to help the people when dark days have come. The sermons of that one man were one of the most powerful guns of the Revolution. He became at once a statesman and a preacher, and each office made the other more potent. In all the noble days of past epochs it will be seen that the orthodox clergy hastened to the front to lead their people, not to heaven, but to earthly happiness.

In the central and darkest part of the dark ages, persons of culture and piety were deemed too good for any mingling with human affairs, and places of solitude and meditation were built for these, that they might draw nearer and nearer to heaven. This withdrawing of the relatively learned and virtuous brought on the midnight of the period. Both parties, those in retirement and those in the world, were injured by the separation. The monks and nuns failed mentally and morally from want of noble occupation in the outer scenes; the courts and the aristocracy declined from the want of daily converse with what men and women there were of some information and some morality. The convents were full of preachers and lecturers and contemplative minds; the streets were full of kings and courtiers of low morals, and of loafers, criminals, and clowns. Thus mind, detached from the daily service of the

public, failed and withered as a plant cut off from light; and stupid ignorance and low vices filled the great lonely buildings in which learning and piety had sought a retreat. In abandoning the daily wants of the common people, learning and virtue had moved away from the sources of their own being. Not into any material convents hidden away in any mountain recess, or perched upon some inaccessible rock, has the Southern pulpit betaken itself, but into a small and dark corner of a badly named orthodoxy has it softly and slowly crept, until the suffering populace no longer sees its wisdom nor grasps the hand of its charity. Out of a few dogmas—the deity of Christ, a commercial atonement, election, immersion, the greatness of heaven and hell, the littleness of earth—the Gulf-coast clergymen have made the stones of a monastery gloomy and lonely upon a bold cliff, up the sides of which by means of a rope they draw up a basket of food daily, secured by pious beggars from the impoverished hamlets in the vale. Thus for a long period has that branch of mental industry been retiring its capital as though intending to retire from the Lord's business, and few will deny that in this effort it is meeting with abundant success.

It is easier thus to mark the simple facts of current history than it would be to determine the quantity of guilt or reproach which should rest upon the Christian ministry of the South who live amid the facts. As men who live upon the high mountain-ranges do not perceive at each respiration the rarity of the air, so those minds, however gifted by nature, who have long lived amid a certain condition of opinion and feeling, do not detect easily the new demand of the hour, but permit easily the morrow to be as the yesterday. We admire Watt and Fulton, and congratulate them on their power to contravene the old implements and machines, but we do not rebuke the men who before Watt and Fulton failed to see the engine and the steamboat. In the moral world the heart, acting as spectatator, admires those who saw that their hour had come for moving against the old and sluggish tide, but it has no rebuke for those who lived and died without having wakened once from the widespread lethargy. We admire the heroism of Orange and Knox and Wesley, but we can not grow angry over those who stood in the deserts of Egypt and Syria to permit starvation and thirst and the torrid sun to expel sin from their flesh. Toward the men who have revealed great prophetic vision all look with reverence and gratitude, but toward the common masses that see and feel no new impulse all look with either compassion or silence. This is very evi-

dent, that the Southern Sates are now offering to the ministers of the gospel within their boundaries an arena of usefulness and honor seldom offered to the calm thought of age or to the ambition of youth. The religion of Jesus being an infinite sympathy, being a perfect development of the moral resources of this world, it longs to build up the schoolhouse and to care tenderly for the education of all the children; it longs to help the African become an educated and moral and free citizen; it stands ready to persuade the men of murder and violence to put aside the weapon and touch the handle of the plow; it waits and longs for lips to become bold enough to declare that industry is one of the saving graces of God's sanctuary; indeed, it mourns the long absence of an eloquence which shall declare that a good nation is a good church, and that education and industry are steps in the path of salvation. If there be any genius and intellectual fire that have survived the calamities of the past and which remain to-day in something of freshness and hope, there remains for this residue of pulpit force a great success if it shall cast aside its hazy discourses on the nature of the atonement and the exact nature of Christ; shall consider as dross its arguments to prove that a man is saved by faith alone, or to show that no human morals will avail anything in a remote judgment; and shall fill a heart thus made empty of folly with arguments for the schoolhouse, and for equality and righteousness, and for a general imitation of Jesus Christ. A half score of such Southern preachers could make the South rise more rapidly than the wild-headed politicians have dragged her down. Germany had only one Luther, England began with one John Knox. The pulpit stands near to all hearts. Youth and age, even childhood, wait upon its words; and those words sink deepest which, spoken by men of kind and pure lives, are made holy by the invocation of God and by grand or awful relations to a land beyond.

DAVID SWING.

GENERAL GRANT AND A THIRD TERM.

In politics, morals, and law there is a field for presumption. The field is a limited one, usually, but within it the conclusions drawn are as trustworthy as are those which, in the broader field of testimony, rest upon positive proof.

In politics, and in the light of this day, no presumption can be more just and reasonable than the presumption that every Democrat is opposed to the election of General Grant to the Presidency for a third time. And this opposition by Democrats is not on account of the example of Washington, or of the tradition of a century, or of the resolution of the House of Representatives of 1875; for they were quite as fiercely opposed to his first election in 1868, to his second election in 1872, when the example of Washington was inapplicable, when the tradition of the fathers could not be cited, when the resolution of the House of Representatives did not exist.

Among Democrats the most conspicuous Democrat in this opposition to General Grant was Judge Black, of Pennsylvania; and, in the March number of the "North American Review," he gives his friends the benefit of his argument against the third election of General Grant, and inflicts upon his enemies the full force of his passions. He has seen nothing good or even hopeful in the events of the last twenty years; and he has read of nothing bad in the annals of Rome, where chiefly his studies appear to have been, whether as republic or empire, which he does not apprehend for America in case of the election of General Grant for a third term. His argument against the election of any person to the Presidency a third time is based upon the example of Washington and the declarations of Jefferson. The authorities are good, and, when there was no trustworthy history, either for example or warning, except that of ancient Rome and the histories of the mediæval and feudal states of Europe, the argument itself was not bad.

In the course of his article Judge Black has made many references to ancient Rome. His excellence herein is admitted. At best I can make but one. Gibbon says of the various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world that "all were considered by the people as equally true, by the philosopher as equally false, and by the magistrate as equally useful." There is no violence in the assumption that Judge Black has been so absorbed by the thought that the example of Washington and the teachings of Jefferson could be made *useful* to the Democratic party in this its exigency, that he has neglected to consider with care the question whether, after a century of experience in free popular government, it is indeed true that the example of Washington in this respect is the only remaining bulwark for the protection of our assailed and imperiled liberties. If this be so, then the reputation of Washington will need a more ardent—perhaps I may not be permitted to say a more able—defender than even Judge Black himself.

Washington was President of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. That Constitution makes every male citizen who has attained the age of thirty-five years eligible and reëligible, without limitation as to times, to the office of President of the United States. If the peril to the country from the repeated election of the same person to the Presidency was believed by Washington and his associates to be such as Judge Black now represents it, then Washington and his associates are wholly without excuse in their neglect of a great public duty. Nor is it an answer or defense to say that Washington intended to leave an example to his countrymen which, in the course of time, would, as a tradition, become as powerful for the protection of their rights and liberties as would be a written constitutional inhibition. Life is uncertain; death is certain; and in 1787 Washington could have had no assurance that he would be permitted by Divine Providence to hold the office of President for eight years, and at the close to give an example of voluntary abstention from worldly honors which should not only receive the approval of the living generation, but also command the respect and obedience of his countrymen in all the ages of the republic.

Mr. Jefferson was not a member of the Convention, and it is well known that its proceedings in many particulars were not approved by him. But to Mr. Jefferson, more than to any one else, is the country indebted for the first eleven articles of amendment to the Constitution—articles designed to render the liberties of the

people more secure against the encroachments of power. But these amendments are silent in regard to the Presidential office. Provision is made, however, that persons charged with crime shall have a perpetual constitutional right to compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in their favor; that in all suits at common law, where the value in controversy exceeds twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and yet no constitutional safeguard is erected against a manifest peril, a continuing menace to the institutions and liberties of an entire people.

If Washington and Jefferson estimated the peril as Judge Black now says the peril was estimated by them, and as in fact the peril really is, who is sufficient to offer a defense, an excuse, or even an apology for the Father of his Country or the Apostle of Liberty? The original Constitution was wrought out in the presence and under the lead of Washington, and the amendments were framed at the dictation of Jefferson. Eight words in the Constitution or in an amendment would have furnished ample protection for all time. The words are not there, and why not? Surely not because Washington and Jefferson were not patriotic men, nor because they were not far-seeing men, but because upon reflection they thought it unwise to place any limitation upon the power of the people to elect their rulers at stated times and in prescribed ways. The country is not lacking in veneration for Washington and Jefferson. That veneration will survive the criticism of Judge Howe, it will outlive the defense of Judge Black. And may one inquire whether there is anything in the example of Washington which warrants the opinion that this Government has not constitutional power to protect its own life; or anything in the teachings of Jefferson inconsistent with the emancipation of the slaves, their elevation to citizenship, their equality under the Constitution of the country; or if there is anything in the example or teachings of Washington or Jefferson which justifies Judge Black and the party that he represents in the attempt that was made to overthrow the Union, in the resistance to emancipation, and in the continuing effort to subvert the Government by the forcible suppression of the popular will? In every age there are those who build the tombs of the prophets and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous, and yet deny justice to the living generation of men.

If Judge Black's argument against a third term shall receive only that degree of favor which has been accorded to his public teachings for the last twenty years, he may be assured that the chief

reason is to be found in the conduct of the party with which he is identified. That conduct has awakened the most serious apprehensions in the public mind touching the security of property and of personal political rights; and these apprehensions not only justify but require the people to place the helm of government in the hands of the man best qualified to guide the ship of state safely through stormy seas. In quiet times the tradition of the fathers would be respected, and this without a careful examination of its value or of its applicability to modern affairs. It is to the teachings of Judge Black, and the associates of Judge Black, that the country is indebted for the circumstances in our public life which compel us to canvass the tradition upon its merits, to examine the circumstances in which it had its origin, and to consider and determine whether its authority is such, or its intrinsic value such, that in a grave exigency in public affairs, and in obedience to that tradition alone, the man best qualified to protect personal rights and to defend public interests shall be excluded from the public service. If a strong man is needed at the head of the Government, the necessity arises from the circumstance that the spirit of rebellion, of resistance to the Constitution, is manifested by a large class of citizens. Those citizens, without exception, are Democrats, and they receive aid and encouragement from the Democratic party. It is the purpose of the Republican party to suppress that spirit; to render it powerless, absolutely, both in personal and in public affairs. And it may happen that, in accomplishing this result, the example of Washington and the tradition of the fathers will be disregarded. I admit the example, I recognize the tradition, and, with these admissions, it is my purpose to consider their binding force upon the country, their historical origin, their intrinsic value as guides in public affairs.

There has been a serious effort to establish the proposition that what is called "the tradition of the fathers" is as binding upon the country as a limitation upon the power of the people would be if the restriction were a part of the Constitution itself. Judge Black sustains the notion, and gives to it the benefit of his rhetoric and his emphasis. Statement alone is sufficient upon this point. Argument is unnecessary. The opinions of Washington and Jefferson are entitled to the highest consideration as opinions—nothing more. We refuse to allow the hands of dead men to control the soil of the country; and shall we without inquiry, without a judgment of our own, permit the opinions of dead men to control the thought and the policy of the country? We have changed, indeed in some par-

ticulars we have annihilated, the Constitution of Washington, the Constitution of the fathers, and therefor take equal honor for ourselves and for them, in the belief that if they were among us they would accept and ratify with acclaim the changes that have been made.

And is the unwritten law more sacred? May the people annul the written law of the fathers, and still be bound perpetually by their traditions? It would not be strange if in these later days, and for a particular reason, the importance of Washington's example had been unduly magnified. When he prepared his Farewell Address to his countrymen, the most important document that ever came from his pen, he omitted all reference to his own example in retiring from the Presidential office at the end of the second term, as imposing upon all his successors a corresponding practice. In November, 1806, the Legislature of Vermont nominated Mr. Jefferson for a third election to the Presidency. If he had then realized the dangers of such a proceeding as they are now set forth by Judge Black, would he have waited till December, 1807, before he announced his purpose not to be a candidate for reëlection?

It is a satisfaction that, even at this somewhat advanced stage of the discussion, I am in accord with Judge Black upon one point. He says, "The mere authority of names, however great, ought not to command our assent." This is a sound proposition in ethics, in politics, and in law. All through these weary pages I am endeavoring to demonstrate its wisdom in matters of politics, and I relieve the tediousness of the hour by a single illustration designed to show its importance in matters of law.

Judge Black, speaking of real estate, and not of politics, says, "A lease for years, renewable and always renewed, gives the tenant an estate without end, and makes him lord of the fee." This sentence is admirably turned, and its rhetoric is above criticism or complaint; but as a legal proposition it is only true when some words, possibly implied by the writer, are clearly expressed. It should be written, "A lease for years, renewable *at the will of the tenant*, and always renewed, gives the tenant an estate without end, and makes him lord of the fee"; and, thus written, its inapplicability to the question under discussion is fully exposed. The tenure of the office of President of the United States is not renewable at the will of the tenant, and therefore the tenant can never become lord of the fee. It is only renewable at the will of the lord of the fee—the people; and, being so renewable only, the fee must ever remain in the lord, however often the lease may be renewed.

But it is not open to doubt that there has been a general disinclination in the American public mind to the election of the same person to the Presidency a third time; and there is as little doubt that that disinclination is less general and less vigorous than it was three years ago. It is, however, as old as the Government. It had its roots in the experience of the colonists. In Europe hereditary power had fostered standing armies, and standing armies had maintained hereditary power. Both were the enemies of personal liberty and popular rights. It was the purpose of the founders of our Government to render standing armies unnecessary, and the possession of hereditary power impossible. If the experience of a century is an adequate test, the end they sought has been attained. They had observed, also, that the possession of power, by virtue of office, for unlimited periods of time, tended to the establishment of dynastic systems and to their recognition by the people. Hence provision was made in all our Constitutions, State and national, for frequent elections in the legislative and executive departments of Government. But these apprehensions, whether wise or not, did not lead the founders of the republic to the adoption of a system which limited the powers of the people or cast a doubt upon their capacity for self-government.

The term of the Presidential office was limited to four years, but the constitutional ability of the people to continue one person in the office through many terms was admitted without limit. If the men who framed the Constitution apprehended evils from a third or even a second election of the same person to the Presidency, they accepted those possible evils in preference to a limitation of the power of the people in the choice of their rulers. The tenure of office is fixed, but the Constitution is silent upon the question whether it is wise or unwise to continue the same person in office for more than one term.

Washington avoided a third term, and his example has had large influence in leading the country to accept the opinion that a contrary policy is fraught with danger to the public liberties. Washington's motives and reasons are not clear. He was, however, no longer young. His best years had been spent in the public service, and he naturally yearned for the peace and quiet of private life. Nor can there be a doubt that, superadded to these personal considerations, was the thought that his example might serve as a restraint in case of the appearance of a popular leader who should seek to subvert the Government through successive elections to the Presidency.

The system of government which Washington and his associates had inaugurated was a novel system. Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, was an experiment. No one could then foresay what their capacity would prove to be in emergencies, or even in quiet times. The power of rulers in dynastic countries was much more absolute a century ago than it now is, and the extent of that power measured the danger to which, in the estimation of our fathers, free peoples were exposed.

Washington's example was set off and made impressive by the phenomenon of a Corsican corporal passing at a bound, as it were, from the ruins of a republic to the throne of an empire, displacing kings and rulers, and founding a family dynasty that has lasted nearly a century, either in power or contending for power.

The experience of Europe gave rise to the opinion in America that it is dangerous to permit the same person to continue in the chief executive office for a long period of time; but the traditionary idea that the danger-line in the Presidential office is the line between the second and third terms, is due to the influence of Washington's example.

Aside from governments in which office is conferred by popular suffrage constitutionally enjoyed and exercised, there are three methods of gaining and holding power:

1. Physical force. 2. The claim of a right to rule, sometimes called the divine right to rule, which is the result of the enjoyment of power in a family for a long period of time. 3. Recognized mental and moral supremacy.

As to the first mode—the establishment of a personal or family government in the United States by physical force—it is to be said that the success of such an undertaking, or even its attempt, is too remote in the logic of events, and too improbable when judged by experience or tested by reason, to warrant argument or to command attention. The destruction of a government is always a possible fact, and no one can predict the consequences; but, if its overthrow is by force, the aggressive actors are parties out of power, and its defense, whether vigorous or weak, is by those in power.

Moreover, it is to be said that the opportunity for a President to seize the Government by force is as great in the first or second term as it can be in the third; and the probability that a man who had not been tempted, or who had not yielded, in the first and second terms would prove faithless in the third, is a view of human nature contrary to all human experience. And there is less prob-

ability that the possession of the Presidency for eight, or twelve, or twenty years would induce even one person in the United States to admit a divine right to rule either in the occupant of the office or his family.

Lastly, if mental or moral supremacy were recognized, that recognition would find expression in the United States by an election through constitutional means.

There are two theories of political action, theories inconsistent with each other, both unsound and both maintained and propagated by the same body of theorists in matters of government. One theory is that men in subordinate places should be continued in those places as long as they are faithful and competent, and this without regard to their political opinions or to the qualifications of contestants; and the other theory is that in the chief place of government, where experience, capacity, and integrity are of more consequence than in every subordinate place, the occupant should be excluded after four or certainly after eight years' experience, however competent, wise, and just he may have proved himself to be. If a public policy were to be based upon reason, the stronger arguments would be found in favor of continuing the President in office as long as his services were acceptable to the people.

In truth, however, there is no field for argument. No man has a right to an office, but it is the right of the people to select men for place who in their opinion are best qualified to do the work they desire to have done.

Where, by the Constitution, appointments are vested in the President, in the courts, or in the heads of department, the same right rests in those constitutional agents of the people; and it becomes their duty to continue men in office when the public interests will be best promoted by so doing, and to remove men from office when their places can be supplied by persons more capable of rendering efficient service. There can be no title to office, and there ought to be no rule of absolute exclusion from office.

In public affairs, as in private life, it is true usually that our apprehensions are not awakened by the dangers that actually menace us. Executive power and the influence of office-holders are the dangers apprehended that now most excite the public mind. It may not be out of place to say that there are less than eighty thousand office-holders under the national Government, and that of these not twenty thousand are appointed by the President directly, the rest receiving their commissions from heads of department and

the courts. This army of office-holders numbers one to about six hundred inhabitants, and there are probably not another eighty thousand intelligent men in the country whose political influence is less than theirs. If they support an administration, they are characterized as sycophants; if they put themselves in opposition to it, they are branded as ingrates; and if they are silent, they are treated as cowards. There is indeed no place in politics for an office-holder by executive appointment where he can exert the influence that is accorded to an independent, energetic private citizen. Office-holders should be free to express their opinions; above all, they should be free from any constraint proceeding from the appointing power; but in no aspect of affairs are they a dangerous class in our politics. And it is a kindred weakness to suppose that the liberties of the country are in danger from executive powers. Executive authority is diminishing in China, Japan, Russia, Germany, and England, and in all those countries the jurisdiction of the legislative branches of government is broader, firmer, and more respected than ever before. With us power tends toward Congress, and in Congress to the House of Representatives. In these four years we have seen the just and proper authority of the President restrained and paralyzed by the House of Representatives, and during the administration of Andrew Johnson his dispositions and purposes were checked and thwarted by the same branch of the Government.

The liberties of the country can not be subverted as long as that branch of the Government which can open and close the Treasury of the nation at its sovereign will is true to its duty; and that branch will remain true to its duty while the constituency is both intelligent and honest. I venture to assert that there is no present danger from the comparatively small body of office-holders, none from Presidential patronage, and nothing of imminent peril, indeed, from the numerous evils marshaled under the term *maladministration*, from which no country is ever entirely free.

With these observations upon questions of minor importance, I turn to the one topic of supreme interest and of real peril—the purpose of the old slaveholding class to subvert the Government by securing the rule of a minority, first in the South, and then consequently in all the affairs of the republic; and I shall then proceed to show how this purpose may be most successfully thwarted by the election of General Grant.

We all know that this undertaking in the end must prove a failure; but the speedy overthrow of the scheme, and the speedy

dissipation of the idea on which the scheme rests, are essential to the reputation and welfare of the country. On the other hand, the prosecution of the scheme is an obstacle to business, a constant peril to the public peace, a direct assault upon the interests of labor in every section, and a menace to free government in all parts of the world. It is a delusion, a criminal delusion, to accept the notion that there can be unbroken peace and continuing prosperity while any number of citizens are, as a public policy of communities and States, deprived of their equal rights.

And it is a delusion not less criminal and even more dangerous to accept the suggestion that the old free States, containing a majority of the people of the country, will peacefully, and through a series of years, submit to the rule of men in the executive and legislative branches of the Government, who take office and wield power through proceedings that are systematically tainted with fraud or crimsoned with innocent blood.

It is clearly established beyond the demands of legal or moral proof that there are persons in the Senate of the United States who have no better right in equity to the places they occupy than they have to seats in the Commons of Great Britain. The same is true of the House of Representatives, and these persons constitute the majority in each branch. Thus has our former indifference to the fortunes of our brethren in the South been visited by a direct penalty upon ourselves.

I proceed now to state our demand of the South, and in that statement I disclose also the evil of which we complain.

Our demand, speaking generally, is, that in all the States of the Union every person who has a right to vote shall be permitted to vote; that his vote shall be counted; that it shall be honestly valued; and that the governments created by the majorities shall be set up and recognized. The contest is upon this proposition, and upon this proposition the contest will be waged until it is accepted, practically, in all parts of the Union. Not from hostility to the South will this contest be carried on; but in regard to the rights of our fellow citizens there and in defense of our rights as citizens of the republic will the contest be prosecuted to the end, whether near or remote. Under the system of suppression and wrong now existing, the vote of a white citizen in South Carolina or Mississippi is, as a fact in government, equal to the votes of three citizens in Massachusetts, New York, or Illinois. Such inequality can not long continue, but, if its long continuance were

possible, it would work the destruction of the Government itself. The issue, then, is a vital one; and, if the ultimate result be not uncertain, then the more important it is to bring the contest to a close speedily. Delay gives birth to hopes that must perish, embitters the contestants, and checks or paralyzes private and public prosperity.

There is not a citizen of the North who is free from responsibility or beyond the reach of this evil. It touches with its malignant hand the humblest laborer and the wealthiest capitalist. The laborer of the South is driven in poverty from his home, and the laborer of the North is cursed with an unnatural and unhealthy competition. Capital loaned or used in the South is without security. It finds no protection either in local justice or in public faith. By the force of events the laboring population of the South is driven into the North, and by the force of the same events the South is closed to the labor and capital of the world. In many aspects the South is the chief sufferer. Even now it approaches the admission that the abolition of slavery was a good, and in twenty years more it will accept the truth that there was no way to prosperity except through justice to the black man.

As States multiply, as population increases, as representative constituencies are enlarged, the power of the individual voter and of the State diminishes. When the population of the Union was but three millions and the States were but thirteen, the voice of Massachusetts in the Senate was as two to twenty-six. In less than a hundred years, two thirds of her power, speaking relatively and numerically, have disappeared. Her vote in the Senate is now only two in seventy-six, or one in thirty-eight.

During the same period, however, the means of communication and of influence have increased even more rapidly than has been the increase of population. Maine and California are nearer to each other than were New Hampshire and Pennsylvania a hundred years ago; and there are now no States so distant from the capital of the country as were South Carolina and Georgia when the Union was formed. The articles of "The Federalist" were delayed through successive weeks before they reached impatient readers in distant parts of the country, while now the news of the morning, the market, the courts, the Congress, is furnished with equal accuracy and fullness in Washington, in Maine, in Texas, in California, and in Oregon. If the power of the individual ballot is less than it once was, the idea behind the ballot has gained a hundred-fold in opportunity for development and influence.

We are now, therefore, more concerned about the idea which directs the ballot than we are about the name, residence, or race of the voter. All opinions and all politics have become local, and all opinions and all politics have become national. Political outrages in Maine, Louisiana, and South Carolina disturb and endanger the political rights of men in every voting precinct and school district of the Union. The sovereignty of the States is not disputed seriously; the supremacy, the necessary, the inevitable, the constitutional supremacy of the nation is everywhere more and more recognized; but there are communities which deny to the General Government the power to protect a citizen of the United States in his political rights against domestic violence, and yet have no scruples about invoking the aid of the Union against yellow fever imported from Havana, or pleuro-pneumonia threatened from Holland or Liverpool.

We are engaged in warm debate over an ancient tradition, whose origin is uncertain and whose value is doubtful; we vex the public ear with discussions touching appointments to office, the dangers of executive patronage, the power of office-holders, the duties on quinine and steel; and yield a quiet submission to the rule of a Senate and House of Representatives whose majorities were secured by the grossest usurpations, made possible only by the perpetration of the bloodiest of crimes.

In fine, public attention and the powers of Government are directed to topics of minor and temporary importance, while the real peril to which the country is exposed is either denied, or its consideration is avoided, or its importance is dwarfed.

If any words of mine can have value in the contest now opening, those words must relate to the issue I thus foreshadow.

The questions which I now treat as relatively unimportant would be worthy of earnest public consideration in ordinary times; but the grave question—the gravest of all questions—now is, *Shall this government be destroyed or subverted permanently by the usurpations of a minority?*

It may be unpleasant to revive recollections of the war, but the war itself is intimately connected with recent events which have all the ear-marks of a powerful and continuing conspiracy. By the prosecution of the war, or as resulting from its successful issue, the Union was saved, slavery was destroyed, the blacks were enfranchised, the representative power of the old slave States was increased, and all by the efforts and concessions of the Republican party. More than this: By the magnanimity of the same party

the authors and leaders of the rebellion were not only relieved from the punishment, and the peril of punishment, due to their crimes, but they were restored to their temporal possessions, and, with few exceptions, to all their political rights. How has this magnanimity been repaid? By the seizure of State after State through bloody scenes of crime and by criminal processes of fraud. Arkansas, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina have been subjugated to the Democratic party, by the perpetration of the basest of crimes. Power thus acquired in those States is perpetuated in the hands of an armed minority by the continual practice of frauds which the majority, intimidated by the recollection of the bloody past, dare not either resist or expose. The conspirators, encouraged by their successes in the old slave States, and warned by the accumulating evidences of an adverse public sentiment in the North, sought, in their desperation, to render their supremacy absolute by the fraudulent seizure of the always free and intelligent State of Maine. There they have met their first defeat, but the processes employed connect the conspiracy in Maine and the conspiracy of the South with as much certainty as we connect the drifting icebergs of the Atlantic with the frozen seas of the north.

The patriotic men of the country are thus brought face to face with a great conspiracy which embraces the entire republic within the theatre of its operations. The central force of that conspiracy is the old slave power. Its purpose is to subjugate the Government to the ideas and policy of the slaveholding class. The chief means by which this policy can be made successful is the entire suppression of the negro vote in the fifteen old slave States. For the time this has been accomplished, and the result is seen in a Democratic Senate and a Democratic House of Representatives. Shall the Presidency also be filled by a Democrat, and by the same means?

This conspiracy is within the Democratic party, and the Democratic party is its ally. It is, therefore, quite unimportant to inquire whether the conspiracy embrace the entire party or not; it is enough that the party is subservient to the conspiracy. The conspiracy triumphs when the party succeeds. The volumes of testimony taken in Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina prove the existence of the conspiracy. They prove, also, that its agents were sometimes White-Leaguers, sometimes Ku-klux, and sometimes Regulators, but that their acts and policy were always the same. As the conspiracy operates within and gives direction to the Democratic party, it is manifest that

the Republican party is the only political organization which has either the disposition or the ability to change the course of events. And it must be admitted that the Republican party enters the contest defying a conspiracy which is already triumphant in the South. Of the fifteen old slave States it has usurped power in six, and suppressed freedom of political action in all the rest. A free vote and an honest count would insure the election of a Republican President and majorities in the Senate and House of Representatives. This vote can not be had, and the Republican party of the North is thereby deprived of the aid of its natural and trustworthy allies in the South. The conspiracy has made the South a unit, and the sole reliance of the Republican party is upon the North. In this exigency that party must nominate a candidate who can command an election, and who, when elected, will possess ability and courage to meet and master the difficulties that are sure to confront him. As it was certain in 1860 that the controlling force in the Democratic party contemplated rebellion, so now, in 1880, it is as certain that the controlling force in the Democratic party contemplates the inauguration of the candidate of that party, whether he is or is not duly elected. The gravity of this contest can not be exaggerated. We know beforehand that the election of the Democratic candidate by honest means is an impossibility; and yet the declaration of his election by the House and the Senate can be averted only by a victory on the part of the Republicans so decisive as to leave no ground for criticism or claim. Such claim is least likely to be made when the Republican party is under the lead of General Grant. General Grant is a man of peace; but his capacity and firmness in defense of the rights and liberties of his country have been so often tested in great exigencies, that no further evidence is required either by friends or enemies.

If it be conceded that the States of the South, where the conspirators have usurped the governments and suppressed the ballot, are to be counted for the Democratic candidate, then the entire burden of the contest is thrown upon the State of New York. Without New York the Republican party can not succeed; with New York the Republican party is sure of success.

The State of New York, in its position, in its population, in its intelligence, in its industries, in its wealth, is the representative American State. The Republicans of that State, appreciating the solemnity of the crisis and the importance of their position, have declared their purpose to support General Grant for the Presidency.

This purpose has not been formed hastily, nor has the expression of it been secured by extraordinary means. Something may be due to leadership, but men in masses do not change their opinions at the dictation of leaders. I place Mr. Conkling among the first of American statesmen, but I should do great injustice to his constituents if I asserted or admitted that they advocate or accept the nomination of General Grant under the influence of his lead. Indeed, not only in New York, but throughout the entire North, the voters, the rank and file of the party, as they are often designated, are more uniformly in favor of General Grant than are the leaders.

They feel, they know, indeed, that every important public interest will be safe in his hands. If the industry of the country can be promoted, he is its friend. If the public credit is assailed, he will stand in its defense. If a dishonest financial policy is proposed, he will not hesitate to resist it. If the lawful authority of the national Government is disputed, he will marshal and use all the resources of that Government for the maintenance of that authority. And if the constitutional rights of citizens are invaded, he will employ every constitutional power for their protection. No doubt other persons proposed as candidates might act in these matters precisely as General Grant would act, but there is no one of them all who can command as great a following. Beyond all others, he represents the military spirit and the patriotic sentiment of the country. Almost to the exclusion of every other, his name is known and revered by the colored men of the South. It may not be possible to redeem a single State from the domination of military rule, but something will be gained if the victims of the usurpation are led to make one serious effort more in defense of their rights. On the other hand, the violators of law in the South fear General Grant more than they fear any one else. To them he is the representative of that power by which the rebellion was overthrown, the Union reëstablished, and slavery abolished. His mastery over great difficulties in the past has taught them the important lesson that he will confront with confidence such difficulties as may arise in the future.

To the friends of law and order the nomination of General Grant is the best security that can now be had for peace and quiet; to the enemies of law and order his nomination means the exercise of power and the administration of justice. Of this they may be assured.

Most men who have been advanced to places of honor and trust have been charged with ambition. General Grant has not escaped

the charge. The ambition to acquire the faculty of honorably serving the public is a virtue ; the ambition to rise to power by the overthrow of the public liberties is a crime. General Grant may fairly claim the virtue, and the suggestion that the crime can be laid at his door is but the grossest calumny. In a public experience of nearly forty years I have known something of public men, and among them all I can not recall one who gave more careful attention to every subject within the sphere of his duty.

It may not be possible for any man to give such assurances of fidelity to his country as to disarm criticism and suppress the spirit of malignity. General Grant has done all that it was possible for him to do, and no one has done more. He entered the service early in the war, and without regard to rank or position. He was never advanced upon his own solicitation. He gave everything he had, including the hazard of his life, to the service of his country. He was placed at the head of our armies by President Lincoln, and at the head of our armies he brought the war to a conclusion. When the hour of victory came he was the trusted leader of a million enthusiastic, trained, veteran warriors, and first of all he suggested and earnestly urged the disbandment of this immense force, and their speedy return to the arts and pursuits of peace. Now, in private life, crowned with every honor which his own or other lands can confer, he neither seeks nor shuns further public service. In the contest going on he takes no part. If by the unsolicited votes of his countrymen he is again called to the Presidency, there ought not to be even one citizen base enough to suggest that he is animated by any purpose inconsistent with the constitutional requirements of the office.

This article is already burdened with the personality of the writer, but, as the evil can not now be remedied, I venture to increase it.

My relations to General Grant are those of sincere friendship ; but, aside from that friendship, I recognize no personal obligation binding me to him. When he tendered me a place in his Cabinet, I declined it definitively ; and it was only when, in peculiar circumstances, a further refusal seemed wholly inconsistent with my duty as a citizen and as a supporter of the Administration, that I accepted office. My position was an independent one, and I can now pass judgment upon General Grant with entire freedom. Pending the election in November last, I spoke at Bunker Hill; and what I then said concerning General Grant I now repeat :

"For the first time since General Grant left the office of President, I speak his name in public, and I do so now because I notice that many persons from whom I did not expect so early a recognition of his character and services have announced that they are disposed to support him for the Presidency in 1880, or indicated the opinion that they expect his nomination and election. I may say, without assuming anything, that I have enjoyed the friendship of General Grant for many years, and I am not anxious that he should be again President of the United States. But I foresee that he is likely to be President. I do not know that the purpose to elect him is universal, but it appears to be very strong among the members of the Republican party, and I am disposed to see why it is that they look to General Grant. The instincts of great bodies of men usually have some good foundation, especially when the public sentiment runs for a long time in one direction, and there is no apparent moving force to the current. General Grant has been around the world. He has been in all the principal countries of Europe and of Asia, and if in those countries severally there has been one person, the ruler perhaps, who has been estimated as a more important personage than General Grant, it appears to be but a repetition of what occurred in Greece when the question was taken among the commanders upon the question who was first and who was second. Each officer voted for himself first, and Themistocles second. If you consider General Grant's career, it is not too much to say that, in a military point of view, he is among the first six men of whom history has preserved any account; and if in future ages there shall be those who claim for him the first place, it will not be an extraordinary thing. Do you consider that he commanded more men for a period of fifteen months than were ever under the command of any other general in ancient or modern times since the days of Xerxes? That the theatre of his operations was as large as the entire scope of Napoleon's campaigns from Egypt to Russia? That he never received a suggestion or an order from a superior in office after he became Lieutenant-General of the Army? That he never held a council of war? That he conducted operations at the same time up and down the Mississippi River, across the continent, along the coast from Annapolis to Galveston, and penetrated the Confederacy at two or three points at the same time? That never, never in the field, where he was in command personally, were the troops under his orders routed, though they were often shattered and afflicted by the severities of

the enemy's attacks? That they were never disheartened, discouraged, demoralized, much less never routed, and that he brought to a successful conclusion the greatest war of modern times? Is it strange, then, that in all countries, even when stripped of the dignities of office and the formalities of power, he everywhere has been recognized as the first personage on the surface of the earth? Under these circumstances, is it strange that the Republican party of this country turns to him? I have said this of General Grant, not because I want him nominated for the Presidency. I think it has responsibilities from which he may well shrink. I do not know that an election will add to his fame. I am sure it will not increase his happiness. But there have been times when even in Massachusetts, and in Republican assemblies, it was not easy to represent General Grant as he is—a man of imperturbable spirit, full of patriotism, animated by a plain and loving sense of justice, and anxious—more anxious, perhaps, than almost any other American citizen—for the perpetuity of our institutions, for the preservation of our national honor, and for the glory and prosperity of his country."

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

THE IRISH LAND QUESTION.

So much light has been already thrown on the land question in Ireland, by the combined exertions of the New York daily press and the Irish landlords, that this brief article might seem almost superfluous. It sometimes happens, however, that the light thrown on a subject is *colored* to suit the chromatic tastes of the illuminator. I propose, in writing this article, to bring the plain daylight of fact to bear on the question under consideration.

A gentleman of great intelligence told me, a short time ago, that if he were an Irishman he would not consent for one day to live under British misrule, and that he thought the only remedy for Ireland was to transport the whole Irish nation bodily over here.

Naturally, I appreciated the compliment this gentleman paid us, in wishing to have the whole "scot and lot" of us brought over to America. I could not, however, agree with him, either as to the practicability or the advisability of his suggestion. If I thought there was no hope of accomplishing the reforms we desire, then I should say: Yes, let them come over here. They are not able to make themselves a nation, and they would best be merged into another race which *has* known how to win its nationality.

Fortunately, I have as yet seen no reason to believe that the Irish are incapable of gaining eventually all the reforms they desire, even the last and noblest one of all, the restoration of their national autonomy.

Let us first look at emigration in its practical and then in its sentimental bearings. It is, of course, quite impossible to transport five millions of people in a body to America. But what are the practical effects of emigration as exemplified in Ireland after the famine of '47?

The first effect is the throwing out of cultivation of vast areas of land. The landlords turn the farms into pastures, and raise cattle and sheep for export to England; the money they receive they

spend for the most part outside the country. You roam over miles and miles of fertile land, or land that might be made fertile, without seeing a house or a human being. Now, facts have shown that the system of turning all the fertile lands of Ireland into grazing-fields has failed in the very object for which it was instituted. The amount of cattle and sheep raised in Ireland has, of late years, been steadily decreasing, as well as the amount of cereal crops. The reason lies close at hand: Ireland is a damp country, and, in many parts, the soil holds rain like a cup. When kept properly drained, there is no land in the world more fertile than the great uninhabited grazing-plains of Ireland; but, left as they are year after year, undrained and unfertilized, unsown with new grass-seed, quite neglected, in fact, every farmer in America will understand that they must gradually become unfit for grazing. The consequence is, that recently less cattle have been raised every year, and that the proportion of waste land increases instead of diminishing.

The second effect of the emigration of 1848 has been, strange to say, to increase the competition for land. The landlords took advantage of the emigration to effect immense clearances of land, which have never since been put under cultivation. Those of the peasantry who did not emigrate were driven to the bogs and the barren hillsides. In course of time the population naturally increased; with this increase came greater competition for land; but the fertile lands of the country were no longer open to competitors. The area of ground left to agriculturists was greatly lessened, and the competition, of course, became fiercer than ever, though the chances of the peasant to better his condition by renting land were also fewer than ever, owing to the inferior quality of the land.

The effect of emigration on wages and the prices of produce, as compared with rents, has been peculiar. When I was a child, twenty-five years ago, the day-laborer's wages averaged from six to nine shillings a week. Now they average from seven to ten. The prices of produce have risen in a slightly larger proportion, but rents of land have risen a hundred, two hundred, and in some cases five hundred per cent. This is an unnatural condition of things, and is owing, I believe, to general under-population of the country, taken as a whole, with over-population in spots. The industries of the country have been rendered stagnant by the constant drain of able-bodied labor to the United States and elsewhere, and so wages have risen but little. The supply of labor is very small in Ireland, but the demand is very small also, and so labor is cheap, though scarce.

Here is an artificial state which must obviously have been brought about by some artificial cause. We consider that forced emigration is this cause.

The practical worthlessness of emigration as a permanent remedy has been thoroughly proved by the history of Ireland from '48 to '80. A certain amount of the population was removed by emigration, and a steady flow of emigration, on a smaller scale, has been going on ever since. Still, here we are, in pretty much the same position as we were in '46. It needs only one more bad harvest to produce a famine like that of '47. What good, then, I ask, has all our emigration done us? Supposing there should be a bad harvest next autumn, and that the result should be the death or emigration of three millions of people. Would it benefit the two millions left behind? Would it raise the wages of labor, with no industries to give employment to labor? Would it lower the rents of the tenants, with still larger quantities of land turned into sheep-walks? Or, again, even supposing that the peasantry were temporarily benefited by the departure of so many competitors, what is to prevent the two millions increasing in the course of nature till another famine came along to scatter them again to the winds? From all this it is plain that emigration, unaccompanied by other remedies, only causes a ceaseless repetition of the same vicious circle of events in Ireland.

To prove that Ireland is as a whole immensely under-populated, I will give some comparisons between its acreage and population and those of other countries where a peasant proprietary prevails, and where the peasants are, as a rule, comfortable and contented.

Ireland has an area of 20,819,829 statute acres, or 31,874 square miles. She has a population of 5,411,416. Guernsey (including adjacent islands), which is entirely divided up into small agricultural holdings, and which is quite as damp and rainy as Ireland, has an area of 19,605 statute acres, and a population of 33,969. Ireland has thus, in rough numbers, a population of one person to every four acres, while Guernsey has a population of nearly two persons to every acre. Yet Guernsey is prosperous, and Ireland is miserable. Guernsey's peasants are proprietors; Ireland's peasants are tenants-at-will. If Ireland had a population in proportion to that of Guernsey, she would have 45,000,000 inhabitants.

Germany has an area in English square miles of 212,091; a population of 41,058,641, giving a density of population per square mile of 193, while that of Ireland is only 169.

France has an area of 201,900 English square miles, and a population of 36,102,921, or an average of about 178 to the square mile. The land is more subdivided in France than in any other country. The cultivated part of it consists of about 90,000,000 acres. This is divided into 5,550,000 properties. Of these, the properties averaging 600 acres number 50,000 ; those averaging 60 acres 500,000 ; while there are 5,000,000 holdings under six acres. The peasants are well off, conservative, and contented, though a hundred years ago they were just the reverse ; and nobody has ever thought of saying that France is over-populated.

Belgium has an area of 11,267 English square miles, and a population of 5,087,105, or 451 persons to the square mile.

Italy has an area of 112,677 English square miles, and a population of 26,796,253, being 237 inhabitants to the square mile. The great mass of the people of Italy are agriculturists.

The Netherlands have an area of 20,527 square miles, and a population of 3,674,402, or 179 to the square mile.

Switzerland has an area of 15,233 English square miles, and a population of 2,669,147, giving a density of 175 per square mile. The soil of Switzerland is very equally divided among the people, only about half a million of the total population owning no land.

We see that in every instance these countries are more densely populated than Ireland, yet there is no cry of over-population, and the emigration from them, except in the case of Germany, is slight. In Germany it is not the land system that causes emigration, but the conscription and the attractions afforded by the free institutions of America.

Writing in 1836, Mr. N. W. Senior, in order to show that the tendency of population, in all countries, where the opposite is not produced by unnatural laws, is to increase with *less* rapidity than the means of subsistence—a thesis altogether opposed to the false idea of Malthus—speaks thus : "It is obvious that, if the present state of the world, compared with its state at our earliest records, be one of relative poverty, the tendency of population to increase more rapidly than subsistence must be admitted. . . . If its means of subsistence have increased much, more than the number of its inhabitants, it is clear not only that the proposition is false, but that the contrary proposition is true, and that the means of subsistence have a natural tendency to increase faster than population. Now, what is the picture presented by the earliest records of those nations which are now civilized, or, which is the same, what is now the state of savage nations? A state of habitual poverty and occa-

sional famine. *A scanty population, but still scantier means of subsistence.* . . . But, if a single country can now be found, in which there is now less poverty than is universal in a savage state, it must be true that, under the circumstances in which that country has been placed, the means of subsistence have a greater tendency to increase than the population. Now, this is the case in every civilized country. In our own early history, famines, and pestilences, the consequences of famine, constantly occur. At present, though our numbers are trebled or quadrupled, they are unheard of."

Mr. Senior adds, farther on: "It may be generally stated that all that degrades the character or diminishes the productive power of a people tends to diminish the proportion of subsistence to population, and *vice versa;* and, consequently, that a population increasing more rapidly than the means of subsistence is, generally speaking, a symptom of *misgovernment*, indicative of deeper-seated evils, of which it is only one of the results." *

It will be remarked here how well Mr. Senior's description of a "savage country" applies to Ireland: "A state of habitual poverty and occasional famine"—a "scanty population, and still scantier means of subsistence." What a glory it is to England that the country she has ruled for five hundred years, and that has been united to her in the closest bonds for eighty years, should be in this condition!

Sir Robert Kane, in his "Industrial Resources of Ireland," shows that, even taking Ireland in her present condition, without manufactures or industries, she could support from thirty to thirty-five millions of inhabitants, provided the cultivators of the soil had sufficient inducement held out to them to adopt the best methods of farming—that is, provided they were assured that the fruits of their increased labor would not be only increased rents.

Father Thébaud, alluding to this statement of Sir Robert Kane's, says, in his admirable work on "The Irish Race," written in 1873: "It is clear, therefore, that the pretended surplus population of Ireland is, as Sir Robert Kane says, a piece of pure imagination, perfectly ideal, and that it is its unequal and not its aggregate amount which is to be deplored."

After quoting freely from M. Gustave de Beaumont's work on Ireland in support of this opinion, Father Thébaud goes on to say: "The celebrated French writer had certainly pointed out what were the real causes of the distress in Ireland. He had shown how false were the pretended causes then assigned for it by Englishmen; he

* "Political Economy," p. 148.

touched the key-note—the land-tenure; and, as a well-wisher to Ireland, deprecating any new calamities, he was firmly opposed to those various fancy projects" of emigration *en masse*, suggested by numerous British writers, many of whom, such as the editors of the London "Times," were induced to promulgate them by their deep hatred for the old race, which led them to represent, under a modern garb, the old Norman and Puritan philanthropic desires of rooting out and sweeping off the Irish from the land.

"The projects of emigration, therefore," he says, "*were most eagerly advanced by the enemies of the Irish*, their real friends being, on the whole, opposed to the movement at the time. But the true causes of Irish misery being either unseen or unappreciated, or, if known, studiously fostered, with a view to bringing about the one aim which ran all through the English policy, of emptying the island and destroying the race, eventually it did actually become a dire necessity for the people to fly."

These remarks, made in reference to the famine of '48, are just as applicable now. The true friends of Ireland will be always opposed to forced emigration, and will therefore devote their efforts to removing the causes of this emigration, rather than to making a desert of their country by promoting it. Why, too, should Ireland be the only struggling nationality in the world to which this preposterous suggestion of an emigration *en masse* should have been made?

It is, in fact, not an emigration from Ireland to America, but an emigration from the barren hills of Connaught to the fertile lands of Leinster and Munster that we want. The old cry in Cromwellian days, "To hell or Connaught!" has been virtually the cry ever since in Ireland. The landlords have been occupied, without ceasing, in driving the peasantry from the best parts to the worst parts of the country. One of our principal aims is to cause a return movement, and this can only be produced by causing large quantities of grazing-land, in the eastern and middle counties, to be thrown upon the market, and by facilitating the purchase of it by the western peasantry.

One of the natural effects of the depopulating of fertile parts, and the overcrowding of barren parts, which prevail in Ireland, is a fictitious value for agricultural land. The increased fierceness of competition, already alluded to as arising from this unnatural arrangement, is the cause. But the fierce competition is made still fiercer by the abnormal state of the trades and manufactures of Ireland. The condition of the agricultural classes and the condi-

tion of the manufacturing ones react mutually on each other. It may, I think, be laid down as an axiom that the manufacturing industries of a country can not be flourishing when agriculture is depressed. In the same way stagnation of the manufacturing interests injures the agricultural classes. Most of the prohibitions on Irish industries have been removed, and laudable attempts are being made by well-meaning persons to revive some of them. It is, however, useless to attempt to revive manufactures in Ireland, unless one of two conditions be fulfilled. Either the agricultural system must be in a free, wholesome, and natural condition, or immense sums of money must be spent by the Imperial Government in fostering Irish industries of all kinds. As regards agriculture, a tenant-at-will system, with rents paid in cash, and the loss through bad harvests, etc., falling on the tenant alone, is the least free and the least wholesome of all systems. We can not, therefore, look for any permanent improvement in Irish industries until the soil of the country has been made free, or until England has restored to Ireland all the money of which she has robbed her in suppressing her trade. On the other hand, as long as manufactures are drooping, we can not expect any diminution in the tremendous competition for land.

Here, therefore, we find two causes coöperating to impoverish Ireland. It is undoubtedly the duty of the English Government to foster, by liberal pecuniary aid, the industries it so long suppressed. The English Government has never done this, and is not likely to do it. On the contrary, for every six million pounds sterling that it takes out of Ireland in revenue, it returns but four million and a half. If the Government did its duty, and extended to Ireland the financial help in her industries which it owes her as a mere debt of honesty, the effect on agricultural interests would show itself at once. The immense number of cottier tenants in the west who cultivate one or two acres of sterile ground, and pay their rents by going over to England to work in the spring and autumn, leaving their women to attend to their own little patches, would be drawn off this land, which in England would rent at about one shilling the acre, but which in Ireland rents all the way from five shillings to ten shillings the acre, and their labor would be directed into channels profitable to Ireland. The artificially high rents of these barren mountain holdings would then fall to their proper level.

Again, a change in the land laws, such as an act compelling the sale on reasonable terms of lands held by absentees, or by corpora-

tions, would soon react most favorably on Irish manufactures, by increasing the buying power of the agricultural classes, who form nearly two thirds of the population. In either case, however, England would have to supply the money. She would have to put her hands in her own pockets and retransfer to Ireland the money she has stolen from her. Here is England's dilemma. She must give money to help Irish industries, or she must give money to reform Ireland's land-tenure. It is very plain that she will do neither, if she can help it. As time goes by, however, it may be possible to bring such gentle extraneous pressure to bear upon her as may materially alter her present intentions.

I said above that the expropriation of absentees and of corporations would have a most beneficial effect on Irish trade. I believe no system of land reform will be of much use to Ireland which does not include the expropriation of both these classes of owners.

There is no use in any scheme that has been proposed, unless such colossal bloodsuckers as these absentee landlords and corporations be summarily abolished. Here is a drain of £6,000,000 going on every year which, if it existed in America in the same proportion to the population, would amount to the sum of £54,000,000, or, in round numbers, $270,000,000. It would be impossible for the Irish Land-Leaguers to entertain the idea of any programme that did not at any rate disestablish the absentee landlord and the absentee corporation. We therefore demand first the expropriation of the absentees. Resident corporations and non-improving resident landlords might follow in due order. By that time the rest of the landlords might have become willing to sell, and no further compulsion might be needed.

Having thus touched generally upon two or three of the principal points connected with the land-tenure, I should like to go a little into the details of the agitation commenced over a year ago by the Land League. The objects of the League, as announced at the public meeting at which it was first formed, are: 1. To promote organization among the tenant farmers; 2. To defend those threatened with eviction for refusing to pay extortionate rents; 3. To facilitate the working of the Bright clauses of the Land Act; 4. To obtain such a reform of the laws relating to land as will enable every tenant to become the owner of his holding, by paying a fair rent for a limited number of years. "It only remains, then," says O'Connor Power, in his article on the "Land Agitation," in the "Nineteenth Century," for December, 1879, "to push forward with

the utmost energy those minor reforms framed to mitigate the evils of the existing system, such as the abolition of all artificial restrictions on the sale and transfer of land, the abolition of the laws of primogeniture and entail, the more efficient working of the Bright clauses of the Land Act, and the reclamation and distribution of the waste lands, while keeping steadily in view the main object of emancipating the entire agricultural population from the power of landlordism."

This "main object," with which O'Connor Power winds up, the Land-Leaguers contemplate bringing about in much the same manner as the emancipation of the Prussian peasantry was brought about by Hardenberg. Hardenberg had to abolish feudalism and landlordism both at one blow. This he did by the famous edict of 1811, entitled "An Edict for the Regulation of the Relations between Landlord and Tenant." In the preamble to this edict the King of Prussia uses the following remarkable words:

"We, Frederick William, by the grace of God King of Prussia, having convinced ourselves both by personal experience in our own domains and by that of many lords of manors of the great advantages which have accrued both to the lord and to the peasant by the transformation of peasant-holdings into property, and the commutation of the rents on the basis of a fair indemnity, and having consulted in regard to this weighty matter experienced farmers, ordain and decree as follows:

"That all tenants of hereditary holdings, whatever the size of the holdings, shall by the present edict become the proprietors of their holdings after paying to the landlord the indemnity fixed by this edict."

The peasant was made absolute proprietor of two thirds of his holding, and the other third was given over to the landlord as indemnity for all the dues, services, etc., which under the feudal system the lord was entitled to. For the other two thirds of the land, the Government compensated the lord by issuing to him bonds bearing four per cent. interest; the tenants repaid the state the principal and interest of these bonds by annual installments of five per cent., extending over forty-one years, after which all payments ceased.

Mr. Kay, in his "Social Condition of England and Europe," writes: "Before the Prussian Government was induced to try the great experiment of enabling the peasants to obtain land, and of creating a great class of peasant proprietors, it endeavored to improve the condition of agriculture throughout the kingdom, by advancing great sums of money to the great landed proprietors"—

similarly to what the English Government is doing now in making large loans to the Irish land-owners, to improve their estates and carry on works with—"with the view of enabling them to introduce better systems of farming upon their lands. Reichsperger says: 'Frederick II. gave away very considerable sums of money for the encouragement of agriculture. According to the Minister, Von Stertzberg, between the years of 1763 and 1786, the sums advanced in this manner amounted to 24,399,838 thalers.' 'And yet,' says Thaer, 'these sums of money have in reality done no good, but have often, indeed, been most injurious in their effects.'"

"It was by introducing the system of small properties," says Mr. Kay, on page 91 of vol. i. of the same work, "that the great ministers of Prussia, Stein and Hardenberg, raised the social condition of the peasants of Prussia and Prussian Poland, from a state previously analogous to that of the Irish peasantry in the present day, to their present happy and flourishing condition.

"There can be no doubt," he continues, "that five acres, the property of an intelligent peasant, who farms it himself, in a country where the peasants have learned to farm, will always produce much more per acre than an equal number of acres will do when farmed by a mere leasehold tenant."

Mr. Kay, after enumerating the benefits resulting from the establishment of a peasant proprietorship, makes the following just and weighty observations on the Irish problem: "Until we can find," says he, "an Irish Stein or an Irish Hardenberg, who will grant the Irish people free trade in land, by preventing its being tied up by settlements, and who will interest the peasants and farmers of Ireland in preserving the public tranquillity and in improving the agriculture of the country, we shall have done *nothing*, *positively nothing*, for Ireland." I commend this last statement to the special attention of Mr. Gladstone.

I have said thus much to show the direction of the objects and ideas of the Land-Leaguers. I must now add that the cause which most immediately gave birth to the Land League, as it at present stands, was the refusal of the majority of Irish landlords to reduce their rents, spite of the rapidly approaching famine.

The English landlords, always less grasping than Irish landlords, had quietly reduced their rents in England all round, months before, thus avoiding any complications with their tenants. Not so the Irish landlords. They saw, of course, as well as the English ones did, that the harvest would be a failure, but, having always

been accustomed to take the last pound of flesh, they thought they could do it again. This time, however, thanks to the manly attitude taken by the tenants, they have been disappointed.

It was well known in Ireland, last July, that a famine was inevitable. Members of Parliament dinned it into the ears of the Government. Professors of political economy declared it could not fail to come. As time went on, the pitiless rains destroyed the last faint hopes of saving at least something. Then it was that we asked the landlords what they intended to do. The answer was not a tardy one. They intended to collect their rents as usual, and, if the people could not pay, to evict.

Undoubtedly, if they had been left to work their own sweet will, if the tenant-farmers had not been organized for the purpose of self-preservation, their programme—their foolish, short-sighted programme, looking at it merely from the point of view of their own interests—would have been carried out. On the part of the people, there would have been a resort to assassination; some landlords, agents, and bailiffs would probably have been shot; the Irish would have been overwhelmed with torrents of denunciation, and an immense tide of emigration would have already set in, sweeping away all the best and most vigorous of our people; while the scenes of starvation in Ireland itself, bad as they are, would have been intensified a hundred-fold.

If these disasters have been in a great measure averted, we think we can claim that it has been owing, directly and indirectly, to the Land League. This body has, from the beginning, taken up the position that, with the certain prospect of famine before him, the duty of the tenant was first to preserve the lives of himself and his family. It was, therefore, necessary for him to keep as much money as would support him and his family till the next harvest, and only to pay to the landlord, as rent, what he had left after doing so.

After teaching the tenant that he must save his own life and the lives of his children, the next object of the Land League was to show him how to do this. Its advice to the farmer, "Keep a firm grip on your homestead," has become proverbial. How did it propose that the farmer should obey?

The League calculated on the landlords at last perceiving that their best chances lay in keeping their tenants, even at half rents, rather than in evicting them, and going into the unprofitable business of grazing; for, not being able to get any tenants to fill the places of those evicted, that was the only resource left them.

The action of such a large majority of landlords, in reducing their rents, *after* the League had been formed, and the system of passive resistance fairly established, shows that they did finally recognize the situation, and that they determined to make the best of it.

In fact, American competition has entirely altered the channel of landlord interests. It does not pay the Irish landlord any longer to fill the places of his tenants with cattle ; and, as American competition increases, and grazing-land in Ireland deteriorates from neglect, the cattle-raising business will soon scarcely pay expenses. It is, therefore, rather political motives than pecuniary ones that make a certain number of Irish landlords, who are also Tory politicians, anxious for the emigration of their tenantry. The next general election is imminent, and if the emigration of a sufficient number of electors of Nationalistic politics to insure a Tory victory could be brought about, the Irish Conservative landlord would willingly submit to temporary financial loss. Emigration, they know, would injure their pockets for the time being, but they think it would eventually be their salvation, by eliminating from the country all the young, fiery element which will not lie down quietly under misery. It will be observed that, in all the offers made by Irish landlords to send emigrants over here—if their passage-tickets be paid by benevolent Americans—they do not offer to send children or old people, but young men and women, the brain, blood, and sinew of the country, the very people who, under natural conditions, would be considered the greatest possible loss to any country.

The Land League saw through this design, and defeated it by their advice to the people to resist being compelled to emigrate. It told them to refuse to pay extortionate rents—that is, rents they could not pay and at the same time feed their families ; it told them to refuse to leave their homes unless forcibly ejected, so that winter might not find them without a shelter to their heads ; and it told them to refuse to rent farms from which other tenants had been evicted. By compliance with this advice twelve millions of dollars have been kept in the pockets of the tenantry, and the famine has been diminished by that amount. The simple piece of advice, "Keep a good grip on your homesteads," has thus done more in staving off the famine than all the relief funds put together. It has also saved the lives of landlords and agents ; it has roused the people to a true sense of the power they can wield by comparatively

peaceable means ; it has brought many landlords to their senses ; it will end, we believe, by bringing them all to their senses. Finally, it has brought the two greatest statesmen of England, Gladstone and John Bright, to a perception of how much yet remains to be done to Ireland. And not only these two, but innumerable minor thinkers now acknowledge that an immense deal must yet be done before Ireland can be satisfied.

It is useless to say that telling the tenants to pay no rents in a famine year, unless they get a sufficient reduction to enable them to live, is communistic and revolutionary. It is no more communistic than to compel the owner of a private hoard of provisions on board a wreck to share it with his starving companions. The preservation of property is secondary to the preservation of life. Where a whole community is in danger from the selfish action of a small minority, this axiom applies with full force.

An able letter that appeared a short time ago, in the "Boston Globe," on the subject of the compulsory expropriation of the landlords of Prince Edward's Island, with the full consent of her British Majesty, furnishes us here with an apt illustration, more recent than the action of Hardenberg. Prince Edward's Island is not a very large place, but it is the *principle* that weighs, not the size of the country.

"In 1875," says the writer, "the Legislature of Prince Edward's Island passed an act compelling the landlords of that province to sell their estates to their tenants, upon 'terms just and equitable to the tenants, as well as to the proprietors.' This act received the royal and formal assent of her Majesty, through her representative, the Governor-General of Canada, and under its provisions the value of the land was irrevocably settled, and the landlord was paid the price set upon it by the commission. . . . For a century the province of Prince Edward's Island was under the vicious system of landlordism. . . . The evil, as in the case of Ireland, originated with the Imperial Government ; and it, too, was responsible for the continuance of the evil. Nearly the whole island, we are told, was alienated in one day by the Crown, in very large grants, chiefly to absentees, just as millions of acres in Ireland were taken from the rightful owners and given to the followers of Cromwell and others. The people of the island never admitted the rights of the proprietors to hold the land, and they kept up the agitation of the land question from the day it was originally granted in 1767. No means were left untried to get rid of the incubus. Petition after petition

was laid at the foot of the throne. The people met in masses, and prayed for relief ; but the official ear was deaf, though always open to the complaints and representations of landholders and their satellites, who were ever sensitive to their imaginary rights, but totally oblivious of the groans of an oppressed people." So similar was their condition to that of the people of Ireland, that it was seriously proposed at one time to have the name of the island changed to that of "New Ireland." "Frequently, as in Ireland to-day, the people forcibly resisted the collection of rents ; and on one occasion troops were transported to the island to suppress the disturbance. Thus, for a century almost, did the struggling people protest against the wrongs under which they were suffering, . . . the landlords frustrated every attempt at redress. . . . But the end came"— the compulsory land-purchase act of 1875.

Leaving the subject of the temporary remedies which the agitation of the Land League has procured for Ireland's distress, we will now examine the permanent remedy which the League desires to apply.

This, in brief, is that the Government should lend money to the farmers at low interest, to be repaid by installments extending over a period of thirty-five years, to enable them to buy up their farms.

Mr. Bright's plan for creating a peasant proprietary is good, so far as it goes, but it does not go far enough to be of any use except to quite a small section of the Irish peasantry. He falls into the same mistakes as he made in the Land Act clauses. To prove this statement, the best thing I can do is to examine the results of these Bright clauses, and endeavor to point out how they have failed.

Parts second and third of the Land Act of 1870 deal with the sale of land to the occupying tenants, and contain the provisions commonly known as the Bright clauses. Part second contains provisions intended to meet the case of the sale of individual holdings to the occupiers by mutual agreement between landlord and tenant. These clauses empower a landlord, being only a tenant for life or other limited owner, to agree with any tenant for the sale of his holding, and then, with the assistance of the Landed Estates Court, to give the tenant an absolute conveyance in fee simple. Part third deals with the purchase by tenants of their holdings, where the entire estate has been ordered to be sold in the Landed Estates Court. Section 45 provides that, when an estate has been thus ordered to be sold, the Board of Works may advance, to any tenant desirous of purchasing his holding, a sum not exceeding two thirds of the purchase-money of the holding. The Board is to

take a charge for the money so advanced on this purchased land in the form of an annuity equal to five per cent. on the sum advanced, which annuity pays off principal and interest in thirty-five years. Then, by section 46 it is provided that, on the sale of entire estates by the Court, the Court shall, "as far as is consistent with the interests of the persons interested in the estates, or the purchase-money thereof, afford, by the formation of lots for sale or otherwise, all reasonable facilities to occupying tenants desirous of purchasing their holdings." The second part of the act, dealing with the sale of individual holdings in pursuance of agreement originating outside of the Court, has proved wholly inoperative. One of the chief reasons is, that the cost of investigating the title to and generally of selling one holding in the Landed Estates Court is practically the same as the cost of selling the entire estate. This cost, where the entire estate is sold, generally forms only a small percentage on the amount of the purchase-money; but, where a single small holding is sold by itself, the cost is simply ruinous. This renders it practically impossible for individual tenants of small farms to purchase their holdings under the provisions of part second.

Part third is not so open to this objection as to costs, since it only deals with cases where entire estates are sold. It has been taken advantage of in a few isolated cases; but, having regard to the great number of estates which have been sold in the Landed Estates Court since the passing of the Land Act, and to the very few instances in which the provisions of part third have been availed of, they also may be said to have proved a decided failure. The causes of this failure are mainly the following, viz.: 1. The construction put by the judges of the Landed Estates Court upon the clause directing them to afford facilities to tenants anxious to purchase, by dividing the property into lots, etc.; 2. The obstruction offered to the working of the clauses by landlord owners; and 3. The fact of the advance by the Board to tenants being limited to two thirds of the purchase-money.

1. In construing section 46 of the act, the judges of the Landed Estates Court held that they were bound to regard first the interest of the owner and his incumbrances, and they declined to divide the property into lots for the tenants when the doing so might in any wise prejudice the sale of the whole. For example, suppose that some of the tenants desired to buy their holdings, and the rest did not. In such cases, it was urged by the landlords that if the estate were divided into lots so as to suit the tenants who

wished to buy their farms, this would leave an irregular remnant to dispose of, with the possible result of the sale realizing less than if the entire estate were sold together. The Court held in favor of the landlords, with the result that section 46 was practically rendered inoperative, except in the very rare case where *all* the tenants were in a position to buy.

2. But, even where all the tenants were able and willing to buy, and bid the highest price, it sometimes happened that the landlord was still averse to allowing them to purchase. The Irish landowners are a privileged and exclusive class. The holding of large estates carries with it certain privileges and social advantages which have no parallel in America. The English land laws bear strong evidence of the anxiety of the land-owning aristocracy to prevent that breaking up of estates which would destroy their class ascendancy. It is, therefore, but natural that the Irish landlords should obstruct any provisions having for their object the substitution of a system of peasant proprietors for the present feudal system of land-tenure. The most remarkable instance of this obstruction occurred in the well-known Harene Estate case. When the estate was put up for sale in court, two gentlemen acting on behalf of the tenants offered £81,500 for the entire estate. A neighboring landlord offered £81,000. The owner preferred to sell to one of his own class, even at the sacrifice of £500. The Landed Estates Court Judge, however, held that, under the Bright clauses of the act, he had power to give the tenants a preference, provided the owner did not thereby sustain any pecuniary loss. The Judge, therefore, declared the trustees for the tenants to be the purchasers of the estate. The case was taken to the Appeal Court and there the decision of the Landed Estates Court Judge was reversed. The tenants tried to appeal to the House of Lords, but their appeal was dismissed upon a technical ground.

3. Owing, in the main, to the system of land laws under which they live, the small farmers of Ireland have not, as a rule, been able to put by money. It might often happen that a tenant would be anxious to purchase his holding, and both able and willing to pay off the purchase-money by annual installments extending over a sufficiently long period, and yet might not be able to pay down immediately as large a sum as one third of the purchase-money. In such cases, the Government, if satisfied of the respectability and industry of the tenant, would be safe in advancing three fourths, or four fifths, or the whole of the purchase-money, taking the repayment

by installments in the manner provided by the Bright clauses. The certainty of being undisturbed while the installments were paid, and the prospect of becoming absolute owner after a certain number of years, would stimulate the prospective proprietor to extraordinary efforts to pay the installments. He would have a fixed sum to pay, instead of a sum that could be raised any time at the caprice of his landlord, and he would feel that he was working for himself and not merely to make rent for his landlord. The success, too, of the act which made the tenants of the Irish Church lands proprietors of their farms, has been as remarkable as the failure of the Bright clauses. About four fifths of the entire number of holdings sold have been purchased by the occupiers, and interest and installments have been regularly paid during the hard times. This instance of the Church-land sales is valuable as showing that the sense of security and the prospect of ownership have the same effect upon the Irish peasant as they have been proved to exercise upon the peasantry of France and other European countries. Indeed, one should have thought that this might fairly have been assumed without proof, yet it has been vigorously denied by the Irish landlords. From the statements contained in the letters of Mr. Kavanagh, Lord Dunraven, and others, it would seem as though the Irish peasants were a very abnormal race. It would seem that the landlords would be quite willing to have a system of peasant proprietors in Ireland, if they thought it would do any good. But they are quite sure it would not do any good. The cause of the evil is the character of the people, the climate, the soil, the Gulf Stream, overpopulation, anything, in fact, except the land laws. According to these gentlemen, the Irish peasant must be of a very generous nature indeed. He is just as willing to work for his landlord as for himself. He alone is willing to work as hard when he knows that he is liable at any moment to be deprived of the fruits of his industry by an increase of rent as when he knows that he is certain to enjoy those fruits himself. There can, perhaps, be no stronger evidence of the weakness of the landlord case than the fact that the champions of landlordism have been obliged to have recourse to such arguments as these.

Having given this brief sketch of the Bright clauses, and the reasons that have made them a failure, I would point out certain remedies that at least would make them workable, though these remedies would by no means be an adequate settlement of the Irish land question :

1. A Board of Commissioners should be established in Dublin, whose duty it would be to buy entire estates in the Landed Estates Court, and then take their own time to sell these estates in lots to the occupying tenants.

2. The Judge of the Landed Estates Court should be empowered to sell the estate to the Board, notwithstanding any objection by the owner, not only when they bid the highest price, but also when they bid as high a price as any other bidder.

3. Provision should be made for advancing to the tenants a sum not to exceed (say) five sixths of the purchase-money to be paid by them, such advance to be repaid by them in installments, in a manner similar to that provided by the Bright clauses.

It will be seen, by the foregoing examination of the Bright clauses, that the same errors which made them abortive have been incorporated by John Bright in his present scheme for establishing a peasant proprietary. He does not make it compulsory on any landlords except the English corporations to sell their lands to their tenants, and he makes no provision for advancing the whole of the purchase-money to those tenants who, from causes beyond their control, are unable to pay down in a lump the one fourth purchase-money which his scheme would oblige them to pay. He says in his very admirable speech at Manchester: "Well, then, remember that all these tenants, having all these traditions, are flocking about the country, that they are all tenants-at-will nearly, that they are subject to the fiercest competition for land, and that there is no other industry for them except in the north of Ireland, in the linen country. There is no other industry for them, or almost none, and therefore they struggle for the bit of land they hold as being their only chance of living." And yet he proposes that these poverty-stricken, famine-stricken people should be compelled to pay down in a lump one fourth of the entire purchase-money of their holdings! "If a farmer rents a holding worth £400," he says, "let the Government advance him £300, and let him pay down the remaining £100." But where, in the name of common sense, is the average Connaught or Munster farmer, crippled by season after season of hard times, high rents, and low prices for farm produce, to find this £100, unless he borrows it at usurious interest? No; Mr. Bright must go two steps further, before the Irish can accept his plan, excellent as the principle of it is. He must make it compulsory on certain classes of landlords, already specified, and including by far the greater portion of the landlords of the country, to sell to their

tenants; and he must make provision for advancing to the tenant, who has been unable to save enough to pay his one fourth of the purchase-money, the *whole* of the purchase-money, if need be.

While criticising Mr. Bright's clauses and his present scheme, we desire to pay all due honor to him for his great liberal-mindedness and impartiality toward Ireland, and his evident intense desire to do her justice. To the majority of the Radical party in England we would give the same praise. Their conduct and aims stand out in specially strong contrast to the villainous schemes of the Tory party as regards Ireland, especially the present scheme of the Tory Government to create a famine next year by withholding the relief of public works from the people until the time for the spring work comes, when the Government calculates on the farmers being compelled by necessity to neglect the plowing and seeding of their farms in order to earn enough to keep body and soul together by laboring on these public works.

It may seem strange to Americans that England should prefer to keep Ireland poor and miserable, rather than to make her prosperous. But Ireland prosperous would mean Ireland populous and strong; and Ireland populous and strong would mean a great nation by no means satisfied to remain a mere province of England, governed by an English Parliament. Therefore, though England would find such a splendid market for her goods in Ireland, if she were wealthy, and though her revenues from Ireland would be increased to an enormous extent, she prefers to lose this market and this chance of increased revenues, because she fears that Irish independence would be the first fruits of Irish prosperity. In that dreadful contingency, of course, England would not get any revenues at all from Ireland; so, perhaps, she understands her own business, and it is her best policy, as far as her pockets are concerned, to keep Ireland weak and poor. We fear that the Scripture saying would be fulfilled in the case of Ireland, if her internal resources were developed, and her agricultural system put on a natural basis: "Now, when Jeshurun waxed fat, *he kicked.*"

CHARLES STEWART PARNELL.

RECENT WORKS ON TRADE AND FINANCE.

Reciprocity, Bi-metallism, and Land-Tenure Reform.
Free Trade and English Commerce.
The Financial History of the United States, from 1774 to 1789.

THE general subject of Mr. Wilson's admirable book* will hardly be understood from his disjointed title-page. It might have been more strikingly, perhaps as accurately, described in some such phrase as "English Commercial Distress and its Remedy," but even this would hardly have covered all the phases of the matter which he has embraced in his book. But, if his title is fragmentary, his work is not so. On the contrary, starting from the consideration of the proposition, of late so frequently brought forward in England, to retaliate on countries which impose duties on English goods by similar duties on their goods, Mr. Wilson proceeds with an orderly, compact, and vigorous argument with reference to the essential causes of the distress for which this proposition is suggested as a remedy, and with reference to other remedies that have been produced. The subject is certainly sufficiently extended, and it is only because Mr. Wilson's range of information is so great and his power of simple and comprehensive statement so remarkable, that he has succeeded in presenting it in a valuable and interesting form within the limits of 250 pages. Of the actual distress in every department of commerce and industry in England, there is only too much evidence. Not only have exports fallen off steadily since 1873, but the agricultural interest has suffered equally, while the remarkable disturbances in several of the banking institutions, of great extent and importance, have revealed a condition of unsoundness in general business that Mr. Wilson very justly characterizes as "alarming." In manufacturing there have not only been

* Reciprocity, Bi-metallism, and Land-Tenure Reform. By Alexander J. Wilson, author of "The Resources of Modern Countries," "Banking Reform," etc. London: Macmillan & Co., 1880.

numerous failures, but there are indications that a very large proportion of the enterprises still maintained in activity and nominal solvency are bolstered by the extravagant favors of the banks, and are liable, if a favorable turn does not soon take place, to go down, dragging a considerable number of the banks, on which they now depend, with them. In agriculture there is a general cry for the reduction of rents, a general protest that, even with a reduction or concession of fifteen or twenty per cent., farmers can not sustain themselves. So keenly felt is the suffering in this direction that the traditional free-trade policy of England has been attacked freely and boldly at its very foundation, and the men who find themselves unable to compete with the grain-raisers of our Northwestern States do not hesitate to demand the enactment of something very like the corn laws, with the repeal of which began the free-trade *règime* in Great Britain. With this demand is naturally coupled that of manufacturers for protection. The curious feature of these demands is, that those who make them do not pretend that they can be of any direct use; they do not claim, as do our own protectionists, that protection will "build up a secure home market" either for food or for manufactured articles. They insist, however, that it will compel protectionists in the United States, in Germany, in Russia, in Spain, and intending protectionists in France, to open their markets to English products. To this pretension Mr. Wilson opposes the very simple reply that England "*dares* not" tax imports of food, and that her imports of manufactured goods are so slight that their exclusion, in the case of any one country aimed at, would not have the least practical effect. For the patent lever, by which the English protectionists threaten to overturn the barriers which various tariffs have erected, or are erecting, around foreign markets, there is actually no fulcrum. Any effort, therefore, which its inventors could make to put this vaunted instrumentality into operation, would recoil upon themselves in direct ratio to the energy expended. Mr. Wilson's demonstration of this fact is clear, precise, and effective, and is heartily commended to the attention of those American theorists who imagine that it is within the power of legislative enactments to arbitrarily regulate the tremendous and complicated forces called into being by the conditions of modern trade.

What, however, more immediately concerns American readers, is the light which Mr. Wilson's book throws upon the general and radical causes of the depression in England, since these causes are by no means absent from our own country, and are equally sure, in

the long run, to work out similar results wherever they are allowed to operate. "The true cause," he says, "of such 'over-production' as now distresses artisans and laborers, in the United States as well as in England, is inflation of consumption through abuse of credit. Much of the progress, so called, about which we have been so accustomed to boast, has not, in other words, been fair, legitimate progress at all. It has been an eager, passionate effort to, as it were, forestall and overreach the future. There has been, accordingly, lavish waste of capital in promoting both the production and consumption of articles beyond natural or prudent requirements. . . . The tendency of mankind is to rush to extremes; and, some years ago, we ran to an extreme of production, and of cost of production, which has brought its legitimate and inevitable reaction. A man opened a coal-mine and found it pay. Forthwith he mortgaged it, and opened with the borrowed money half a dozen more. While the years or months of an inflated prosperity lasted, he called himself rich, and perhaps bought a landed estate, which he also mortgaged. This went joyously forward, till prices shrank and demand fell off, when he at once found himself over head and ears in debt, without a farthing in the world he could call his own. So with manufacturers of all kinds. They rushed deeper and deeper into a career of unlimited production on borrowed capital, thus artificially stimulating consumption, and must now sadly learn the lesson that the sole duty of mankind is not to buy china-clayed cottons, 'shoddy woolens,' or steam-engines at makers' prices with other people's money." Nothing keener or more complete than this has been said of the radical cause which has brought so profound depression upon England and upon the United States as well. It portrays with a few bold strokes the real character of that "progress by mortgage" in which for years our own people indulged themselves, and which received such an imperious check here in 1873, and later in England. Further on, discussing the fall in silver, for which bi-metallists propose the remedy of "remonetization," Mr. Wilson points out how far less important an element in the exchanges of the world metallic money now is than it was even a quarter of a century ago, and how it has been replaced by various forms of credit—bonds, shares, checks, bills of exchange, legitimate or fictitious, and book-accounts. And he refers the fall in silver, as he does the decline in exports, to the fact that the enormous use of credit, building up imaginary wealth, has exhausted the power of the commercial nations of the world to take silver as well as other commodities. "The borrower

obtains money to spend, and in spending creates a demand for commodities, which demand raises their price. Push this description of progress to extremes, carry it on, with but slight breaks, for a generation or so, then behold the fabric thus raised slowly crumbling to pieces before your eyes, and say whether the great wave of depression, which is now passing over this country, may not have something in it far more important, far more full of warning for the future, than anything that monetary disturbances can mean. We have created a fictitious buying power . . . . and this buying power is now threatening collapse. Nay, it has already largely collapsed, bringing down with it the prices of all goods which it had previously inflated. The 'book-entries,' in short, which have come more and more to represent the wealth of the country, have grown in many instances hollow and unreal; and we not only find the spending and producing capacity of this and other countries curtailed, but 'trust'—that confidence which lies at the root of all willingness to take payment in paper for goods purchased—terribly shattered."

We have not space to notice the portion of Mr. Wilson's book which relates to land-tenure reform in England, able and original as it is. We content ourselves with calling attention to the sound common sense of his exposition of the causes of commercial depression, and of the remedies for it, which lie in honesty, prudence, industry, and, as absolutely essential, the greatest possible freedom. This country owes it largely to its great resources, to the energy and application of its people, to their aptitude amounting almost to genius for commercial and industrial enterprise within certain limits, that it has recovered to some extent from the reaction following the abuse of credit. But public opinion here still receives with ignorant good nature the nostrums and devices that selfish and narrow minds invent to create a return of artificial prosperity. Our absurd tariff is still allowed to hem our foreign commerce within the contracted limits of food exports. Our politicians still nurse the illusion that the use of "cheap" silver can make it easier for us to exchange products, pay debts and gather wealth; and the far worse form of the same fallacy, that there is occult power to enrich in the issue of Government paper money, has by no means died out. We stand for the moment beneath the shelter of a substantially false and fictitious resumption of payments in specie, and, while Congress refuses to make this resumption real, a furious inflation of credit in every direction, a headlong revival of trading on

"margins," a "joyous" adding up of "book-entry" wealth are going on. Nothing is more certain in human affairs than that this course must in the long run bring another crash, and one painful and protracted in its consequences in proportion to the time for which we pursue the course.

The little pamphlet of Mr. Mongredien, forming one of the publications of the Cobden Club,* bears out in an effective manner many of the arguments of Mr. Wilson. It differs entirely in style and method from the work of the latter author, giving in a matter-of-fact manner, with no pretense of brilliancy and curiously colorless, statements in favor of unrestricted freedom of trade and of the practical impossibility of controlling national prosperity by interfering legislation. The basis of Mr. Mongredien's essay, like that which more or less obviously underlies those of Mr. Wilson, is the doctrine that all modern commerce is essentially barter. He sets out with the proposition that "the amounts due by a country or to a country, whether for excess of imports or of exports, or in settlement of a debt, are paid, not in bullion or specie, but in goods." This proposition he maintains very ingeniously by an elaborate series of tables showing the extent to which England has for a long period imported more than she has exported, and the fact that she has not only not paid the difference in precious metals, but has received more of them than she has given, and also showing that the excess of imports has really been in payment of the principal or interest of debts due to the English people. This general conclusion, with its specific explanation and illustration in English affairs, being established, the author goes on to show how all artificial limitation of imports is necessarily a limitation of exports as well, curtailing foreign trade, neutralizing the benefits of division of labor, and forcing both labor and capital from productive into unproductive channels of employment. Admitting the falling off in exports since 1874, and the long-continued depression in trade which has followed, Mr. Mongredien attributes these to the reaction from the unnatural and unhealthy advance in prices which had previously taken place from various causes, and especially from the almost uninterrupted series of great wars which, beginning with our own civil struggle in 1861, was continued by the wars of Prussia with Austria and of Germany with France. He also attaches much weight to the default of interest and of installments due on the

* Free Trade and English Commerce. By Augustus Mongredien. London, Paris, and New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.

principal of a large volume of public, corporate, and private debt due to England, producing a corresponding reduction in the capacity to pay for exports from that country. The essential soundness of the argument against arbitrary restriction and regulation of trade, in the hope of making it more profitable, which rests on the explanation of depression by general causes entirely beyond the reach of legislation, is undeniable. It is one which the United States can study with great profit. The moment that it is accepted that all trade is in substance barter—the exchange of goods between individuals or peoples seeking a market to sell their surplus in on the one hand, and on the other a market in which to satisfy their wants—the absurdity of the protective idea becomes apparent. Left to themselves, labor and capital tend to the channels of most profitable employment. Men produce that which they can produce best and cheapest, and buy that which they most wish where they can get it on the best terms. To enact that makers of iron in the United States shall have seven dollars a ton advantage of their foreign competitors, and makers of steel rails twenty-eight dollars per ton, is to say that, in the first place, all American consumers shall be restricted in their choice of a market to buy in, and in the second place that everything in the United States shall be made more costly by the locking up in these industries of a certain amount of capital which is used either to overcome natural disadvantages or to increase profits abnormally, and which would otherwise be distributed through other industries, and tend to reduce the cost of their products. If this process is not readily traced in our case, it is mainly because, owing to our wide area, vast resources, growing population, and general activity, the freedom of the home market tends to neutralize the restrictions placed on foreign trade. But, the more rapidly the country grows, the more certain and obvious must become the costliness of the attempt to bolster up limited industries at the general expense. So intense and powerful is the operation of the forces of modern trade that nothing but their absolute freedom can prevent the most serious disturbance. We have spoken of the manner in which trade tends to obey certain laws. We desire to emphasize this term, since much of the embarrassment that has been experienced by the advocates of the proved principles of political economy has been due to their habit of applying these principles without the qualification made necessary by the imperfect condition of freedom which prevails among the members of even the most enlightened, advanced, and energetic communities.

It is quite sufficient, however, for our purpose to state that all liberty of action tends to the greatest prosperity of trade and industry, and all restriction tends to confusion, waste, and loss. Since the primary motive of exchange, however vast and complex, is the advantage of individuals, it follows that the individual is always, in the long run, the best qualified to judge of the means by which that motive can be most completely satisfied. And nothing is better established than that it is only under conditions of the greatest possible liberty that the faculties of the individual—his energy, his foresight, his prudence, his invention—can be most highly developed. So-called protection injures quite as deeply the class upon which it is bestowed as the classes—far greater in number and importance—who are compelled to pay for it. Mr. Mongredien's pamphlet helps to show that wherever it has been tried it has inflicted injury, sometimes compensated, as in our own case, by the extent of the home market and the actual enjoyment of a considerable freedom within our own wide borders, but nevertheless always appreciable and always increasing with the growing intimacy of commercial relations between different parts of the world.

Professor Bolles's "History"* is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of a period of extreme interest, of which the careful study has been too much neglected. It throws much light on the condition of public opinion as to finance during the Revolutionary period, on the devices which were resorted to to carry on the struggle with England, and on the manner and extent of their influence upon the prosperity of the community. At the present moment, it has a direct association with the works already noticed, which might not at first be recognized; it gives us a detailed account of the evils of a credit currency in its most aggravated form, and a credit currency is only a peculiar and conspicuous embodiment of the idea that prosperity can be legislated into existence, and that the forces which control the dealings of men with each other can be effectually controlled by arbitrary regulation. The colonies, in 1774, were a congeries of industrious and active but relatively feeble and scattered communities. The Continental Congress, which assumed the task of providing means for carrying on the war with the mother-country, was a body of the weakest possible character, hardly more than an advisory committee to the Colonial or State

* The Financial History of the United States, from 1774 to 1789: Embracing the Period of the American Revolution. By Albert S. Bolles, Lecturer in Political Economy in the Boston University. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1879.

Legislatures. Yet this body was allowed to exercise the extreme power of issuing bills of credit, which were given the quality of legal tender, in vast amounts, and which, as no adequate provision was made for their payment, operated as a constantly increasing tax on the limited resources of the people. These bills, at first regarded in their real character as a temporary loan, were soon hailed as a sort of magical money, by means of which the war expenses were to be paid without cost, and every one was to get rich. Then came the inevitable depreciation, the repugnance to taxation to meet their honest payment, and, finally, their disappearance. It was on a smaller scale, and under very different conditions, an anticipation of the experience through which we passed during and after the war of the rebellion, and which came near ending in the same disastrous fashion.

The materials which the author has been compelled to use are scant. No record exists of the debates in the Continental Congress. The press of the day was not yet made a channel for the conveyance of authentic or detailed news. Private correspondence is necessarily imperfect, treating financial matters only incidentally and often inaccurately. But Professor Bolles has certainly done all that could have been expected within the limitations imposed upon him. He has given a faithful account of all measures actually adopted by the Congress, and as clear an explanation of their motives and the results which followed as could be obtained from the sources open to him. He has wisely emphasized the fact that, defective and wasteful as the policy of Congress undoubtedly was, the blame for its adoption does not rest on that body, many of whose members clearly saw the evils which they were inviting, but were powerless to resist. Congress could borrow, but it could not lay taxes by means of which the loans could be paid. It could only "recommend" the States to levy the taxes, and it accompanied its recommendations time and again with argument, entreaty, warning, and protest, but nearly always wholly in vain. It is not singular that, in this anomalous condition of affairs—the power to issue notes being lodged in and freely exercised by Congress, and the power to redeem them being solely in the hands of the States, which refused to exercise it—the notes should have rapidly sunk to worthlessness. The first issue was made in the summer of 1775. In a little more than four years the amount had swollen to $200,000,000, and in less than five years the Congress was compelled to publicly acknowledge a depreciation to the merely nominal value of two

and a half cents to the dollar, and even this depreciation was less than that actually existing. The acknowledgment, however, was the final and fatal blow to Continental paper, and, within a few months, it ceased to circulate as completely as did Confederate money at the close of the rebellion.

Among the most interesting portions of Professor Bolles's book is that devoted to the views of prominent public men, as well as to the general opinion, regarding the paper currency. Shrewd old Benjamin Franklin, with the hard common sense which made him sure that he could publish an unpopular paper so long as he could live on corn cakes and cook them himself, opposed legal-tender notes from the first, and advocated the substitution of a popular loan. He reasoned that the only way to carry on the war successfully and cheaply was to make the people pay for it as they went along, or, if money was to be borrowed, to create a direct, popular interest in its being repaid. John Adams declared that the making of paper money was a "theft of greater magnitude and still more ruinous" than reducing the weight of metal in coins; though he apparently conceded the necessity of the measure as late as 1778. Josiah Quincy wrote, in 1780: "That the army has been grossly cheated; that creditors have been infamously defrauded; that the widow and the fatherless have been oppressively wronged and beggared; that the gray hairs of the aged and the innocent have gone down with sorrow to their graves, in consequence of our disgraceful depreciated currency, may now be affirmed without hazard of refutation; and I wish it could be said, with truth, that the war has not thereby been protracted." But these voices, and the few others from men who appealed to the State governments to provide taxes to sink the paper, were unheeded. From most directions came the sophistries and illusions with which our recent experience has made us so familiar. "Do you think, gentlemen," said a delegate in Congress, in 1775, "that I will consent to load my constituents with taxes, when we can send to our printer and get a wagon-load of money, one quire of which will pay for the whole." "Let it be remembered," wrote a committee of Congress, in 1779, "that paper money is the only kind of money which can not 'make unto itself wings and fly away.' It remains with us, it will not forsake us, it is always ready and at hand for the purpose of commerce or taxes, and every industrious man can find it." This extract makes the cry of Judge Kelley, of Pennsylvania, for "non-exportable" greenbacks a grotesque plagiarism. Thomas Paine, anticipating, by nearly a

hundred years, the brilliant discovery of General Butler, announced that the depreciation of the paper money was a tax levied with great impartiality on the successive holders of it. Of course, this argument assumed that the bills were either not to be paid at all or at a very great reduction from their nominal value. All parties, and nearly all prominent men, finally agreed, however, that the paper currency had produced incalculable extravagance, corruption, confusion, and waste. We have not space to more than allude to the very interesting account given by Professor Bolles of the organization of the Board of Treasury, and the subsequent administration of Gouverneur Morris as Superintendent of Finance. The latter establishes the reputation of Mr. Morris, even more firmly than it before rested, on the solid basis of great services and achievements in a most trying position.

EDWARD CARY.

All applications for or information in reference to Advertising in "THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW" must be addressed to HENRY W. QUIN, Advertising Department, D. Appleton & Co., 1, 3, & 5 Bond St., New York.

Thayer Academy, Braintree, Mass.—Designed to furnish instruction of the highest order in English, Modern Languages, and the Classics; fitting boys for the best colleges, and girls for the Harvard examinations and colleges for women. Address J. B. SEWALL, Head-Master, South Braintree, Mass.

BRAIN AND NERVE FOOD.

VITALIZED PHOSPHATES,

COMPOSED OF THE NERVE-GIVING PRINCIPLES OF THE OX-BRAIN AND WHEAT-GERM.

Physicians have prescribed 193,420 packages with the best results in all forms of impaired vitality, mental exhaustion, or weakened digestion. It is the best preventive of Consumption and all diseases of debility. It gives strength, rest, and sleep, by feeding the brain and nerves. It acts by feeding the brain with its necessary food, not as a medicine. For sale by Druggists.

F. CROSBY, 666 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

WEBSTER'S

NEW EDITION.

Webster's Unabridged Dictionary.

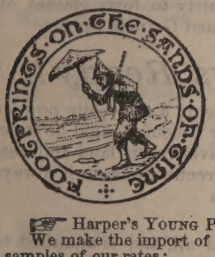
Now added, a **SUPPLEMENT** of over

4600 New Words and Meanings and a

New Biographical Dictionary

of over **9700 Names.**

G. & C. MERRIAM, Publishers, Springfield, Mass.



FOR NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES,

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN.

Send for our Catalogue, **1880**, now ready for distribution.
☞ EVERYTHING AT CLUB-RATES.
☞ EVERYTHING SENT BY THE PUBLISHER.
☞ EVERYTHING FREE OF POSTAGE.

Our list for 1880 gives the titles and club-prices for ALL PROMINENT PERIODICALS, American and English. The $4.00 Magazines at $3.45, and others in proportion.

☞ Harper's YOUNG PEOPLE, the *best juvenile weekly*, $1.35.

We make the import of Foreign periodicals, by mail or otherwise, a specialty. The following are samples of our rates:

Illus. London News or Graphic	per year,	$8 80	London Art Journal or Portfolio	per year,	$9 00
Spectator or Saturday Review	"	7 56	(Sent without folding.)		
Athenæum or Academy	"	4 30	Cornhill, Temple Bar, or Belgravia	"	4 00
Punch	"	4 50	Contemporary Review or Nineteenth Century	"	7 00
Weekly London Times	"	3 25			

☞ LIBRARIANS and Managers of BOOK CLUBS and READING ASSOCIATIONS are especially requested to notice this. TIME, LABOR, and MONEY are saved by ordering through our agency.

☞ Catalogue sent free to any address for single stamp. Address

ALBERT H. ROFFE & CO., 11 Bromfield St., Boston, Mass.

THE FAMOUS SELTZER SPRING

OF GERMANY

IN EVERY HOME!!

TARRANT'S SELTZER APERIENT

Is based upon a scientific analysis of the celebrated German Spring whose name it bears, and whose virtues it so eminently contains.

Each Bottle representing from Thirty to Forty Glasses of Sparkling, Foaming Seltzer.

It is Worth Remembering

That TARRANT'S SELTZER APERIENT represents in each bottle thirty to forty glasses of Sparkling Seltzer Water, containing all the virtues of the celebrated German Spring.

It is always Fresh! Always Ready!

One of the advantages that TARRANT'S SELTZER APERIENT—being a dry white powder—has over many natural mineral waters, is the fact that it never becomes vapid or stale. It is, therefore, the most admirable preparation not only for travelers on land and sea, but for all who need a bright, fresh, sparkling alterative and corrective, and it is always ready.

TARRANT'S SELTZER APERIENT thus stands at the very front of all, and is admitted to be the best remedy known for constipation, biliousness, and all disorders of the stomach and bowels.

MANUFACTURED ONLY BY

TARRANT & COMPANY,

NEW YORK.

SOLD BY ALL DRUGGISTS.

D. APPLETON & COMPANY

HAVE JUST PUBLISHED:

I.

The Crayfish.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ZOÖLOGY. By Professor T. H. Huxley, F. R. S. With 82 Illustrations. Forming Volume 28 of "The International Scientific Series." 12mo. Cloth, $1.75.

The object of Professor Huxley's new book is to afford an opportunity to students to commence the study of zoölogy by means of a careful verification of nearly all that is known concerning a single animal, the common crayfish. The book is termed an "Introduction to Zoölogy." "For whoever will follow its pages, crayfish in hand, and will try to verify for himself the statements which it contains, will find himself brought face to face with all the great zoölogical questions which excite so lively an interest at the present day."

II.

Ceremonial Institutions.

Being Part IV. of "The Principles of Sociology." (The first portion of Volume II.) By Herbert Spencer. 12mo. Cloth. Price, $1.25.

III.

Roscoe's Chemistry.

A TREATISE ON CHEMISTRY. By H. E. Roscoe, F. R. S., and C. Schorlemmer, F. R. S., Professors of Chemistry in Owens College, Manchester, England. With numerous Illustrations. Volume II., Part II.—Metals. 8vo. Cloth. Price, $3.00.

IV.

Classical Writers.

Edited by John Richard Green.

VERGIL. By H. Nettleship. Flexible cloth. Price, 60 cents.

Previously published in the series: MILTON, by Stopford A. Brooke; EURIPIDES, by J. P Mahaffy. Cloth. Price, 60 cents each.

V.

A Treatise on Oral Deformities

AS A BRANCH OF MECHANICAL SURGERY. By Norman W. Kingsley, M. D. S., D. D. S. With over 350 Illustrations. 8vo. Cloth, $5.00; sheep, $6.00.

VI.

Notes on the Parables of Our Lord.

By Richard Chenevix Trench, D. D. A new edition. 12mo. Cloth. Price, $1.25.

For sale by all booksellers; or any volume sent by mail, post-paid, on receipt of price.

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers,

1, 3, & 5 Bond Street, New York.

NEW NOVELS.

SEBASTIAN STROME.

A Novel. By JULIAN HAWTHORNE, author of "Garth," "Bressant," etc. 8vo. Paper cover. Price, 75 cents.

"Taken merely as a work of art, 'Sebastian Strome' may be pronounced the most powerful novel Mr. Hawthorne has ever written. Indeed, we may go further, and say that not many more remarkable novels by any author have appeared of late. The story is interesting, and, moving swiftly and strongly along, it carries the reader with it. The force and vigor of some of the scenes are balanced by the grace and tenderness of others."—*London Athenæum.*

"This is a story marked by very irregular power, but very powerful throughout. . . . It is not easy to conceive any sketches finer and more subtly drawn than those of Mr. and Mrs. Strome, and of Sebastian's friend Smillet. These three are not common pictures. They are painted without the smallest straining after effect, but with the vividness of real genius."—*London Spectator.*

THE SEAMY SIDE.

A Novel. By WALTER BESANT and JAMES RICE. 8vo. Paper cover. Price, 50 cents.

"'The Seamy Side' is the title of a new novel, by Walter Besant and James Rice, the authors of 'The Golden Butterfly,' 'By Celia's Arbor,' and half a dozen other stories. There are several strong characters in it. 'Anthony Hamblin,' a great self-sacrificing London merchant, his relative 'Alison,' his brother 'Stephen,' and a 'Miss Nethersole,' are boldly outlined, and touched in places with great spirit and life. Like 'The Golden Butterfly,' the best feature of the book is the vein of enjoyable humor which runs through it."—*Hartford Daily Times.*

MANCH.

A Novel. By MARY E. BRYAN, Editor of the "Sunny South." 1 vol., 12mo. Cloth. Price, $1.50.

"We have in 'Manch' a lurid, melodramatic story which has an artistic right and reason to be lurid and melodramatic. Its 'sensationalism,' although somewhat exaggerated, is proper to it, aiding instead of hindering its artistic purpose, precisely as scenes of fighting, which would be out of place in a story of peaceful life, aid the artistic purpose of a military novel. Moreover, this strongly sensational story is told with great vigor and skill; its dramatic incidents are presented dramatically; the characters of its personages are cleverly discriminated; in a word, the workmanship of the piece is in the main so good as to justify us in saying that the author has positive gifts as a novelist."—*New York Evening Post.*

"I regard it as one of the most interesting and thrilling stories I ever read."—ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

DI CARY.

A Novel of Virginia Life since the War. By M. JACQUELINE THORNTON. 8vo. Paper cover. Price, 75 cents.

"It is one of the best Southern novels that has yet come under our observation."—*Philadelphia Press.*

A GENTLE BELLE.

A Novel. By CHRISTIAN REID, author of "Valerie Aylmer," "Morton House," etc. 8vo. Paper cover. Price, 75 cents.

"'A Gentle Belle' has a strong dramatic interest, and freshness and originality of plot. Like its author's previous essays in fiction, it is well written, and is attractive in style and character. The interest never flags, and the moral is sweet and wholesome. Taken for all in all, the work is the most artistic in design and execution that its writer has produced."—*Boston Gazette.*

For sale by all booksellers; or any volume sent by mail, post-paid, on receipt of price.

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, 1, 3, & 5 Bond St., New York.

THE ART JOURNAL
FOR 1880.

NEW FEATURES.

WITH THE ART JOURNAL FOR 1880 WILL BE GIVEN

SUPPLEMENTS,

Containing Original Designs for copying on Plaques, Tiles, Panels, Screens, Vases, Fans, etc., or for other purposes in which the amateur may desire suggestions for Decorative Drawing and Painting. Each design will be accompanied with suggestions for treatment.

ILLUSTRATED PAPERS, Etc.

LEAVES FROM PAINTERS' PORTFOLIOS.—We shall begin in an early number a series of papers of an eminently interesting and artistic character, consisting of reproductions on wood of studies, sketches, out-of-door snatches of scenes or objects, from the portfolios of our artists. We can promise subscribers in this unique series drawings of singular freshness and charm.

PRINCIPLES OF DECORATION.—We have begun in the January number a series of papers explaining and illustrating the principles of Decorative Art, prepared by Mrs. SUSAN N. CARTER, Superintendent of the Woman's Art School, Cooper Union, New York.

STUDIO-LIFE IN NEW YORK. With Illustrations.

PRIZE DESIGNS FOR ART-MANUFACTURE.

THE MOSQUES OF EGYPT. By E. T. ROGERS and M. E. ROGERS. Illustrated by G. L. Seymour.

OTHER EGYPTIAN SUBJECTS. By the same authors and artist.

AMERICAN PAINTERS.—Examples of the current productions of AMERICAN ARTISTS, engraved in an artistic manner.

BRITISH AND CONTINENTAL PAINTERS.—Examples, engraved on wood, of the works of leading artists abroad.

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE.—A series of papers giving instruction in and designs for the erection of rural cottages, suburban villas, etc.

RIVER SCENERY. By Professor ANSTED.

CAUSES OF VARIETIES OF ARCHITECTURE IN SYRIA. By M. E. ROGERS. With Illustrations.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ART-MANUFACTURES.

VIEWS OF NEW CHURCHES, BUILDINGS, AND MONUMENTS.

STEEL ENGRAVINGS.

Each number of THE ART JOURNAL contains three Steel Engravings or Etchings, from Paintings by distinguished artists, or subjects in Sculpture.

THE ART JOURNAL *contains the Steel Plates and Illustrations of the* LONDON ART JOURNAL *(the exclusive right of which, for Canada and the United States, has been purchased by the undersigned), with additions specially prepared for the American edition, mainly relating to American art.* It contains features that render it invaluable to artists, amateurs, and all persons interested in PAINTING, SCULPTURE, ARCHITECTURE, DECORATION, FURNISHING, ORNAMENTATION, ENGRAVING, ETCHING, or DESIGNING in any of its branches. It is a record of Progress in the Arts; affords instruction to amateurs and students; furnishes designers with innumerable suggestions; gives examples of what is doing in Europe and America in the different arts; is a choice gallery of engravings in both steel and wood.

Published monthly. *Sold only by Subscription.* Price, 75 cents per number (payable to the carrier), or $9.00 per annum, in advance, postage prepaid by the publishers.

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, New York.

AGENCIES: Boston, 6 Hawley Street; Philadelphia, 922 Chestnut Street; Baltimore, 22 Post-Office Avenue; Pittsburg, 10½ Sixth Street; Rochester, 42 State Street; Cincinnati, 200 Main Street; Chicago, 61 Washington Street; St. Louis, 320½ North Third Street; New Orleans, 20 St. Charles Street; San Francisco, 207 Dupont Street.

APPLETONS' PERIODICALS.

Appletons' Journal:

A Magazine of General Literature. Subscription, $3.00 per annum; single copy, 25 cents. The volumes begin January and July of each year.

The Art Journal:

An International Gallery of Engravings by Distinguished Artists of Europe and America. With Illustrated Papers in the various branches of Art. Each volume contains the monthly numbers for one year. Subscription, $9.00.

The Popular Science Monthly.

Conducted by E. L. and W. J. Youmans. Containing instructive and interesting articles and abstracts of articles, original, selected, and illustrated, from the pens of the leading scientific men of different countries. Subscription, to begin at any time, $5.00 per annum; single copy, 50 cents. The volumes begin May and November of each year.

The North American Review:

Published Monthly. Containing articles of general public interest, it is a forum for their full and free discussion. It is cosmopolitan, and, true to its ancient motto, it is the organ of no sect, or party, or school. Subscription, $5.00 per annum; single copy, 50 cents.

The New York Medical Journal:

Edited by Frank P. Foster, M. D. Subscription, $4.00 per annum; single copy, 40 cents.

CLUB RATES.

POSTAGE PAID.

Appletons' Journal and The Popular Science Monthly, together, $7.00 per annum (full price, $8.00); and North American Review, $11.50 per annum (full price, $13.00). The Popular Science Monthly and New York Medical Journal, together, $8.00 per annum (full price, $9.00); and North American Review, $12.50 per annum (full price, $14.00). Appletons' Journal and New York Medical Journal, together, $6.25 per annum (full price, $7.00); and North American Review, $10.50 per annum (full price, $12.00). The Popular Science Monthly and North American Review, together, $9.00 per annum (full price, $10.00). Appletons' Journal and North American Review, together, $7.00 per annum (full price, $8.00). New York Medical Journal and North American Review, together, $8.00 per annum (full price, $9.00).

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, New York.

KIDNEY-WORT

The Only Medicine

That Acts at the Same Time on

The Liver, the Bowels and the Kidneys.

These great organs are the natural cleansers of the system. If they work well, health will be perfect; if they become clogged, dreadful diseases are sure to follow with

TERRIBLE SUFFERING.

Biliousness, Headache, Dyspepsia, Jaundice, Constipation and Piles, or Kidney Complaints, Gravel, Diabetes, or Rheumatic Pains and Aches,

are developed because the blood is poisoned with the humors that should have been expelled naturally.

KIDNEY-WORT

will restore the healthy action and all these destroying evils will be banished; neglect them and you will live but to suffer.

Thousands have been cured. Try it and you will add one more to the number. Take it and health will once more gladden your heart.

Why Suffer longer from the torment of an Aching back? Why bear such distress from Constipation and Piles?

KIDNEY-WORT will cure you. Try a package at once and be satisfied.

It is a dry vegetable compound and

One Package makes six quarts of Medicine.

Your Druggist has it, or will get it for you. Insist upon having it. Price, $1.00.

☞ WELLS, RICHARDSON & CO., Proprietors,

10 (Will send post paid.) **Burlington, Vt.**

Appletons' Journal

FOR APRIL.

CONTENTS.

The Return of the Princess. From the French of JACQUES VINCENT. Part Second.

The Suez Canal. A History. By P. H. M.

Health at Home. Part First. By B. W. RICHARDSON, M. D.

The Seamy Side. By WALTER BESANT and JAMES RICE. Chapters XXXIII. —XXXVI. (Conclusion.)

Henry Thomas Buckle. By G. A. SIMCOX.

The New Fiction. By HENRY HOLBEACH.

Middle-Class Domestic Life in Spain. By HUGH JAMES ROSE.

Stage Anomalies. By H. SUTHERLAND EDWARDS.

Fragments: Some Forgotten Aspects of the Irish Question—Buddhism and Jainism—A National Theatre—A Model Art-Criticism.

Editor's Table.

Books of the Day.

SINGLE NUMBER.....25 CENTS.
YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION.....$3.00.

D. APPLETON & CO.,
Publishers, New York.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Erasmus Darwin.

By ERNST KRAUSE. Translated from the German by W. S. Dallas. With a Preliminary Notice by Charles Darwin. With Portrait and Woodcuts. One volume, 12mo. Cloth. Price, $1.25.

Progress and Poverty.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE CAUSE OF INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSIONS AND OF INCREASE OF WANT WITH INCREASE OF WEALTH: THE REMEDY. By HENRY GEORGE. One volume, 12mo, 512 pages. Cloth. Price, $2.00.

"I propose to seek the law which associates poverty with progress, and increases want with advancing wealth; and I believe that in the explanation of this paradox we shall find the explanation of those recurring scenes of industrial and commercial paralysis which, viewed independently of their relations to more general phenomena, seem so inexplicable."—*Extract from Introduction.*

Great Lights in Sculpture and Painting.

A Manual for Young Students. By S. D. DOREMUS. One volume, 12mo. Cloth. Price, $1.00.

"This little volume has grown out of a want felt by a writer who desired to take a class through the history of the great sculptors and painters, as a preliminary step to an intelligent journey through Europe."—*From Preface.*

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, 1, 3, & 5 Bond St., New York.

MACMILLAN & CO.'S
NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The American Journal of Philology. Edited by Basil L. Gildersleeve, Professor of Greek in the Johns Hopkins University. Volume I., No. I. Price, $1.00. Annual subscription (four quarterly numbers), payable in advance, $3.00.

Contents: Δίχαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων and Δίχαι συμβόλαιαι. By W. W. Goodwin, of Harvard University.—Two German Scholars, on one of Goethe's Masquerades. By Franklin Carter, of Yale College.—Geddes's Problem of the Homeric Poems. By L. R. Packard, of Yale College.—Encroachments of μη on οὐ in Later Greek. By the Editor.—Notes. By Thomas Davidson, Albert S. Cook, and A. C. Merriam.—Reviews and Book Notices.—Reports.—Lists of Periodicals.—Recent Publications.

House Architecture. By J. J. Stevenson, Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects. In Two Volumes. 8vo. With numerous Illustrations. $12.00. Volume I., Architecture. Volume II., House-Planning.

The Life of John Milton. Narrated in Connection with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of his Time. By David Masson, M. A., LL. D. Volume VI., completing the work. 8vo. $6.00.

The History of Napoleon the First. By P. Lanfrey. Volume IV., completing the work. 8vo. $2.00.

France since the First Empire. By James Macdonell. Edited by his Wife. 12mo. $1.75.

Reciprocity, Bi-Metallism, and Land-Tenure Reform. By Alexander J. Wilson, author of "The Resources of Modern Countries," etc., etc. 8vo. $2.25.

A Dictionary of Music and Musicians. By Eminent Writers, English and Foreign. Edited by George Grove, D. C. L. Part IX. (To be completed in about Twelve Parts.) 8vo. $1.25.

An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, arranged on an Historical Basis. By the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, M. A. Part II. (To be completed in Four Parts.) 4to. $2.50.

Eyesight, Good and Bad. A Treatise on the Exercise and Preservation of Vision. By Robert Brudenell Carter, F. R. C. S. 12mo. $1.50.

Pharmacology and Therapeutics: Or, Medicine Past and Present. By T. Lauder-Brunton, M. D., F. R. C. P. 12mo. $1.50.

MACMILLAN & CO., 22 Bond Street, New York.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS'

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Discussions in History and Theology. By Professor GEORGE P. FISHER, D. D. 1 vol., 8vo. $3.00.

Hand-book of Drawing. By WILLIAM WALKER. With upward of 200 Woodcuts and Diagrams. 1 vol. $1.75.

The Origin and Growth of the Psalms. By Professor T. C. MURRAY. 1 vol., 12mo. $1.50.

Lord Beaconsfield: his Life, Character, and Works. By GEORG BRANDES. Translated by Mrs. GEORGE STURGE. 1 vol., 12mo. $1.50.

The Science of English Verse. By SIDNEY LANIER. 1 vol., crown 8vo. $2.00.

The Theatres of Paris. By J. BRANDER MATTHEWS. *Illustrated.* 1 vol., 16mo. $1.25.

Natural Science and Religion. By Professor ASA GRAY, LL. D. 1 vol., crown 8vo. $1.00.

Faith and Character. By Rev. MARVIN R. VINCENT, D. D. 1 vol., 12mo. $1.50.

Gates into the Psalm Country. By Rev. MARVIN R. VINCENT, D. D. 1 vol., 12mo. $1.50.

Socrates. A Translation of the Apology, Crito, and Parts of the Phaedo of Plato. 1 vol., 16mo. $1.50.

Studies in the New Testament. By Rev. C. S. ROBINSON, D. D. 1 vol., 12mo. $1.50.

The Bible Commentary; New Testament—Volume II. St. John.—By Canon WESTCOTT, D. D. The Acts.—By the Bishop of Chester. 1 vol., 8vo. $5.00.

The Emotions. By JAMES MCCOSH, D. D., LL. D., President of Princeton College. 1 vol., crown 8vo. $2.00.

Communism and Socialism. By THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, D. D., LL. D., lately President of Yale College. 1 vol., 12mo. $1.50.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, Publishers,

743 AND 745 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.

OFFICE, Nos. 346 & 348 BROADWAY.

JANUARY 1, 1880.

Amount of Net Cash Assets, January 1, 1879		**$36,213,457.61**
Less deduction to cover decrease in value of U. S. Bonds and other assets		$135,966.93
REVENUE ACCOUNT.		**$36,077,490.68**
Premiums	$6,382,875.25	
Less deferred premiums January 1, 1879	379,839.09—$6,003,036.16	
Interest and rents	2,339,875.93	
Less interest accrued January 1, 1879	306,225.93—$2,033,650.00—$8,036,686.16	
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT.		**$44,114,176.84**
Losses by death, including Reversionary additions to same	$1,569,854.22	
Endowments matured and discounted, including Reversionary additions to same.	1,015,256.22	
Annuities, dividends, and returned premiums on canceled policies	2,236,379.97	
Taxes and reinsurances	173,608.64	
Commissions, brokerages, agency expenses, and physicians' fees	626,253.30	
Office and law expenses, salaries, advertising, printing, etc.	307,392.81—$5,928,745.16	
ASSETS.		**$38,185,431.68**
Cash in bank, on hand, and in transit (since received)	$1,961,701.48	
Invested in United States, New York City, and other stocks (market value $14,356,192.94)	13,544,671.96	
Real estate	4,974,573.68	
Bonds and mortgages, first lien on real estate (buildings thereon insured for $14,287,000.00, and the policies assigned to the company as additional collateral security)	15,313,278.95	
Temporary loans (secured by stocks, market value $1,300,000)	850,000.00	
* Loans on existing policies (the reserve held by the company on these policies amounts to $3,160,000)	621,403.02	
* Quarterly and semi-annual premiums on existing policies, due subsequent to January 1, 1880	367,989.02	
* Premiums on existing policies in course of transmission and collection (estimated reserve on these policies, $330,000, included in liabilities)	211,625.23	
Agents' balances	22,199.23	
Accrued interest on investments January 1, 1880	317,989.11—$38,185,431.68	
* *A detailed schedule of these items will accompany the usual annual report filed with the Insurance Department of the State of New York.*		
Excess of market value of securities over cost		811,520.98
CASH ASSETS, January 1, 1880		**$38,996,952.66**
Appropriated as follows:		
Adjusted losses, due subsequent to January 1, 1880	$225,662.64	
Reported losses, awaiting proof, etc.	213,271.31	
Matured endowments, due and unpaid	32,780.98	
Reserved for reinsurance on existing policies; participating insurance at 4 per ct. Carlisle net premium; non-participating at 5 per ct. Carlisle net premium.	34,016,840.82	
Reserved for contingent liabilities to Tontine Dividend Fund, over and above a 4 per cent. reserve on existing policies of that class	1,371,482.18	
Reserved for premiums paid in advance	16,543.25—$35,876,581.18	
Divisible surplus at 4 per cent.	3,120,371.48	
		$38,996,952.66
Surplus, estimated by the New York State Standard at 4 1-2 per cent., over		**$7,000,000.00**

From the undivided surplus of $3,120,371.48 the Board of Trustees has declared a Reversionary dividend to participating policies in proportion to their contribution to surplus, available on settlement of next annual premium.

During the year 5,524 policies have been issued, insuring $17,098,173.

Number of policies in force January 1, 1876, 44,661.	Amount at risk, 1876, $126,132,119.
Number of policies in force January 1, 1877, 45,421.	Amount at risk, 1877, 127,748,473.
Number of policies in force January 1, 1878, 45,605.	Amount at risk, 1878, 127,901,887.
Number of policies in force January 1, 1879, 45,005.	Amount at risk, 1879, 125,232,144.
Number of policies in force January 1, 1880, 45,705.	Amount at risk, 1880, 127,417,763.
Death-claims paid 1875, $1,524,815.	Income from Interest, 1875, $1,870,658.
Death-claims paid 1876, 1,547,648.	Income from Interest, 1876, 1,906,950.
Death-claims paid 1877, 1,638,188.	Income from Interest, 1877, 1,867,457.
Death-claims paid 1878, 1,687,676.	Income from Interest, 1878, 1,948,665.
Death-claims paid 1879, 1,569,854.	Income from Interest, 1879, 2,033,650.
Divisible surplus at 4 per cent. Jan. 1, 1876, $2,499,654	Divisible surplus at 4 per cent. Jan. 1, 1878, $2,664,144
Divisible surplus at 4 per cent. Jan. 1, 1877, 2,626,816	Divisible surplus at 4 per cent. Jan. 1, 1879, 2,811,436

Divisible surplus at 4 per cent. Jan. 1, 1880, $3,120,371.

TRUSTEES.

MORRIS FRANKLIN,	H. B. CLAFLIN,	HENRY BOWERS,	CHARLES WRIGHT, M. D.,
WM. H. APPLETON,	JOHN M. FURMAN,	LOOMIS L. WHITE,	EDWARD MARTIN,
WILLIAM BARTON,	DAVID DOWS,	ROBERT B. COLLINS,	JOHN MAIRS,
WILLIAM A. BOOTH,	GEORGE A. OSGOOD,	S. S. FISHER,	EDW. A. WHITTEMORE,
HENRY TUCK, M. D.,	ALEXANDER STUDWELL,	WILLIAM H. BEERS.	

THEODORE M. BANTA, *Cashier.* **MORRIS FRANKLIN,** *President.*

D. O'DELL, *Superintendent of Agencies.*

CHARLES WRIGHT, M. D., Residence, 109 E. 26th St., } *Medical Examiners.* **WILLIAM H. BEERS,** *Vice-President and Actuary.*

HENRY TUCK, M. D., Residence, 15 E. 31st St., }

Published Monthly. Volume 130. Number 5.

SIXTY-FIFTH YEAR.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITED BY ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

May, 1880.

I. General Grant and Strong Government.....Judge J. S. Black.

II. The Religion of All Sensible Men.....Leslie Stephen.

III. McClellan's Last Service to the Republic. Part II..G. T. Curtis.

IV. Ralph Waldo Emerson.....F. H. Underwood.

V. The Monroe Doctrine and the Isthmian Canal.

VI. Recent History and Biography.....A. Gustafson.

I. History of the Norman Conquest.

II. The Life of Gladstone.

III. Lamartine and his Friends.

NEW YORK:

D. APPLETON AND COMPANY.

LONDON: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington.—PARIS: The Galignani Library.—
BERLIN: A. Asher & Co.—GENEVA: J. Cherbuliez.—ROME: Loescher & Co.—
MELBOURNE: W. Robertson.—YOKOHAMA and SHANGHAI: Kelly & Walsh.

TERMS.—Five Dollars a year. Single number, Fifty Cents.

tered at the Post-Office at New York, and admitted for transmission through the mails as second-class matter.

Volume 129 of the North American Review,

NOW READY, COMPLETE.

CONTENTS.

JULY.

Our Success at Paris in 1878. RICHARD C. MCCORMICK.
The Revolution in Russia. A RUSSIAN NIHILIST.
The Public Schools of England. Part II. THOMAS HUGHES.
The True Story of the Wallowa Campaign. General O. O. HOWARD.
The Psychology of Spiritism. GEORGE M. BEARD.
The Education of Freedmen. Part II. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.
Recent Essays. THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

AUGUST.

The Work and Mission of my Life. Part I. RICHARD WAGNER.
The Diary of a Public Man.
Garrison. WENDELL PHILLIPS.
The Power of Dissolution. EDWARD A. FREEMAN.
The Founder of the Khedivate. The late JOHN L. STEPHENS.
The Future of Resumption. AN OLD FINANCIER.
Recent Works on Ancient History and Philology. JOHN FISKE.

SEPTEMBER.

The Genius of Nathaniel Hawthorne. ANTHONY TROLLOPE.
The Standard of Value. Professor SIMON NEWCOMB.
The Work and Mission of my Life. Part II. RICHARD WAGNER.
The Diary of a Public Man. Part II.
Confession of an Agnostic. AN AGNOSTIC.
Intrigues at the Paris Canal Congress. A. G. MENOCAL.
Three Important Publications. MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

OCTOBER.

The Woman Question. FRANCIS PARKMAN.
Science and Humanity. FREDERIC HARRISON.
Louis Napoleon and the Southern Confederacy. OWEN F. ALDIS.
The Railway Problem. ROBERT GARRETT.
The Diary of a Public Man. Part III.
Spencer's Evolution Philosophy. Professor E. L. YOUMANS.
Recent History and Biography. A. K. FISKE.

NOVEMBER.

The Other Side of the Woman Question. JULIA WARD HOWE, THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, LUCY STONE, ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, WENDELL PHILLIPS.
Malthusianism, Darwinism, and Pessimism. Professor FRANCIS BOWEN.
A Page of Political Correspondence: Stanton to Buchanan.
The Diary of a Public Man. Part IV.
Tariff Reactions. Professor ARTHUR L. PERRY.
Some Recent Works of Fiction. EDWARD EGGLESTON.

DECEMBER.

Romanism and the Irish Race in the United States. Part I. JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE.
Young Men in Politics. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.
The Religion of To-day.
Is Political Economy a Science? Professor BONAMY PRICE.
English and American Physique. GEORGE M. BEARD, M. D.
The Permanence of Political Forces. Part I. CUTHBERT MILLS.
Recent Literature. JOHN R. G. HASSARD.

Price, unbound, $2.50; bound in cloth, $3.50; in half morocco, $4.00.

Sent by mail on receipt of price.

Address THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, New York.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

MAY, 1880

No. 282.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY.
1880.

COPYRIGHT BY
ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.
1880.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

MAY, 1880.

ART.		PAGE
I.	GENERAL GRANT AND STRONG GOVERNMENT. By Judge J. S. BLACK	417
II.	THE RELIGION OF ALL SENSIBLE MEN. By LESLIE STEPHEN	438
III.	MCCLELLAN'S LAST SERVICE TO THE REPUBLIC. Part II. By GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS	462
IV.	RALPH WALDO EMERSON. By F. H. UNDERWOOD	479
V.	THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND THE ISTHMIAN CANAL	499
VI.	RECENT HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY. I. History of the Norman Conquest. II. The Life of Gladstone. III. Lamartine and his Friends. By AXEL GUSTAFSON	512

THE Editor disclaims responsibility for the opinions of contributors, whether their articles are signed or anonymous.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCLXXXII.

MAY, 1880.

GENERAL GRANT AND STRONG GOVERNMENT.

I EXPECTED to write for this number of the "Review" an essay on "Strong Government," to show the calamitous evils it has brought on other countries, and to point out the dangers with which our own is threatened by its stealthy approaches. And herein I would have tried to make plain the principle of State rights, the solemnity of the compact by which those rights were reserved, the dishonesty (not the error) of the interpretation which denies them, and the duty of maintaining them as the sheet-anchor of individual liberty. But Mr. Boutwell turns me aside, or rather puts me back, by a new defense of the third term, which, upon the prudent principle of *obsta principiis*, the friends of free government must settle first of all; for this third-term innovation is to arbitrary power what a rat-hole in a Dutch dike is to the surging waters of the ocean: if not stopped up, it must become a huge crevasse, submerging all the land.

I do not complain of Mr. Boutwell's article. He had a right to interject his antagonism, and he is an opponent not to be ignored. He is (or has been) a high-placed gentleman—Governor of Massachusetts, Representative in Congress, Senator of the United States, and Secretary of the Treasury. Besides, he is a man of authority in his faction, and trusted to do their polemics. When he speaks it is with a voice potential, as double as that of any leader among them; and, on certain points, his expressive silence reveals the de-

signs of his associates as well as his own. Moreover, his article has some fragments of precious truth, which he has dropped along the path of his argument, apparently unconscious of their value. These I propose to gather up for the service of liberty and justice, to which all truth belongs.

He admits that Washington and Jefferson were patriotic and far-sighted men, entitled to a veneration which will "survive the criticism of Judge Howe, and outlive the defense of Judge Black" (p. 372). The whole American Democracy will thank Mr. Boutwell for this unexpected and most liberal concession. The friends of free government in every land and clime throughout the earth will be rejoiced to learn that the Father of this Republic and his great coadjutor, the Apostle of Liberty, are acknowledged to be venerable even by a subverter of their work, a contemner of their great example, a most obstinate disbeliever in their teachings. I am placed individually under special obligations to Mr. Boutwell by his gracious permission to speak well of Washington and Jefferson without injuring them fatally in his estimation. When he agrees that the fame of those illustrious men may still live, notwithstanding my defense of them against the aspersions of Mr. Howe, he accords me a high privilege, and binds me to him "with cords of perdurable toughness."

Mr. Boutwell gives us to understand (p. 371) that the character of Washington is not be attacked just now, because "his example is *not the only remaining* bulwark for the protection of our assailed and imperiled liberties. If this be so, then the reputation of Washington will need a more ardent defender" than I. There is some obscurity about this language, but the unavoidable inference from it seems to be that the projectors of a "*strong government*" intend to break down all the other defenses of civil liberty first, and then, when nothing but the example of Washington shall be left for the people to rally upon, his reputation will be assaulted so ferociously that no ardor of defense can save it from destruction. Be it so. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." I shall be out of the way before that last struggle takes place, but I shall die in the belief that the great name of Washington will continue to be a bulwark of civil liberty, invincible forever. If the worst comes to the worst and we have no other shield, they who rush upon the thick bosses of that one will but dash themselves to pieces. Evidently Mr. Boutwell does not see the grandeur of Washington's character or the impregnable basis upon which it stands. The moral influ-

ence of it on the hearts of all the world, except a few narrow-minded and ignorant enemies of constitutional government, is much greater than he thinks.

But this is a point on which there is not now any dispute between Mr. Boutwell and me. He gives it up that both Washington and Jefferson were wise and patriotic men, for whom there is no lack of veneration. It is not true, however, that my "argument against the election of any person to the Presidency a third time is based (exclusively) upon the example of Washington and the declarations of Jefferson." He was bound to know, and if he read the paper he was answering he did know, that I, as well as all the friends of the two-term rule, based our support of it upon the additional authority of Madison, Monroe, and Jackson, who greatly strengthened the principle, and increased the value of the precedent by repeating it. They stood as palpably in the way of the third-termers as Washington and Jefferson; and yet Mr. Boutwell has not a word to say against them. I take this as an acknowledgment that they too have a title to general veneration which can not be questioned. All of our great exemplars are allowed, at least for the present, to pass with the luster of their reputations undiminished. For this I can but renew the expressions of my gratitude to Mr. Boutwell and the other strong-government men, for whom he speaks.

But the rule is not established only by the example and precept of the retiring Presidents. It has a still broader and deeper foundation in the collective wisdom of the whole nation, which is the highest source, the best authority, and the strongest support of all law.

Mr. Boutwell tries to disparage it by saying that Washington, Jefferson, and Madison could not have believed in it, else they would have made it a part of the written Constitution. He says, substantially, that, if they had thought a limitation upon the tenure of the executive office proper or necessary, their failure to put a provision for that purpose into the organic law was a disregard of their duty so gross that it admits of no excuse or apology. This is an attempt to reason falsely from perverted facts. Mr. Boutwell would never have tried it if he could have kept clear of it; but he had to construct his argument out of the materials which the strong-government men gave him, and this was the best they could furnish. The known truth contradicts every word of it.

Washington and Madison acted throughout the session of the

Convention in steady opposition to unlimited reëlections. How or why the provision came to be dropped out of the plan at the very close of the session needs no explanation here: it is certain that Washington and Madison were in no wise to blame for it. They both thought it a misfortune, and to this conviction all their conduct was faithful afterward as well as before. When Jefferson, who had been absent on the mission to France, returned home, he conferred with them and others on the best mode of remedying this and some other defects in the instrument; but, fearing that a serious or protracted opposition might cause it to fall through altogether, they concluded to advise its immediate and unconditional ratification. The certainty that Washington would be the first President, and the belief that his example would make a law as effective as any that could be framed in written words, reconciled the country, and gave the whole people faith in the perpetuity of their institutions. That Washington considered a third term as leading to the overthrow of the Government, and intended his own retirement to be a precedent which would shield us from that danger, is a fact so notorious that Mr. Boutwell himself can not shut his eyes upon it. After saying (p. 375) that Washington "yearned for the peace and quiet of private life," he adds this remarkable language—remarkable, I mean, as coming from him: "*Nor can there be a doubt* that, superadded to these personal considerations, was the thought that his example might serve as a restraint in case of the appearance of a popular leader *who should seek to subvert the Government through successive elections.*"

Truer words than these were never spoken. But they are not all the truth. Mr. Boutwell should have added that Washington's retirement was then and there accepted by the nation as supplying the want of a written interdict upon a third term; as filling up the *casus omissus* in the Constitution; as making a part of our free institutions; as interposing a safeguard against a subversion of the Government by successive elections—as the beginning of a custom which should have "no variableness, neither shadow of turning." If anybody suspects me of overstating the case, let him look at the record and be satisfied.

In December, 1796, Washington opened the session of the last Congress that assembled under his Administration, as was his wont, with a speech, in the course of which he simply referred to the situation in which he stood for the last time in the midst of the people's representatives. The answer shows what construction was

then given to his conduct in declining a third election; how gratefully it was accepted and how highly it was appreciated as a precedent for the future. The representatives, speaking for themselves and the nation, of whose hearts they believed themselves the faithful interpreters, said that "that event of itself *completed* the luster of a character already conspicuously *unrivaled* by the coincidence of virtue, talents, success, and public estimation." This act, like his resignation as Commander-in-Chief, they affirmed to be "no less rare to mankind than *valuable to a republic*"; and concluded thus: "For your country's sake—for the *sake of republican liberty*—it is our earnest wish that your *example* may be the guide of your successors, and thus, after being the ornament and *safeguard* of the *present* age, become the patrimony of our *descendants*."

Jefferson's adoption of the Washington precedent was more universally approved than any other act of his pure and beneficent life, and the reasoning by which he showed that a third term was inconsistent with the safety of the republic has never been controverted by his worst detractors. By the time Madison served out his two terms, the rule had become so firmly fixed in our system that even the Father of the Constitution, fresh though he was from a victorious struggle with the enemies of the nation in Old England and New England, could have done nothing either to strengthen or to weaken it. It is true also of Monroe, that nothing was left him but implicit obedience. He treated the two-term rule as a settled institution, and, if he had shown the slightest sign of disrespect for it, he would have lost for ever the unbounded popularity which he had won by long years of virtuous survice.

Jackson was as faithful to it as any of his predecessors, and believed as devoutly as they did that the continuance of one man in the Presidential office for an indefinite time was in deadly conflict with the fundamental idea of a republican government. But he doubted the stability of the custom. The fervent love with which he was wedded to his country made him jealous of the efforts which might be used to debauch her virtue. He had seen strong government raise its head almost as impudently as we see it now. In defense of the Constitution, he so wounded the monster that most men thought it for ever disabled. But he was fully conscious that he had "scotched the snake, not killed it." He feared that some adventurous enemy of equal rights, aided by a combination of special interests with corrupt politicians, would contrive an excuse for breaking through the unwritten law and get a following large

enough to do it. To prevent that calamity he proposed an amendment to the Constitution which would put an express limitation on the right of reëlection. His view was not concurred in. The representatives of the people and the people themselves thought the custom as strong as any amendment could make it. Jackson, acquiescing, was content to strengthen it by adding his own example to the others.

From that time to the summer of 1875 the wisdom or necessity of the two-term rule was never questioned. Nobody denied its binding force on the national conscience, and the current of popular feeling in its favor, like a great river receiving its affluents from every region it drains, became wider and deeper as it rolled down through the ages. Of this, the most unmistakable evidence that could be given is the rebuke so solemnly and unanimously administered by the House of Representatives to General Grant when he began to be pressed for a third election. That resolution was received with a shout of universal approbation. Mr. Boutwell's studied abstinence from all allusion to it shows that he believes it to have been the true expression of a determination to stand by the two-term rule, and guard it well against the venal ambition which, by breaking it down, would bring our free institutions into peril. Both the Congress of 1796, which thanked the Father of his Country for making that salutary precedent, and the Congress of 1875, which refused to abandon it after eighty years of use, faithfully interpreted the heart of the nation; each was a mirror of existing public opinion; and each "gave to the very age and body of the time its form and pressure."

Our Saxon ancestors had certain *customs* which made them the freest people then in the world. Few of those customs were so well established as this one of ours by uninterrupted use and universal consent; but they were customs generally acquiesced in, and therefore laws which enlarged their own liberties and defended their rights against the encroachments of monarchy. Then rose a king, greedy for strong government, and anxious above all things to abolish the popular customs which limited his power. He and his corrupt parasites tried all that in them lay, now by insidious wiles and again by threats of force, to get a surrender of those customary rights. But the barons, speaking for themselves and for the freemen under their protection, gave him that memorable answer, simple to be sure, but made sublime by the occasion: "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare.*" ("We *will not* change the laws of England.")

This substantially was the answer which Grant got from the Congress of 1875 when he wanted them to abandon a time-honored custom which was "part of *our* free institutions." May God forbid that he or his minions should ever have any other!

Mr. Boutwell protests most vehemently against the binding obligation of a custom; he asserts that the tradition of the fathers with respect to a third term can never have the effect of a written restriction—that the tradition in question is not what Congress said it was in 1875, a part of our free institutions; that it is a mere opinion entertained by men of a past generation, but entitled to no controlling influence at the present time. He will not condescend to give reasons for this judgment; "statement," he says, "is sufficient; argument is unnecessary." And here is the statement: "We *refuse* to allow the *hands* of *dead* men to control the *soil* of the country; and shall we without inquiry, without a judgment of our own, permit the opinions of dead men to control the thoughts and the policy of the country?" (p. 373).

It is a pity to take the conceit out of a gentleman who is so happy in his contempt for dead men. But it is necessary to tell him that this is not merely an impious violation of the fifth commandment, but an utterance void of all reason and sense. It is a bald absurdity to say that we *refuse to allow* dead men's *hands* to cultivate and use the soil; for the hands of dead men were never offered to us for that purpose. If it be meant to say that our right in the soil is not defined, and our use of it regulated by the laws, customs, conveyances, and testamentary writings of dead men, then the writer does not at all know what he is talking about; for in that sense the soil *is* controlled by dead men. Precisely the same is true of public affairs. While dead men do not vote at elections, or collect taxes, or fight in the army, or sit in the courts, yet their decisions, customs, opinions, traditions, and enactments define the limits of power, protect the liberty of the people, regulate the policy and control the thought of the country upon all subjects, religious, moral, and legal, as effectually as if they were still alive. Without this control, society would go all to pieces in an hour. Without it we could have neither church nor state, nor family nor social existence. We *must* be so governed; and it is the mere drivel of communism to say, "*We refuse.*"

Why may not a custom like this become binding as a law? Congress in December, 1875, declared that it was binding law, which could not be disregarded without bringing our free institu-

tions into great danger; therefore, it ought to be strictly adhered to, and all the people said, Amen! But Mr. Boutwell considers this a mere notion, supported by nothing better than rhetoric. Let him and his disciples reflect on it a little further, and see if they are not mistaken.

It is a principle of universal jurisprudence, which prevails in every civilized country, that a rule of public or private conduct, spontaneously adopted and continuously observed, becomes the law of the subject to which it relates, and is perfectly binding on the conscience of magistrate and people provided it be reasonable and just in itself, notoriously practiced, of long standing, generally acquiesced in, uniform in its operation, uninterrupted in its course, and not in conflict with any law of paramount obligation. Such a custom is, always and everywhere, held to be especially sacred when it is intended and used as a restriction upon political power or a safeguard to civil liberty.

That the two-term rule is coeval with the Government, consistent with the Constitution, notorious, uniform, uninterrupted, and unopposed for nearly a century, is, as matter of fact, undenied and undeniable. It has, therefore, all the requisites of a binding law, unless its opponents can show it to be intrinsically an unreasonable or bad rule. But I affirm that the custom is salutary, wholesome, and good; and this I can prove to the hearts' content of all third-termers, by their own spokesman, Mr. Boutwell himself.

He opens his article thus: "In politics, morals, and law there is a field for presumption." If he had been willing to "talk less in King Cambyses' vein," he would have said that in those sciences, as in all others, a truth may be shown by presumptive as well as by direct evidence. What, then, are we to presume concerning the custom in question when we look at its origin and history? Begun and carried out by the foremost men in the world, it was accepted from the first, and upheld to the last, by the collective wisdom of the whole nation. Does not this raise a presumption—too strong to be resisted by any sensible man—that the rule is just, proper, and necessary?

But, added to this, I can produce Mr. Boutwell's *positive* testimony. I know that the *argumentum ad hominem* proves nothing. I am aware that a cause is not logically lost because one of its defenders contradicts himself when he speaks upon it. But, where the authors of a new political scheme put forward one of their number to reconcile its opponents by displaying its merits, and

the advocate admits that it has no merits, it is perfectly fair to take him at his word. The confession in this case is none the less useful because it is grudgingly made in little pieces which lie about, here and there, in mere confusion. It is vexatious to pick out these fragmentary revelations, but we must take the trouble. Like an unwilling witness under pressure of his conscience, the truth oozes out of him drop by drop, and we must patiently catch it as it comes.

He says, *totidem verbis* (on p. 376), that the authorities in favor of the rule are good; that the "experience of Europe gave rise to an opinion in America that it was dangerous to permit the chief magistrate to remain in office for a long time," and then admits that "when there was no trustworthy history, either for warning or example, except that of ancient Rome and the history of the mediæval and feudal states of Europe, the argument [to wit, the argument which proves the rule to be necessary] was *not* bad." Elsewhere (p. 375) he discloses his knowledge that the argument against a third term at that time, instead of being a bad one, was good enough to make Washington and his compatriots determine to prevent it by his example, and thus save the Government from subversion. Does Mr. Boutwell assert that anything in the history of the world has occurred since then which ought to weaken our faith in the value and importance of the rule? Certainly not; on the contrary, he confesses that "Washington's example was set off and made more impressive by the phenomenon of a Corsican corporal, passing as it were at a bound from the ruins of a republic to the throne of an empire" (p. 376); and he might have added that in the same country, at a later period, another republic was ruined in a way which made the warning still more striking. But Mr. Boutwell's confession is fuller yet. In the following passage (p. 375) he makes a tolerably clean breast of it. Speaking of the "general disinclination of the American public mind to the election of the same person to the Presidency a third time," he goes on to say: "It is, however, as old as the Government. It had its roots in the experience of the colonists. In Europe hereditary power had fostered standing armies, and standing armies had maintained hereditary power. Both were the enemies of personal liberty and popular rights. It was the purpose of the founders of our Government to render standing armies unnecessary, and the possession of hereditary power impossible. If the experience of a century is an adequate test, the end they sought has been attained. They had ob-

served, also, that the possession of power, by virtue of office, for unlimited periods of time, tended to the establishment of dynastic systems, and to their recognition by the people. Hence, provision was made in all our Constitutions, State and national, for frequent elections in the legislative and executive departments of Government."

This certainly is as plain an acknowledgment as can be made that continued reëlection is dangerous to personal liberty and popular rights, and that the two-term limitation, or something equivalent, is necessary to save the Government from subversion by standing armies and hereditary power. The rule we contend for is, therefore, wise and salutary, the third-termers themselves being judges. Not only is that settled: it is undeniably fixed that the custom has all the other requisites of a good and valid custom—age, notoriety, constant observance, and consistency with previous regulations. For those reasons it is and must be a valid law, technically as well as morally binding on the country. No American citizen who obliges himself, by oath or otherwise, to obey the laws, can honorably violate this rule or counsel opposition to it, for it is not only law, but fundamental law—*lex legum*—a law of laws—confessedly necessary to preserve all others from destruction.

Mr. Boutwell begs the whole question when he says that the apprehension so universally felt of great danger from repeated reelections of the same person did *not* lead the founders of the republic to the adoption of a *system* which limited the right. It *did* lead them to that very thing. The written Constitution is silent, to be sure, but, on the earliest occasion after it went into operation, the omission was supplied by a custom which then became, and now is, a part of our *system* as much as anything else it contains.

Without summing up Mr. Boutwell's confessions, it will be plainly seen by every reader that he has yielded all points. The third-termers put up the best man they could find to defend them, and he honestly but reluctantly gives away their case. It requires some boldness to ask for a judgment after that. But Mr. Boutwell's courage is not wanting in the last extremity. The two-term rule may be right in law and morals, but he despises it; it may be strong, but his determination to break it down is irrepressible.

One argument, totally apart from the merits of the question, is used with immense success by Mr. Boutwell and all third-termers who have written or spoken on the subject. Not one of them neglects to urge with all his might that opposition to a third term and

General Grant is a sentiment almost if not quite universal with Democrats. This converts our rancorous enemies by the score: an appeal to blind partisan malice is never made in vain. In this discussion and for the present purposes of strong government it is the most irresistible of all arguments, more potent than Cicero's best oration, more effective than all the logic of Aristotle, more powerful than the eloquence that "shook the arsenal and fulmined over Greece."

We have no answer to this charge of democracy. With all humility we plead guilty, and throw ourselves on the mercy of the third-termers. We *are* Democrats. We believe in the Constitution, and in the sanctity of an oath to support it; in the traditions of the fathers, and the principles of free government as settled by them. We have held fast to this faith. We never surrendered or sold or gave up our heritage. When it was stolen from us we cried out upon the robbery, and reclaimed our rights as soon as reclamation was possible. In the courts we struggled with our utmost strength for the restoration of trial by jury and the privilege of *habeas corpus;* on the hustings, in popular conventions, and in legislative assemblies we protested against the domination of carpet-bag thieves, and exposed remorselessly the dishonest measures by which we saw the public Treasury plundered. We thought it a good tradition of the fathers that the military power should be subordinate to the civil authority; and, when we saw elections carried by the bayonet, Legislatures forcibly tumbled out of their seats, and the basest scoundrels in the country placed by brute force in the offices to which honest men had been elected, our sense of right and justice was shocked beyond expression. We thought the right of the States to elect their own officers and their own representatives in Congress by the free suffrages of their own people was clear as the plainest constitutional law could make it. We therefore looked with loathing on the systematic violation of this great right, carried on for years by the Federal Administration; and none of us could be reconciled to the great swindle of 1876 by which the whole nation was basely cheated.

This is what democracy has led us to. Doubtless we are great sinners in the eyes of Mr. Boutwell. Not to have given up these principles is a crime for which he can not forgive us. But he ought not to blame us too bitterly. We could not help it. We were brought up to revere the founders of the republic, and to obey the laws and customs which they handed down to us. Instinctively

and by habit we loved free institutions, honest observance of oaths, and good faith in the execution of public trusts. In all this Mr. Boutwell differs from us *toto cælo*. But can he not make some allowance for our prejudices against fraud, perjury, and corruption, unreasonable as those prejudices may seem to his superior wisdom? It is hoped also that he will be somewhat conciliated when he recollects that our delusions are encouraged by a very general concurrence in them: the white men of the Union by a million majority expressed their approbation of our views at the last Presidential election, and even negroes by the hundred thousand refused to condemn them. Moreover, it is not true that Democrats alone are opposed to a third term. Republicans—a large majority—not knaves and cowards, and not "metallic calves," but the best men in the party—are as much opposed to it as we are. This consideration should silence Mr. Boutwell's mere partisan rhetoric, disarm his wrath at once, and "check his thunder in mid-volley."

He strikes another blow which hits us hard. He says, in effect, that the old government is so battered up that no respect ought now to be paid to any principle of its founders. I quote his words (p. 273): "We have changed, indeed in some particulars we have *annihilated*, the Constitution of Washington, the Constitution of the Fathers. . . . And is the unwritten law more sacred? May the people *annul* the written law of the fathers, and still be perpetually *bound by their traditions?*"

This is extremely well put, "with good emphasis and good discretion." I am compelled to admit that they (Mr. Boutwell and his political associates) have annulled the Constitution, not in some, but in all particulars. No line or letter of it has escaped their destructive hands. Every right of the States and all personal liberty have been wantonly outraged. Trial by jury, *habeas corpus*, free speech, the elective franchise, everything that tended to promote the great objects for which the Constitution was made, were trodden down. The military was placed above the civil authority, and the power continues to be claimed for standing armies to "shed the blood of war in peace." To nullify the most important part of our great charter, a bill of pains and penalties against ten States and eight millions of people was forcibly injected into the bowels of the Constitution itself, and there it lies to this day, side by side with the provision which forbids its existence. Certainly I agree with Mr. Boutwell that the written instrument by which our fathers sought to secure the blessings of liberty to themeslves and their posterity

has been wholly set at naught, and his tone of triumphant interrogation is not out of place when he asks, "Is the unwritten law more sacred?" Assuredly it is not. A conscience which is hardy enough to spurn the restraints of the written Constitution need not affect any remorse for refusing to accept a tradition. Having swallowed that camel, it is but the folly of the Pharisee to strain at this gnat.

But Mr. Boutwell, being a charitable and fair man, will, I am sure, excuse us for adhering to the tradition, though it be connected with the Constitution which his party has broken and dishonored. We see the whole subject from another point of view. We expect the restoration of popular liberty; we hope soon to replace our institutions upon the firm foundations which our fathers laid. We have already made much progress. Many of our violated rights have been vindicated in the courts; oppressors have been scourged back into private life; the thieves who ruled us for their pleasure and plundered us for their profit are on the run; a majority of the States, both Houses of Congress, and the unbroken heart of the nation are with us; and but for the atrocious fraud of 1876 no remnant of Asiatic despotism would disgrace this country now. The argument that the two-term rule is useless to uphold institutions already overthrown will become plainly inapplicable when the structure is completely rebuilt. When the ship of state is again put on her constitutional tack, this traditionary rule of navigation will be as necessary as ever to make her course true and her progress safe.

There is another reason why we can not afford to abandon any custom which favors civil liberty, even if the written Constitution be considered as hopelessly abolished. Our fathers were freemen before the Constitution; that instrument defined certain preëxisting rights established by custom, and provided an organization for defending them. Suppose the definition to be obliterated and the defenses thrown down, would that make us slaves? No; in that case we would fall back on the unwritten law. We would stand upon the colonial customs, or seek protection under the common law, tracing it, if need be, to the reign of Edward the Confessor or Alfred the Great, or finding its sources in the still older customs of our German ancestors. If all this fails, we will appeal to the great unwritten law of Nature—the law that Hooker speaks of when he says, "Her seat is in the bosom of God, and her voice is the harmony of the world."

Americans who are true to themselves and one another can not afford to give up a custom which is "part of our free institutions," merely because previous wrongs have deprived them of other parts. On the contrary, the losses already sustained should make us cling all the more closely to what is left. This excuse of Mr. Boutwell for his proposed violation of the two-term rule will pass for a good one only with men who are hostile to all free institutions.

Here rises the most important of all questions: What is the ultimate object of the third-termers? Why these desperate efforts to push on a third-term candidate in the face of an opposing sentiment expressed by all parties, manifesting itself in all places, and certain to be felt at the polls if the election be a free one? Friends of republican government, who respect the popular will, could not act thus. Even demagogues, who want votes as a mere means of getting offices and jobs, do not usually endanger their own success by dragooning the common file of their supporters. Without the principle of patriots, without the prudence of partisans, the third-term men must have some purpose inconsistent with both. The general belief is, that they mean to force the nomination of Grant, then coerce a false count of the votes, and finally subjugate the nation to their personal rule. If this prevailing opinion be erroneous I am not responsible, for I have been among the last to adopt it. But there certainly is some evidence tending to show that the designs of the Grant men are at enmity with existing institutions, and so far revolutionary that they would be called treasonable if treason here, as in England, consisted in seeking to compass the death of the Government.

At a very early period in our history the enemies of republican principles were thoroughly equipped, and entered actively upon the struggle for supremacy. Some of them got into the Convention which framed the Constitution. At their head was Hamilton, who laid before the body their whole plan for a central government, which, if adopted, would have completely extirpated the rights of the States and the liberties of the people: a Chief Executive for life, unimpeachable for any misconduct; a Senate for life; a triennial House of Assembly; a Federal judiciary "for the determination of all matters of general concern"; the Governors of the States to be appointed by the President. Of such a government, the tyranny and corruption must have become perfectly unendurable if administered, as it was expected to be, by the men who proposed it; and doubtless it would, in a very short time, have led to a monarchy in

name as well as in substance. But the Hamiltonian plan was defeated, and under the auspices of Washington, Madison, and their compatriots the present system was framed, by which certain powers, specifically enumerated, are bestowed on the General Government, while all others are expressly reserved to the States and the people; and this system is to be administered by agents of the people's choice, strictly accountable, subject to frequent rotation, and sworn to keep within the limits of their legal authority. This government, so simple and so clear, so definite in all its arrangements of power, and so guarded against abuse, was hailed at home and abroad as the best result of political wisdom that the world ever saw. I devoutly believe that the estimate of its friends was right, but I have no eulogy to make on it now. I merely claim that our obedience to it is due as a moral necessity. If a sworn officer willfully violates it, he is guilty of perjury; if its commands be habitually disregarded, the nation is politically ruined, and the people are defrauded of their rights.

But from the very first it had enemies, who tried to subvert it and substitute in its place the reign of arbitrary power. There has always been an unprincipled faction composed of persons who tried to rid themselves of the wholesome limitations which protected the equal rights of the States and the people. By frequent changes of name and the assumption of new shapes, by appeals to the baser passions, by combinations of special interests, by plausible but false interpretations of the fundamental law, by adroitly taking advantage of accidental circumstances, they have often succeeded in "drawing much people after them"—people who really loved free institutions, and had no intention to destroy the Government or depart from the traditions of the fathers. When their designs became known, the honest portion of their followers have uniformly fallen away from them. Perhaps no instance of this is more striking than the direct and positive refusal of the great mass of the Republican party, in 1876, to endure the nomination of General Grant for a third term.

That the present movement to that end means simply a conspiracy to wipe out the Constitution once for all, and have done with its restraints upon arbitrary power, is proved in so many ways that it admits of no doubt. It is publicly urged by all its friends for the sole reason that General Grant is a *strong* man. In the cases of Cæsar, Cromwell, and both the Napoleons, strength was the quality for which they were elevated to absolute power. It is the *might*

of the ruler that overcomes the *right* of the people whenever a republic is to be strangled. Strength that governs with a rod of iron is always the recommendation of one who is to be made a monarch, insomuch that the word "king" (*Koenig*) signifies in the language we take it from exactly what General Grant's adulators habitually call him—*the strong man.*

But the strong-government idea has been set forth by its projectors in various authorized publications, manifestly intended to prepare the minds of the American people for the advent of despotism. Before Napoleon mounted the throne, certain well-remembered articles appeared in the "Moniteur" to foreshadow the empire that was coming, to prove that a republic was too weak to be compatible with the interests of France, and to show that nothing would do but the strong government of one strong man. Precisely similar were the approaches of the other Bonaparte to absolute power. Here we have almost a repetition of those French articles. One of these, anonymous, but printed in a magazine of high authority, describes the Constitution of the United States as an effete system, adjudges State sovereignty to be treason, declares the masses of the Northern Democracy unfit for self-government, anticipates that the South will cease to be formidable after the next census, and then gives a picture of the good time coming, when a central Government, with the States under its feet and the people at its mercy, shall exercise a controlling supervision over all elections, and regulate all domestic subjects down to marriage and divorce. What sort of a head this strong Government shall have, or how he shall be called, is not disclosed; but we are told to look for a change in the mode of choosing him, the present plan being antiquated and clumsy.

But the most alarming evidence I have seen that the friends of a "third term and General Grant" are plotting the overthrow of the Constitution is in Mr. Boutwell's own article. He knew when he wrote it that designs utterly hostile to our free institutions were imputed to him, his faction, and his candidate; that the accusation was believed by very many of the most influential men in the Republican party; and that it was almost universally thought to be true by the Democrats. He could not help but see, in the paper which he was undertaking to answer, that the strongest objection to the movement for Grant was its anti-constitutional purpose. He was also fully aware that nineteen twentieths of the American people are true to the Government of their fathers, which they de-

sire to see honestly administered, and are totally opposed to any kind of personal rule stronger than the laws. Yet Mr. Boutwell puts in no word of denial. Why does he stand mute under a charge which so seriously affects, not only the political, but the moral integrity of himself and his associates? No sane man can hesitate for a moment to interpret this silence as a consciousness of guilt.

But, besides this dumb eloquence, there is something more in that same paper.

In all countries and in all ages it is the uncontrollable impulse of public oppressors to call every man a traitor who is not willing to be a slave. In the eyes of the usurping tyrant and his sycophantic flatterers the most odious crime that can be committed is the assertion of his legal rights by a freeman. This crime Mr. Boutwell charges upon the Democracy, and gloats over the punishment they will get for it. He says (p. 373) that "the *spirit of rebellion*, of resistance to the Constitution, is manifested by a large class of citizens. These citizens, *without exception*, are Democrats, and they receive aid and encouragement from the Democratic party."

Of course, I will not vouch for the absolute perfection of every individual who claims to be a Democrat. But that Democrats, as a body, or by party concert, have resisted the Constitution in any manner, or that they have not submitted even to the unconstitutional tyranny of the Federal Government with entire passiveness, is a falsehood so vile, so gross, and so palpable that I will not believe Mr. Boutwell meant to assert it. What he did mean was to say that we have claimed our just rights by legal and peaceful appeals to the public conscience, in the courts and on the rostrum, at the polls, and through the press; and he but speaks after his kind when he calls this the "spirit of rebellion," for, according to his theory, lawful opposition to unlawful power is always constructive rebellion. He is consistent with his creed when he warns us that this spirit shall be wholly extinguished, and that Democrats for indulging in it shall be remitted to a state of abject slavery, and deprived of all right to control their own affairs, either political or private; and, to that end, all traditionary notions of liberty, equality, and fraternity are to be set aside. "It is the *purpose* of the Republican party," says Mr. Boutwell (page 373), *to suppress that spirit*, to render it *powerless absolutely*, both in personal and public affairs, and it may happen that in accomplishing this result the *example of Washington and the tradition of the fathers will be disregarded.*" While I do not think that a majority of the Republi-

can party would assist for one moment in carrying out this brutal threat, Mr. Boutwell is ample authority for the belief that the Grant leaders are not only insolent enough to utter it, but base enough to execute it, if they ever get a chance.

It is plain enough what prompts them to these desperate measures. When the elective franchise was given to the negro they thought they had legalized a sure mode of stuffing the ballot-boxes, and, so sustained, strong government promised to itself a life without end. But in the course of time the negroes ceased to stuff, and some of them began to vote. This was so contrary to all previous calculations that the friends of strong government could not realize it; they thought it must be caused by some mysterious application of physical force. To this day Mr. Boutwell is unable to comprehend the possibility of a free negro voting of his own head against a carpet-bagger who has robbed him, against a Freedman's Bank that has swindled him out of his earnings, or against a scurvy politician who has cheated him by false promises of forty acres and a mule. Therefore, he believes in the chimera of a bulldozer as much as Cotton Mather believed in witchcraft, and swallows as greedily the false and unreasonable evidence which feeds his credulity. He declares in this article that in the Southern States "any number of citizens are as a public policy of communities and states deprived of their civil rights"; that offices are held there, and power wielded, "through proceedings that are systematically tainted with fraud or crimsoned with innocent blood"; that "one vote of a white citizen in South Carolina is, as a fact in government, equal to three in Massachusetts, New York, or Illinois"; that there are persons in Congress who have no right to their seats, "and these persons constitute the majority in both branches." These monstrous outrages upon the known truth admit of one excuse and only one—Mr. Boutwell believed them.

But the sincerity of his belief in these false statements is no excuse for the pretense he makes of honest indignation. That is a sham, and he knows it. He and his *collaborateurs* in the strong-government enterprise (including the strong man himself) have no conscientious objections to false or forced elections. They have no respect whatever for the right of the people to choose their own officers, State or national. The strength for which they laud their chief so extravagantly was never exhibited during his Presidency, except in coercing voters, suppressing true returns, or otherwise defeating the legal expression of the popular will. Mr. Boutwell

is, therefore, in no condition to speak on this subject as an accuser of others; the beam in his own eye disqualifies him to hunt for motes in the eye of his brother. Nor could he do General Grant any good even by showing that elections are now unfairly conducted. We desire, above all things, to have a free poll and a fair count, and we are much afraid that we will be permanently deprived of our right; but we do not look to Grant for redress or remedy. We do not trust the arch-enemy of honest elections to purify the ballot-box; for that would be "casting out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of devils."

I will make Mr. Boutwell a proposition. If he will name any kind of violence or intimidation which the Grant faction have *not* used to prevent a true poll, or any form of fraud which they have *not* practiced to falsify returns, or any sort of cheating in the count which they have *not* resorted to, or any species of the *crimen falsi* which they have *not* perpetrated as a means of swindling the majority; if they have *not* filled the seats of Congress with impostors whose object it was to misrepresent, injure, and degrade the States they pretended to come from; if they did not falsely procure the election of infamous men to every kind of State office, or when defeated put them in possession and maintain them there by force of arms; if they did not in 1876 defeat the known will of the nation by a most stupendous swindle—if Mr. Boutwell can show that these things and others like them were not done at divers times and places, under the auspices and with the approbation of General Grant and those friends of his who are now pushing him for a third election, then I will give up the whole case and promise to vote for his candidate. There! he has a chance to make one vote, without the risk of losing his own; for, if he fails, I will not ask him to vote my ticket: I will merely insist that he shall not hereafter turn up the whites of his eyes and pretend to be wounded in his virtuous soul, when a fugitive carpet-bagger tells him how he had to drop his plunder and fly for his crimes, because negroes were bulldozed at the South.

General Grant's own history and character as a civilian make it certain that those who support him are enemies of free and honest government. These third-termers are not madmen. They have tried Grant, and they know what he is good for. Those acts of deadly hostility to the Constitution which distinguished the period of his Administration they expect him to repeat. Those atrocious corruptions which made it the golden age of the public plunderer they look for again. I affirm that they intend this, not because

they have said so in words, but because, being sane men, they can intend nothing else.

Doubtless he is a strong man—not mentally or morally strong—but plenty strong enough with an army at his back to spurn the restraints of law and break over the Constitution. It took a strong man to make such governors, and judges, and treasurers, and legislators as he made for the States, and to hold them in place by the bayonet ; to force elections against the will of the electors, and to inaugurate a President who had been rejected by the people.

One manifestation of his strength has hardly excited so much admiration as it deserves from his followers. During his last term he took from the Treasury, in flat defiance of the Constitution, one hundred thousand dollars in addition to the hundred thousand which was his legal salary. There was a transaction of Cæsar's with the Roman treasury not dissimilar to this—and Cæsar was a strong man ; but Grant, more than Cæsar, showed that peculiar contempt of law which by his admirers is supposed to be *strength.*

Sometimes they tell us that he is not only strong but faithful. Faithful to what ? To his own breeches-pocket ; to the rich men who made him presents ; to the carpet-bag thieves whom he fastened on the Southern States ; to the corrupt rings that supported him in the North ; to the returning boards who forged election-papers to suit him ; to the tools of the vulgar force which thrust his fraud down the throat of the nation—to all these he was faithful enough ; but faithful to the Constitution and laws he never was. From beginning to end of his Administration he was treacherous to the most sacred trust that human hands can hold.

This is no railing accusation against General Grant, no harsh construction of his past acts, no detraction from his claim to a certain degree of personal respectability, no proof that as a despot he would not do as well as another. He is a mere soldier, with no knowledge of law and no conception of the purpose for which civil institutions are made. When elected President, he took the Government on his hands as a mere job to be done for the interests of those who employed and paid him, without caring what rights of other persons might suffer. Horace's description of a military chief governing strongly in civil affairs has never in modern times been so perfectly realized :

"Jura negat sibi nata; nihil non arrogat armis."

He did not stop to inquire what was in that Constitution which he swore to preserve, protect, and defend ; if he had taken an oath to

destroy it, his hostility would have been neither less nor greater. If there be one provision of the Federal compact more perfectly clear than any of the others, it is that which reserves and secures to the States all sovereign authority, jurisdiction, and powers, except what are specifically enumerated and expressly given to the General Government; but, clear as this is, General Grant never could see it. When a politician came to him (especially if he came with a present in his hand), and told him that the States had no rights, and the doctrine of State sovereignty was mere treason, he believed it firmly and acted accordingly. He himself has furnished conclusive proof that, when he stretched forth his rapacious hand and took from the public Treasury a hundred thousand dollars more than his lawful salary, he had never read or heard about that part of the Constitution which forbids the compensation of a President to be increased "during the term for which he shall have been elected." It probably never struck him that it was bribery to accept money and lands and goods from men whom he immediately afterward appointed to the highest offices in his gift. When to this is added the proneness of ignorant ambition to that Cæsarean rule of ethics which declares everything right which is done *regnandi causa*, you have a character dear to the heart of strong government, but utterly unfit to be trusted by a people who desire to be free.

However that may be, all evidence shows that the object of pushing General Grant for a third term is not to give us an honest and legal administration of our public affairs, but to set up some system of absolutism without law, or, as Mr. Stevens said, "outside of the Constitution." What form or title shall it have? If its projectors succeed, will they give us an imperial despotism, open and avowed? Or will they curse us with the heavier and more degrading affliction of a rotten republic?

If my soul could come into their counsels, or mine honor be joined unto their assembly, I would tell them that their success now will bring them hideous ruin in the long-run. For a little while it may increase their fortunes, or swell their personal consequence, and gratify their contemptuous hatred of the States and people under their arbitrary rule. But strong government is a weak contrivance, after all, and never lasts. Its front is of brass, but the feet it stands on are always made of clay. Let those who would identify their interests with Grantism think well how unsafe is the protection they are seeking.

J. S. Black.

THE RELIGION OF ALL SENSIBLE MEN.

THERE is, we know, a religion common to all men of sense; though men of sense never say what that religion may be. There may be more reasons than one for their reticence. A man of sense is well aware that he can say what he pleases without shocking the most delicate orthodoxy. He requires no cryptographic art to hide his meaning, for plain letters are ciphers to all who are not men of sense. The average reader is frightened by the use of certain counters, not by the ideas which they symbolize for the understanding. Refrain from dotting your *i*'s and crossing your *t*'s, and your utterance will be for him an insoluble mystery. He would be shocked if you said in plain terms "there is no God"; but it is easy to give quite an orthodox and edifying turn to the sentiment. We have all read defenses of agnosticism, which pass for assaults upon the wicked "deist," and elaborate expositions of downright materialism intended to support Christianity. Men of sense, I fancy, often wish to avoid scandal rather than to conceal their sentiments from their peers. They trust to a freemasonry which exists among themselves, and presents an impenetrable barrier to the sagacity of fools. One may guess that the esoteric creed drops some articles of the orthodox faith; but the man of sense, while he has a contemptuous smile for any one who (as M. Renan says of St. Paul) "believes heavily," or takes all creeds seriously, has a hearty dislike for the man who too openly discards the established tenets. Why drop a veil so easily worn? Religion is, after all, useful; and we are even bound—for the sensible man can take a high moral tone when he pleases—to invent the God who does not exist.

But how are we to be guided in these troublesome days, when rash persons have insisted upon revealing the open secret, and the esoteric creed of the sensible man has been proclaimed so that they who run may read? On the whole, the sensible man would reply:

You had better hold your tongue. We at least, who have no new gospel to preach, will not set up for prophets. Let us look on as calmly as may be at the huge turmoil of conflicting controversy; smile with equal calmness at the bigots who would damn people for losing their way in the dark; at the pompous dogmatists who would face it out that they can see as clearly as in broad daylight; at the feather-headed enthusiasts who take the first will-o'-the-wisp for a safe guide, and patch up a new religion out of scraps and tatters of half-understood science; and at the simple-minded philosophers who fancy in all seriousness that men are about to become reasoning animals. Vanity Fair is a queer place at best; and, amid all the confused outcries that rise ceaselessly from its noisy inhabitants, the screams and curses of rival religious quacks are surely the fittest to provoke a bitter smile. We may pity the poor pilgrim groaning in Doubting Castle, and despise the impotent fury of Giant Pope in his ancient den; but the empty brag of charlatans and humbugs in the Fair itself, though they are masquerading in the most imposing of robes, is best met with silent contempt. Let us trust that, somehow or other, the mad bustle will subside in time; that the great world will blunder in its own clumsy fashion into some tolerable order; and some scum of effete superstition be worked off in the chaotic fermentation. Meanwhile let us cultivate our little area of garden, knowing well that, long before a brighter day dawns, we too shall have been swept off into the great darkness, and our little crotchets and nostrums have become as ludicrous as those of our forefathers. Let us possess our souls in peace, and acknowledge that Swift has pretty well summed up the fittest epilogue for Jove to pronounce upon the farce of the world, "*I* damn such fools!"

Truth may be hidden in a sneer, and the language of the satirist may be translated into most amiable phraseology. Substitute the sentimental for the scornful tone, and many tender and generous natures will echo the conclusion. Intellectual indolence, which shrinks from the painful effort of rearranging first principles, joins with a real scrupulosity as to hurting the feelings of babes and sucklings, to give force to the sensible man's remonstrance against stirring the waters needlessly. The judgment of common sense is not final, but it always has a certain presumption in its favor. We must at least show why it is so plausible. It is easy enough to retort by calling names, by accusing your sensible adversary of cynicism, falsehood, and want of faith in the power of truth. But, when one descends from mere generalities, one feels that a view which

commends itself not only to the wary, to the prudent, and the worldly-wise, but to many generous and lofty natures, deserves a more distinct answer. It should be met, so far as it can be met, point by point, and any element of truth which it contains should be fairly and frankly acknowledged. And any answer should begin by admitting the really strong part of the opponent's case. There can, I think, be no doubt as to where the strength lies.

It is plain that the appeal for reticence would be thrown away upon any one who seriously believed himself able to answer the great question, What is to be the religion of the future? If I have a gospel, I am bound to proclaim it. But, so long as that question remains unanswered and unanswerable, there is a practical difficulty which, however overlooked or denied, recurs in one form or other with provoking persistency. You may cut the knot by a simple declaration that truth is above everything; but you do not clear away the honest scruples of your antagonist: he still shrinks from the duty, even if he acknowledges it, and replies by awkward cases of conscience. It is very easy and at the present time very safe to tilt against the established creeds; the men who assail them are often animated by the purest love of truth; and yet, when all is said and done, we are often tempted to think that the creeds might be left to decay of themselves, and to doubt the morality of informing our grandmother that she is an old fool.

Let us, however, look at the question a little more distinctly. And, in the first place, let us admit fully and frankly that the problem about the religion of the future is simply insoluble. Inspired prophecy is out of date; and, though we talk about scientific prediction in such matters, the phrase is little better than a mockery. To predict history is to make a guess with an indefinite chance of error. Perhaps we may say pretty confidently that the dead will not come to life, nor two and two be proved to make five; but to give any precise form to our vague anticipations of the future is simply to court the ridicule of posterity—if posterity is silly enough to study our guesses. There is, indeed, a royal road to prophecy in this particular case, which is taken often enough. My opinion, says each man, is true; moreover, the truth will prevail; and hence it follows that my opinion, whatever it may be, represents the future faith of the world. However satisfactory to the individual mind, there are difficulties about using this argument in controversy. Doubtless to believe an opinion is to believe that it is true, and to doubt that truth will ultimately prevail is to suppose that the de-

velopment of thought is nothing but a vague fluctuation hither and thither of endless and contradictory blundering. And yet the man who can believe that his own conception is definitive and complete, and that truth is to be fully reached the day after to-morrow, shows that he possesses the sanguine temper and dogmatic self-confidence which are, indeed, conditions of the successful propagation of a creed, but which are very far from being sufficient conditions of success. Too many philosophers and preachers have announced themselves to be in possession of the truth to leave us much confidence in such predictions. M. Comte was very confident of the future of his church; but it has not yet covered the civilized world. Every new church aims at being universal and eternal; but the one thing certain is that all creeds have perished. Socrates is a man, therefore Socrates is mortal, passes for a good syllogism. May we not say, with an equal show of a sound, inductive basis, Positivism is a religion, therefore positivism will die?

I hold, after a fashion, the pleasant old doctrine that truth has a tendency to prevail. I believe that we may discern in the past history of mankind a slow approximation toward truth—a gradual substitution of more comprehensive and accurate views of the world for the narrower and less verifiable—and I need not expound the familiar arguments for that doctrine. It follows, too, that in believing any doctrine we believe also that it will slowly force its way to a wider recognition in the clash and conflict of rival creeds. We believe it to be part of that solid core of truth which is gradually freeing itself from superincumbent masses of error and assumption. But we have still to ask how far this doctrine can be applied to any given contingency. May we infer, for example, from the triumph of Christianity that it included more truth than the beliefs which it ousted; or, from the assumed truth of any new creed of our own, that it will triumph over the adverse force of existing orthodoxy?

Here we have at once to confront a fact which lies on the very surface of history. The doctrine of a continuous and uniform progress of opinion is simply untenable. Historians of philosophy manage occasionally to twist the records of past thought into a confirmation of some such view. But, to gain even a show of continuity, they have to limit their view to a few scattered men of exceptional eminence. They make one bound from the ancient to the modern world, or, if they admit a few stepping-stones in the interval, they at least assume periods of many centuries when thought was stagnant or retrograde, and when countless millions remained

in placid ignorance, plunged in errors long detected by the few. The torch is not really passed from hand to hand by the masses. Solitary watchers upon rare eminences catch a glimpse of distant lights across profound valleys or rather vast breadths of continent steeped in supine indifference. Religious thought is as little continuous as philosophical. If you are a disbeliever in Christian theology, you can hardly deny that ancient philosophers had reached truths destined to long ages of oblivion, and opened paths which had fallen into complete disuse till again opened by inquirers in the last few generations. If you are a Christian, you hold implicitly that truths once recognized by the strongest minds have become obscure or been openly rejected as modern society has become more enlightened, but, upon this hypothesis, more corrupt. It may be possible to detect a slow evolution in certain profound conceptions which underlie all methods of thought; but it is impossible to deny that the evolution is extremely slow, often imperceptible, and consistent with the rise and decay of various forms of religious belief, and therefore, presumably, with the growth of new error or the loss of ancient truth. If there has been a slow accumulation of treasure in the long run, yet the race has rejected much that it once thought valuable, and probably lost for long periods much which had intrinsic worth.

The rationalist may well feel that on many points he would sympathize more closely with Marcus Aurelius than with St. Paul. The Stoical view of the world and life may appear to him worthier, freer from antiquated mythology, and more congenial to modern thought than that of the great apostle. And yet the Christian triumphed; and why? For reasons which the Christian apologist never tires of enforcing, and of which I am quite content to assume the substantial accuracy. It triumphed, doubtless, because it was better suited to human nature, that is, the nature of average men of the time; because philosophy flew above their heads, while religion grasped their imagination, provided an utterance for their emotions, and presented an ideal character which they could love and understand. The *prima-facie* inference, indeed, is not that which the apologist wishes to draw. A creed may thrive because it falls in with the weakness as well as with the strength of its adherents; because it is easily assimilated at once with the current superstitions and the current philosophy; because it gives that half-truth which is for the time the most congenial to the popular mind. There is something in Charles II.'s explanation of the

preacher's success—that "his nonsense suited their nonsense"; and, in short, there is a presumption that a religion fitted to the actual stage of mental development must be so far unfitted for the most advanced minds. The apologist is therefore anxious to point out that, though the creed exactly meets the wants of the time, its purity and perfection prove that it could not be the product of the time. We can understand its success when once originated; we can not understand its originating, except from some superhuman intelligence. And here, again, omitting the illegitimate leap to the supernatural, we can fully admit the general force of the argument. To discover a creed capable of clothing the vague emotions of that and so many succeeding generations, was clearly a work requiring genius of the rarest and highest order, or, more probably, the combined operation of many men of genius combined in unconscious coöperation by the collective sentiment of their age. The phenomenon is of the same kind which it is a commonplace to notice in a sphere only one degree less exalted. Given your man of genius—your Shakespeare or Dante—we can dimly see how he was created by the conditions of the time. He is great in virtue of his capacity for gathering into one focus and uttering in articulate language the thoughts and emotions indistinctly fermenting in the minds of innumerable contemporaries. Yet no one can predict the appearance of a man of genius, or show deductively that a Shakespeare must have arisen under Elizabeth. The founder of a religion belongs to an order still more exalted than that of poets, philosophers, or statesmen. When he has solved the problem, the answer is simple enough. Till he has solved it, we are still blindly groping in the dark, conscious of a want, but totally unable to give it distinct utterance, or to predict what will satisfy it. It may be true—let us hope it to be true—that the hour will always bring the man; that we have Shakespeares by the dozen ready to burst into song whenever springtime comes; that society, like the air, is everywhere full of germs of genius requiring only the occurrence of the particular degree of temperature necessary to give them life and vigor. Yet we are still as unable as ever to say what are the conditions productive of those flowering times in art or literature which have made a few great epochs remarkable to all future ages; no advance of social science brings us perceptibly nearer to a power of prediction; and, as no human being can foretell the advent of the next world-poet, still less foretell what his poem will be like, it would be even more futile to guess at the date or the contents of the next great religious message.

If a religion were simply a philosophy, we should have some specious basis for speculation. Comte, for example, traces the gradual ebb of theological modes of conception, which banishes the supernatural from one sphere of knowledge after another and liberates the direct vision from the distorting haze of superstition. When the stars no longer require the guidance of gods, we get a rational astronomy; and by a similar process we shall reach a really scientific system of sociology and ethics, resting on demonstration instead of assumption, and free from the element of mystery. But, as Comte again maintained, we should still no more have a religion than we have an architecture when we understand the laws of mechanics, or a music when we understand the laws of sound. Of Comte's attempt to take the next step, I need say nothing. His religion has been ridiculed, I think, more than enough; but I can not doubt that it has the fatal flaw of every attempt to construct by rule and line what can only be done, if it can be done at all, by the genial energy of a creative imagination. The strange thing is that, recognizing so clearly the nature of the task, he should not have recognized his own incapacity for succeeding in it. A religion is the synthesis of a philosophy and a poetry. It is the product of a theory of the universe working in the imagination of a people until it projects itself into vivid concrete symbolism. It must have a double aspect, corresponding on one side to the conceptions which men have actually framed of the constitution of the world in which they live, and, on the other, embodying those conceptions in a shape capable of being grasped by the imagination and of serving as a framework to the profound but indistinct emotions which it suggests. The ordinary theological antithesis between faith and reason corresponds to the distinction. A creed must appeal to men's direct and "intuitive" perceptions as well as to their logical faculties. It must be capable of being presented dogmatically as well as proved by chains of syllogisms. Most men, of course, do not reason at all, and accept their religion as they accept their science—at second hand. The man of science believes the truths of astronomy, because they are proved; and the non-scientific man because he believes that they are provable, and has had them directly presented to him by vivid and intelligible pictures. The ideal religion would be suited in the same way both to the philosophic and the popular mind. Only in this case the condition is incomparably more difficult of fulfillment. Even in physical science, direct vision lags behind analysis and demonstration; and it often requires the highest

imaginative power to see the results of a mathematical proof, though each step of proof may be fully understood. But to convert a philosophy into a religion, to give to abstract speculation the form and coloring which alone can bring it within reach of the ordinary understanding, is a task requiring the loftiest genius under the most congenial influences.

It is this double aspect of any vigorous religion which baffles not only our powers of prediction, but even of conjecture as to the future of faith. What form of belief will satisfy at once the philosophic thought and the popular impulses of the time? How is it to attract at once the thinkers whose sole aim is the extension of our narrow circle of intellectual daylight and the poor and ignorant who are moved only by the direct power of the creed to grasp their imaginations and stimulate their emotions? If it alienates one class, it can only render more chaotic the chaotic mass of struggling superstition; if it alienates the other, it can not spread beyond a professor's lecture-room. Even if we have a decided opinion as to the philosophical doctrines which are ultimately to prevail, we shall still be only at the threshold of the problem. How can they be made acceptable to the struggling masses of society? If not made acceptable, how can we be sure that they will not be crushed? *If* thought is to advance, we say, this must be its final stage. But how do we know that the final stage is at hand? May not philosophers once more find that they are losing their hold upon their hearers; that they have gone too fast and too far; and that, being in a small minority, they are likely to get the worst of it? There may be a retrograde movement in the tidal wave which has often advanced so fitfully and irregularly. We have reached the edge of the promised land, but who can tell that the race may not be turned back to wander for forty years or forty centuries in the wilderness? The philosophical movement destroys the old forms of emotional utterance; and, till new forms have been elaborated, the emotions remain as a disturbing force. How will men satisfy the needs hitherto met by the various forms of worship? What will be the heaven and hell of the future? Will men pray at all, and, if so, to whom? How will they express what have been called the supernatural dictates of the conscience? What will be the precise meaning given to such words as holy, spiritual, and divine, which have hitherto expressed some of the profoundest moods of which we are conscious? Or is it possible that we shall simply shut up our churches and keep our museums and theatres; and that all the emotions

which have hitherto been the moving forces of the greatest organizations will flow in other channels without producing any social catastrophe?

Theologians ask such questions to pronounce the answer impossible. They can not conceive any answer but their own; and calmly assume that the destruction or radical transformation of the old symbols is equivalent to the destruction of the things symbolized, and the alteration of the human nature which created them. For my part, I can not even understand the doctrine that the conscience (for example) was created by a belief in hell, and will perish when hell ceases to be credible. It seems to me clear that the conscience created the old hell, and will presumably create a new one, sufficient for practical purposes, whenever the ancient mythology decays. But, if it is asked, What will be the precise form which is to supersede the old? I can only reply, that is the question to be solved by the coming generations and the coming men of genius. Nor can I, or any one, tell how far the solution of the immediate future will be a compromise, including many ancient elements or a definitive acceptance of the soundest philosophical principles. The problem is not one of abstract reasoning, but of practice. We have to inquire how an artistic form is to be given to the ancient chorus of lamentation and aspiration which has been steaming up for so many ages from the race of men, not how we are to formulate with scientific accuracy the accumulating body of ascertained truth. We are not simply looking forward to the next stage in the evolution of a theory, but guessing what will be the resultant of a confused struggle of conflicting impulses, whose success is only affected indirectly by the truth of the doctrines which they embody.

The rashness of any attempt to unravel the mystery of the future might be abundantly confirmed, if confirmation be necessary, from past experience. We should perhaps find the best guidance, in any attempt at prophesying the future of religion, from studying the history of the last great revolution of faith. The analogy between the present age and that which witnessed the introduction of Christianity is too striking to have been missed by very many observers. The most superficial acquaintance with the general facts shows how close a parallel might be drawn by a competent historian. There are none of the striking manifestations of the present day to which it would not be easy to produce an analogy, though in some respects on a smaller scale. Now, as

then, we can find mystical philosophers trying to evolve a satisfactory creed by some process of logical legerdemain out of theosophical moonshine ; and amiable and intelligent persons laboring hard to prove that the old mythology could be forced to accept a rationalistic interpretation—whether in regard to the inspection of entrails or prayers for fine weather ; and philosophers framing systems of morality entirely apart from the ancient creeds and sufficiently satisfactory to themselves, while hopelessly incapable of impressing the popular mind ; and politicians, conscious that the basis of social order was being sapped by the decay of the faith in which it had arisen, and therefore attempting the impossible task of galvanizing dead creeds into some semblance of vitality ; and strange superstitions creeping out of their lurking-places and gaining influence in a luxurious society whose intelligence was an ineffectual safeguard against the most groveling errors ; and a dogged adherence of formalists and conservatives to ancient ways, and much empty profession of barren orthodoxy ; and, beneath all, a vague disquiet, a breaking up of ancient social and natural bonds, and a blind groping toward some more cosmopolitan creed and some deeper satisfaction for the emotional needs of mankind. Yet, there is one thing which we do not see, and at which we can not guess : What sect is analogous to the ancient Christians ? Who are the Christians of the present day ? Which, in all the huddle of conflicting creeds, is the one which is destined to emerge in triumph ? Will it triumph because its theory contains most truth, or because it contains that mixture of truth and error which is most congenial to the circumstances of the time ? If we could have asked an ancient philosopher for his forecast of the future during the first century of the propagation of Christianity, he would, we know, have treated that *exitiabilis superstitio* with contempt, and pointed out to his own satisfaction the miserable gullibility of its professors and the inherent absurdity of the tenets which they professed. And yet the creed triumphed. Why should not some creed which to us —whether Christians or infidels—seems equally absurd have in it the seeds of victory ? Nothing could have seemed more revolting to the philosopher than the doctrine of the atonement and of the crucified God. We are beginning to admit that in a certain sense both the philosopher and the object of his contempt might be right. The dogma is quite as incredible to a modern thinker as to the ancient philosopher. Yet he may think that it contained the assertion of a principle—distorted and perverted as much as you please—

which the philosopher had left out of account; and supplied a want which he could not satisfy, because he did not feel it. May there not be doctrines, apparently too absurd for discussion, which are spreading in obscure regions far below the surface of conscious and articulate thought, and destined to have their day?

If it is not an idle optimism to assume that superstition is henceforth impossible, I should at least be glad to know distinctly upon what grounds our security rests. Is it that we individually are so much wiser than our forefathers? I do not wish to underrate modern progress, but surely there is something grotesque in the hypothesis that the average shopkeeper or artisan of the present day is too clever to believe in the creeds of his forefathers. I fancy that no one has yet ascertained that the brain of to-day is more capacious than the brains of the contemporaries of Cæsar or St. Paul. Or if I fancy for a moment that minds trained by modern schools are above the reach of sophistry, the doctrine becomes very untenable when I take a journey, say, in the Metropolitan Railway from Kensington to Blackfriars. Take a cursory glance on such an occasion at any of your companions; look at that respectable grocer studying the "Daily Telegraph"; or the intelligent citizen absorbed in the records of the great Mr. Peace, prince of burglars and murderers. Can you pierce his armor of solid indifference by arguments about the principle of evolution and the survival of the fittest? Will the teaching of Comte, or Mr. Herbert Spencer, or Hegel, be as savory to him as the rhetoric of his dissenting oracle? Is he likely to see through fallacies which imposed upon Augustine or Aquinas? Macaulay prophesied that the Catholic Church would endure for ever, on the ground that, if Sir Thomas More could believe in the nonsense of transubstantiation, men might always believe in it. If some modern intellects are in advance of More, the great bulk are still far behind him. To found any hopes of an emancipation from superstition upon a belief in the elevation of the average intellectual standard is, indeed, to build upon a flimsy foundation. I am quite unable to see that the cultivation of the masses has reached a point at which—I will not say Catholicism, but—paganism is made impossible by the intelligence of mankind. If even witchcraft has become obsolete, it is not because its absurdity has been demonstrated, but because men's imagination has been directed elsewhere. Indeed, the phenomenon of a survival of superstition in the upper classes is too common to excite astonishment. A mind which can be edified by the tricks of a "medium" is saved, not by intrinsic ability, but

by the accidents of time and place, from sharing the grossest superstitions of Zulus or Esquimaux.

Nor, indeed, if we inquire into the average state of mind even of people who profess to discuss philosophical problems, is the result much more encouraging. Discussions of the first principles of religious belief have lately become common in popular magazines. People argue about materialism or idealism, about the existence of God and a soul, and another world, with a freedom which is a remarkable symptom in many ways; and to which I certainly have no objection. I do not think for one moment that such inquiries should be restricted to a class of specialists, or that anybody should be discouraged from frank revelations of his state of mind. They are often very interesting; but neither is it possible to doubt, when reading such discussions, that most people think it an ample qualification for the most difficult problems to be tolerably familiar with a few technical words. The result is, that most disputants go into a modern line of battle armed with antiquated bows and arrows. They placidly confute positions which were abandoned by their adversaries two or three centuries ago. They argue about free-will, for example, or materialism—I will not say, as if they had never read the latest discussions upon those ancient controversies, but as if they had been predecessors of Jonathan Edwards and Berkeley. Or, in a rather different direction, it would be almost amusing, if it were not rather irritating, to note the impossibility of impressing upon the ordinary disputant the fact that a man may disbelieve in hell without disbelieving in the value of all morality. He can see no difference between a denial that murderers will be tormented for ever and an assertion that murder is unobjectionable. The most amiable and candid critics will inform you that to deny the supernatural character of morality is to deny its existence; and that, in denying the existence of supernatural sanctions, you are not only unconsciously removing a useful safeguard of morality, but consciously and explicitly denying that there is any difference between right and wrong.

But I need not gather illustrations of a fact which no serious thinker will deny, that much argumentation on such matters rests on simple misunderstanding; and it is inevitable that it should be so: for religious development is a complex process of which the logical aspect is only one, and, it may be, a subordinate factor. The question of its importance in determining the whole must depend upon the relation between the select few who are accessible to reason and the

vast majority who are profoundly indifferent to truths not immediately applicable to practical purposes. What hold do thinkers possess upon the masses? How does a change of scientific or philosophical inceptions become operative upon popular religious beliefs? The philosophers may be compared to the brain of the so-called social organism; but then the organism is one of a very low type. It has innumerable nervous centers possessed of a certain subordinate activity, and only indirectly stimulated and coördinated by the central organ. Impulses may continue to be propagated upon which the brain has little influence; though it may be that there is sufficient unity to make the coöperation of the brain necessary to continuous and energetic vitality.

Philosophers may condemn the old creed as effete; men of sense may simply shrug their shoulders when a serious attempt is made to apply its teaching to contravene their palpable interests; but they are equally contemptuous, and not without some *prima facie* justification, when the attempt is made to supplant it by more satisfactory doctrine. They feel instinctively that philosophy has not found the necessary leverage to move the world. It has not the power to put any real stress upon the ordinary mass of mankind. No creed can be said to have a genuine vitality which is not one of the forces to be taken into account in the actual, every-day conduct of life, which can not make itself heard, if not actually obeyed, in the blind struggles of passion which stir the vast bulk of the social organism. The man of sense can give reasons enough for doubting whether the thinking part of his fellows represent any such genuine force. There is no want of ominous symptoms of prefound movements slowly evolving themselves in the subterranean strata of society—to which scarcely a gleam penetrates from the polite upper world of civilization and plausible philosophy. We may listen, if we will, to stifled rumblings significant of inarticulate discontent, gradually accumulating like explosive gases in confined caverns, till some sudden convulsion may rend the whole existing fabric into chaotic fragments. Society sometimes seems to resemble Milton's "small night-foundering skiff" moored to the scaly rind of Leviathan. If the huge dumb monster fairly rouses himself, can we hope to put the hook of philosophy in his nostrils, or send him to sleep with judicious opiates of sociology and political economy, and demonstrations of the general fitness of things? I have lately read lamentations over the supposed incompatibility between democracy and free-trade principles. Scientific expositions of the

mischief done by protection are likely to be thrown away, it is urged, upon the illiterate rulers of the future. It sounds probable enough; and to me the only surprising thing seems to be the agreeable opinion that people were ever really persuaded by the arguments of Adam Smith. Free trade, I imagine, triumphed in England because the people who wanted bread cheap were stronger than the people who wanted it dear; the twaddle so often talked about the great "law of supply and demand" is enough to show the hopeless illogicality of even pretentious advocates of economical orthodoxy. Toleration, again, has become a popular name in politics; and I sincerely hope that it is being slowly drilled into people's minds. Yet it would be hard to prove that it really rests upon any stronger basis than that of general indifference. We don't burn people for not believing what we don't believe ourselves, and so far we are right; but is it quite plain that, if the world were again agreed in believing anything, it would refrain from enforcing it by the old physical arguments? When struggles between rival classes are developed, involving deeper issues than those of tariffs—when Lazarus and Dives come, if they ever come, to a downright tussle—I can not feel certain that philosophers will be allowed to arbitrate. They may give a watchword here and there; they may influence some of the commanding intellects, and so indirectly affect the contest; but I fear that their best arguments may be as ineffectual as the trumpet-blast of modern times to the destruction of a city wall.

The improbability that ancient creeds should simply revive must, therefore, depend upon other conditions than the increase of the average intelligence. It seems, it is true, to be a law that there can be no resurrection of decaying mythologies. They cease, after a time, to stimulate the imagination, and are no longer the spontaneous growth of the intellectual and social forces of the day. No conscious process of rehabilitation can, then, give them real vitality. The more elaborate the attempt to revive, the more painfully dead and mechanical is the result. The new impulses can no more be forced into the old channels than made to conform to the cut-and-dried theories of innovators. In one case, it is attempted to make a river flow in its old bed when the whole configuration of a continent is altered; in the other, to force it into a neat rectangular canal defined by mathematical rule and measure. To explain fully how and why creeds perish and are renewed would be to give a complete answer to the most perplexing problems of social science. Yet we may admit the negative conclusion that it is rarely a process

of simple and continuous advance. It is not a case in which the greater minds can form their own conclusions and impose them directly upon the vulgar. The so-called leader is as much a follower, and guides by sharing the popular impulse. But neither could the mass advance at all without its leaders. The man of genius can not simply dictate, but he may insinuate some element of advanced thought. There is a reciprocity, a continual give and take, in which the conquering creed is to some extent permeated and colored by the higher elements of thought, though it undergoes some transformation in the process.

It is natural that men who realize this difficulty should attempt to soften the transition by some dexterous process of conciliation, which may allow the old to melt gradually into the new, and give on one side free play to the expansion of philosophical thought, while on the other it leaves the mass in possession of their ancient symbols. Why should not the new thoughts leaven the ancient mass without setting up any convulsive action? To avoid revolution is the great aim of sensible men, for they see how vast is the cost and how doubtful the gain, and if they can be avoided by a judicious reticence on the part of philosophers, by allowing speculation to filtrate gradually through the pores of the old creed, is it not folly to attempt to force upon the average mass doctrines which they can never understand, and which will only cause odium to their expounders? You can not impose your new creed upon mankind, even if you had a definitive creed. Why not encourage them to glide into it quietly and unconsciously? I will not here insist upon the difficulty that the proposal covers simple insincerity, and that what would be very convenient, if it were a spontaneous or unconscious process, involves an uncomfortable approach to deliberate lying and equivocation when it is deliberately adopted from motives of policy. But the truth seems to be that the whole process is inappropriate to the conditions of the time. It amounts to proposing that we should try to annihilate a danger by ignoring it. As a matter of fact, an ancient creed ends by working itself so thoroughly into alliance with the conservative forces of society that it is no longer possible to separate the two interests. Its influence is rigorously dependent upon the strong conviction of the governing classes that the old creed is bound up with the old order. The supported creed, which is popular with all the old women in the world, certainly a most estimable and venerable class, is also bound to support their prejudices. Their great desire—natural to their age and sex—is to

keep things as they are. The old belief is valuable in their eyes because (though not solely because) it is the symbol of all opposition to the subversive and revolutionary forces. If you could prove that Christianity really meant to aid, not denounce Communism, the effect would be to destroy the faith of its adherents. The alliance between the various conservative forces of the world is far too intimate and close, and the hostility between conservatives and revolutionists far too bitter and deadly, to allow of any conciliation by dexterous manipulation of dogmas. If there is no great social struggle underlying the religious movement, it may no doubt be easier than people suppose to reconcile the purely intellectual differences, and to make the old dogmas mean anything or nothing. But if the revolt against the doctrine is chiefly a symptom of a more profound and internecine struggle beneath the surface, the proposal to cover the divergence by terms capable of being used by both parties is doomed to inevitable failure. The proposal to take the wind out of the sails of agitators—to prove that the Christian is the true socialist and the true reformer—is very plausible, and may succeed so long as the agitation is superficial; but, when passions are really inflamed and the contest has become bitter, each party feels that it is a juggle. The hatred between republicans and priests in France does not depend upon mere questions of speculative thought, and, so far from welcoming any mode of softening the difference of creed, they would be glad to accentuate them and to provide fresh modes of insulting each other's feelings. In such a case the philosophic warfare is but the superficial symptom of a deeper social struggle, and the fate of the creed is bound up with the fate of the organization by which it is defended. Nor can we suppose that the alliance is merely accidental. The objections to a creed which weigh with a philosopher are not those, as I have suggested, which weigh with or perversely affect the masses. A creed is not destroyed immediately by attacks of a philosophical kind, though they may give a fatal blow to its vitality. There has long been plenty of latent skepticism; it is only when whole classes come into existence, ready for revolt upon other than speculative grounds, that the spark could produce an explosion. The prevalence of disbelief among the masses must be accounted for by the various causes which have undermined the whole of European society with the raw materials of revolutionary movement. But we may also assume that, unable as the masses may be to appreciate the more purely intellectual grounds of dissatisfaction, they have a dumb instinct which

makes them more or less prepared to accept the conclusions of the abstract reasoner. Christianity itself was doubtless the product of an analogous spirit of social discontent. But in its origin it proposed a remedy no longer appropriate to modern wants; and greatly as it has been developed, and radically as its modern supporters may differ from its original apostles, it has not been developed in the required direction. The old doctrine, for example, makes poverty sacred and inevitable, instead of regarding it as an evil to be extirpated, which places all our hopes in a world differing from this in all its conditions, and to be reached only through a supernatural catastrophe, instead of hoping everything from gradual development, and a recognition that the world can only be conquered by accepting its conditions as unalterable. This is but one aspect of a divergence between two modes of thought, which is too deeply impressed in their very structure to be overlooked or surmounted, and which corresponds not merely to a speculative difference, but to a new direction impressed upon human aspirations and upon a change of fundamental conceptions which has been thoroughly worked into the emotions as well as the beliefs of mankind. Though people may not think more clearly than of old, they have slowly assimilated certain results of the progressive development of thought, and society has acquired a different structure, which makes the ancient teaching inapplicable.

To state these obvious considerations in the briefest terms is enough to show the complexity of the problem, and to raise a strong presumption against any hasty solution. To develop them completely would require a knowledge of the actual conditions of modern society such as no one, perhaps, possesses in the necessary degree, and a power of impartial judgment upon the most exciting questions which is as rare as the requisite intellectual grasp. To infer from them with any confidence what will be the outlines of the creed of the future would require the insight of the rarest genius to be superadded to the other qualifications of a competent observer. To my mind, therefore, it is simply absurd for any man to answer with the slightest confidence the challenge of the hasty inquirer, What is to be the religion of the future? I have not the slightest idea. I am perfectly certain of my own ignorance, and I have a strong impression that almost every one else is equally ignorant. I can see, as every one else can see, that a vast social and intellectual transformation is taking place—and taking place, probably, with more rapidity now than at almost any historical period. I can dimly

guess at some of the main characteristics of the process. I can discover some conditions, both of the social and the speculative kind, which will probably influence the result. I can not doubt that some ancient doctrines have lost their vitality, and that some new beliefs must be recognized by one who would influence the minds of the coming generations. I can not believe in the simple resurrection of effete religious ideas; nor, on the other hand, do I believe that the ideas which still have life have as yet been effectually embodied in any system which professes to take the place of the old. In saying this, I take myself to be simply expressing the conviction of most men who think upon such topics at all; though it is, for obvious reasons, natural for many writers to affect to themselves and others more confidence than they feel at the bottom of their hearts, both in the completeness and in the approaching victory of their own creed. It is as well to get rid of that as of other affectations, and to admit frankly that the future is shrouded in impenetrable darkness. I can not say what will be the outcome of this vast and chaotic fermentation of thought. Doubtless all the elements which it contains will be somehow represented in the next crystallization of opinion; but I envy, or rather I do not envy, the confidence of any man who takes upon himself to define its precise character.

The argument of the more hopeful would be that, after all, modern science is what people call a "great fact." The existence of a vast body of definitively established truths, forming an organized and coherent system, giving proofs of its vitality by continuous growth and of its ability by innumerable applications to our daily wants is not only an important element in the question, but it is the most conspicuous point of difference between the purely intellectual conditions of the contemporary evolution and that which resulted in the triumph of Christianity. Here is the fixed fulcrum, an unassailable nucleus of definite belief, round which all other beliefs must crystallize. It supplies a ground, intelligible in some relations to the ordinary mind, upon which the philosopher may base his claims to respect. Whatever system would really prevail, must be capable of assimilating modern scientific theories; for a direct assault is hopeless, and to ignore science is impossible. The enormous apologetic literature destined to reconcile faith and reason is a sufficient proof that the reconciliation is a necessity for the old faith—and that it is an impossibility. The ablest thinkers are always taking up the impossible problem afresh; and the emptiest charlatan tries to surround himself with some halo of scientific

twaddle. Science, moreover, touches men's interests at so many points, that it has the key of the position. The common sense of mankind, as well as their lower passions, would crush any open attack upon the tangible material results of modern scientific progress. Science means steam-engines, telegraphy, and machinery, and, whether the reflection be consolatory or the reverse, we may be fully confident that all the power of all the priests and all the philosophers in the world would be as idle wind if directed against these palpable daily conveniences. And, undoubtedly, this consideration is enough to imply that scientific thought is a force to be taken into account. There are directions in which the incompatibility between its results and those of the old creeds is felt by ordinary minds. We still pray for a fine harvest; but we really consult the barometer, and believe more in the prophecies of meteorologists than in an answer to our prayers; *Te Deums* for victories excite more ridicule than sympathy; and we encounter the cholera by improved systems of drainage without attributing much value to fasting and processions. In other words, the old belief in the supernatural is so far extinct that it could not be restored without encountering some of the most vigorous beliefs of the time. Science need so far fear no direct antagonism. But it is easy for the theologian to withdraw ostensibly from the positions which are obviously untenable. A believer in transubstantiation has no more scruples than his neighbor in using the telegraph, and the most orthodox doctrines about the Trinity imply no physiological heresy. No one can doubt that Newton's discoveries have greatly modified the old conception of the universe implied in Christian mythology; and yet, after a time, they have been accepted and are enforced in all sincerity by the most orthodox theologians. We see, indeed, ingenious mathematicians at the present day trying to force the latest discoveries in physics into the service of old-fashioned theology; and the operation is performed so skillfully as to pass for a genuine argument with the intelligent public.

The danger is not that scientific results will be attacked, but it is conceivable, at least, that the scientific spirit may be emasculated. You may destroy a limb as certainly, though not as quickly, by a ligature as by an amputation. The line of argument is ready at hand. You have only to object to the abuse instead of the use of the scientific spirit; to allow people to invent as many telegraphs as they please, so long as they don't draw unpleasant conclusions from scientific discoveries. You may denounce specialists who in-

sist upon using physiological facts as weapons against theology, whereas nobody has a right to mix theology and science except in support of arguments from final causes. The positivist warns us against the indulgence of an idle curiosity, and proposes to discourage all researches which have no definite aim of immediate utility. The sentimentalist appeals from the head to the heart, and pronounces a love of truth to be immoral whenever it hurts his feelings. The Catholic, of course, attacks the all-corroding energy of the intellect, and tries to enslave Darwinism as his precursors enslaved Aristotle. Though the common sense of mankind may regret such assaults when they come into conflict with useful results, it may not be so clear about the methods to which the results are owing. The boundless curiosity of the scientific mind, its resolution to test every dogma—whatever the authority on which it reposes—to sift and resift all established beliefs, are undoubtedly troublesome and inconvenient to the indolent, that is, to the vast majority. It can scarcely be regarded as certain that some form of creed may not become popular which would tend to stifle thought and sap the sources of its energy. A political empire may be ruined from internal weakness as well as by external assaults; and the empire of science is of such a nature that, unless it extends, it must decline. It is not impossible, surely, though I do not assert it to be probable, that the creed of the future may flatter the natural weakness of mankind by gradually diminishing the interest in scientific inquiry. Popular writers are fond of describing Utopias in which man's power over Nature has indefinitely increased, and machinery been applied to hitherto unimaginable results. An imaginative writer might, I fancy, employ himself to equally good purpose in describing a state of things in which some mechanical discoveries should remain, but serve only as a memorial of a distant past, their principles forgotten, their use only known by tradition; in which the power of discovery should have perished, and a steam-engine be the object of superstitious reverence—like a gun in the hands of a savage—as a mysterious survival from the days of the ancient demigods. To bring about such a result, it would only be necessary so far to emasculate the intellect that men should be reluctant to encounter the labor necessary for extending the borders of science. There are abundant precedents for decay as well as for progress, and regions enough in which authority has succeeded in shifting the impulse to active thought. Why should we regard such an ellipse of intellectual energy as henceforth impossible?

I need go no further. When we think of such things—of the vast complexity of the processes by which new religions evolve themselves, of the small influence of purely intellectual considerations with the vast bulk of mankind, of the enormous improbability of any speedy extirpation of error, of the difficulty of impressing men's imaginations, even when you have convinced their reasons—we can hardly doubt, it seems to me, that the sensible man has a very strong case indeed. Why should we be so impatient of error? The enormous majority of the race has, on any hypothesis, been plunged in superstitions of various kinds, and, on the whole, it has found that it could thrive and be decently happy and contented in its ignorance. Science declines to accept catastrophes; and no catastrophe would be more startling than a sudden dispersion of the mists that have obscured the human intelligence for so many ages. If they grow a little thinner in our time, we may well be content; but is it not childish to be impatient about the rate of development of these vast secular processes? Why be in such a hurry to "change the errors of the Church of Rome for those of the church of the Future"? The generations come and go, and the external form of their creeds changes rapidly enough; but the substance changes little. Philosophers wrangle over the old doubts, and even old pagan superstitions survive in but slight modifications in the midst of Christian populations. The study of "sociology" shows at least —if it shows nothing else—that even the most trifling customs survive vast periods of apparently revolutionary change. Why should we expect to transform in a day or in a century the fundamental beliefs of mankind?

It is certainly well to moderate our anticipations. I feel, indeed, the heartiest respect for the enthusiasts who show the hopefulness of boyhood in proclaiming truth in season and out of season, and accept the reproaches of the world as gratifying testimony of their fidelity to truth. Undoubtedly they may frequently err—the man must be fortunate, indeed, who has never to reproach himself for such errors—by forgetting the duty of courtesy and tenderness for the weak and the stupid. Reformers are often too anxious to tell fools of their folly, and to reproach unduly those who are behind the times. It is difficult to draw the line accurately between a justifiable reticence and a mean equivocation; it is easy to confound the obvious duty of telling no lies with the more questionable practice of proclaiming, at all hazards, every conclusion as soon as you have reached it. But it is needless to insist upon a

point involving some difficult casuistry. The orthodox may be safely trusted to give all necessary emphasis to that aspect of the question which is least favorable to full utterance of thought. That class, in particular, which is accustomed to argue by a sneer, is most emphatic upon the wickedness of their opponents in using the same weapons. I simply take note of the fact, which all will admit, that the employment of such poisoned arrows should be forbidden on all sides; but I confess that to me the most serious danger does not appear to be that an excessive love of truth and plainness of speech will ever become unduly prevalent.

Buoyancy of spirit and confidence in the approaching decease of the devil are indeed only too likely to be checked by the considerations to which I have referred. I can not, for my part, understand how the frame of mind which is eager for proselytes should survive very early youth. I would not conceal my own views, but neither could I feel anxious to thrust them upon others; and that, for the very simple reason that conversion appears to me to be an absurdity. You can not change a man's thoughts about things as you can change the books in his library. The mind is not a box, which can have opinions inserted and extracted at pleasure. No belief is good for anything which is not part of an organic growth and the natural product of a man's mental development under the various conditions in which he is placed. To promote his intellectual activity, to encourage him to think, and to put him in the way of thinking rightly, is a plain duty; but to try to insert ready-made opinions into his mind by dint of authority is to contradict the fundamental principles of free inquiry. Persons who believe in miraculous intervention, and the magical efficacy of special beliefs, may consistently compass sea and land to make one proselyte; they may scatter tracts, hoping that the sight of a text will upset the convictions of a lifetime, or, as some fanatics are said to do, baptize the dying infants of the heathen to give them a passport to heaven. But the man who counts upon no supernatural assistance can only endeavor to help his fellow creature by stimulating any faint spark of intellectual activity—a task which is generally difficult enough for any human power. Nor, again, is it possible to overlook or deny the fact that there is simply no answer to the question which will determine—however illogically—the choice of many most amiable and excellent people. If a man will not abandon a religion till he has another to put in its place, we must confess that his demand

can not be met. The creed of the future, whatever it may be, exists only in germ. You can not give to a believer anything in place of his cult, of the sacred symbols which reflect his emotions, of the whole system of disciplined and organized modes of worship, of prayers, of communion with his fellows, which to him are the great attractions of his religion. You can not even tell him what system is likely to replace them hereafter, or whether human nature is so constituted that it will be able simply to drop the old without replacing it by anything directly analogous. And, therefore, you must admit that for the present a man who would abandon the old doctrines is compelled to stand alone. He must find sufficient comfort in the consciousness that he is dealing honestly with his intellect; he must be able to dispense with the old consolations of heaven and hell; he must be content to admit explicitly that the ancient secret has not been revealed, and to hold that people will be able to get on somehow or other, even if the most ignorant and stupid cease to consider it a solemn duty to dogmatize with the utmost confidence upon matters of which the wisest know absolutely nothing and never expect to know anything. Undoubtedly this is to accept a position from which many people will shrink; and it is pleasanter to the ordinary mind to reject it summarily as untenable, or to run up some temporary refuge of fine phrases and try to believe in its permanence. I only say that I do not see how an honest dissenter from the orthodox opinions can act otherwise.

How we are to act in regard to individuals is a problem which admits of much casuistry, and in regard to which I can only express the belief that such problems generally solve themselves pretty easily for people who are true to themselves and gentle to their neighbors. The duty of those who take any part in forming what is called public opinion is less complex. It resolves itself into a simple acceptance of the undeniable facts. It is impossible to overlook the distinction between philosophical speculation and the propagation of a new creed. If a man is not a St. Paul or even a St. John the Baptist, he should not take the tone of an apostle or a prophet. He may fully believe in the soundness of the doctrines which he preaches, and believe in their ultimate victory; but he may equally recognize the undeniable fact that he is at most only contributing to lay the philosophical basis of a religion, not propagating a fully developed religion. The part is strictly subordinate, though it may be essential. The utmost that he can do is to help to clear the air from effete superstitions, to extricate

moral truths from the misleading associations with which they have been entangled, and to encourage, as far as in him lies, the spread of truths which may find embodiment in any fresh developments of thought. The vast and enormously complex processes which are taking place can not be governed and regulated by any single mind. A man who fancies that he can dictate a complete system to the world only shows that he is arrogant to the verge of insanity. Some little may be done by any honest thinker—by any one who really aims at advancing inquiry, instead of trying to throw dust in people's eyes. He may help, according to the measure of his powers, to stimulate the impulses which are on the side of free thought, and which are the best guarantee for a healthy instead of a morbid development. It is not merely the right but the duty of every one competent to the task to do what in him lies to strengthen the fitful and uncertain influence of a sound intellect upon the vast and intricate jumble of conflicting opinions in the world at large. The man of sense will probably condemn him, if good sense is taken to mean an enlightened regard for our own private interest; for certainly such advocacy is often very unwelcome to the world. But if good sense means chiefly a sound estimate of a man's real position and talents, and a judicious application of his talents to honorable ends, a sensible man will surely approve of every vigorous exposition—not given in an irritating and insulting spirit—of the truths which must be the groundwork of a satisfactory religion; for the degree in which that mysterious creed of the future is founded upon tenable and verifiable philosophy must be the measure of its success in laying down permanent principles for the regulation of human conduct. Modest expectations and calm estimates of a man's real value to the world are not productive of any high degree of enthusiasm; but perhaps, in the long run, they are useful qualities.

LESLIE STEPHEN.

McCLELLAN'S LAST SERVICE TO THE REPUBLIC.

PART II.

The battle of Antietam had been fought and won, on the 17th of September, 1862. General Lee had retreated across the Potomac on the night of the 18th. General McClellan, for reasons which we have detailed in our former paper, had determined that in the condition of his army after the battle an immediate advance into the enemy's country was impracticable; and, moreover, he had reached the utmost limit from which, according to the only order that he then held, he could be justified in offensive movements. He had fought the battle of Antietam for the defense of Washington; in command of "the troops for the defense of the capital," as the order of September 2d was framed; and even by this construction of his authority he had taken upon himself a vast responsibility. The President, on the 1st of October, had visited the scene of the battle, learned the exhausted and destitute condition of the army, told General McClellan that he should not be ordered to move until he was ready, and voluntarily promised that he should be continued in command.

There now arose a very extraordinary condition of things. A general was in the field, at the head of an army of nearly one hundred thousand men, awaiting orders. But that army needed indispensable supplies, before it could be put in motion in pursuit of the enemy, and many of its departments required reorganization. It had, too, to perform the duty of guarding the passes of a long reach of the Potomac against a new invasion of Maryland and a sudden descent upon Washington. The higher officials at the seat of Government, who had the control of military affairs, began at an early period after the battle of Antietam to call in question the truth of

Erratum.—On page 309 of the "Review," *for* "*northern* Maryland" *read* "*southern* Maryland."

General McClellan's representations, that he was not receiving the supplies which he needed to enable him to execute an order to advance into the enemy's country, where he could not anticipate that his march would not be opposed. Under all ordinary circumstances, a government would unhesitatingly accept the representations of a general in the field, situated as McClellan then was, respecting the condition of his army and the possibility of an advance. Of all the military men who were in high commands during any part of our late war, McClellan was peculiarly fitted to know at all times the condition of his troops. His accomplishments as an organizer were very remarkable ; his habits of attention to the wants of his troops were unceasing ; and he never relaxed his vigilant oversight of details of a minute character. Nor were his ability and judgment as a strategist inferior to his powers as an organizer. All this was well known to the authorities in Washington. Without the existence, therefore, of some very extraordinary reason, furnishing a motive, good or bad, for not trusting General McClellan as Mr. Lincoln had voluntarily promised on the field of Antietam to trust him, it is very difficult to account for the fact that an issue was gotten up in the counsels at Washington respecting the truth of General McClellan's representations of the condition of his army.

From the 11th to the 28th of October, General McClellan constantly complained in his dispatches that his requisitions for supplies had not been met, so as to render it practicable for him to advance into the enemy's country upon an aggressive campaign. It is well known that there has been an assertion, transmitted from that day to this, that everything which he had asked for had been forwarded ; and it has been charged that it was in consequence of a constitutional indecision and want of vigor that he did not cross the Potomac in pursuit of Lee at least as early as the 10th of October. Perhaps one half of the nation to-day believe this to be true, because it was officially asserted. It is certainly untrue. The question is a question of fact, to be judged upon evidence ; and to be judged upon principles of belief such as we apply to any disputed matter of history. In that manner we shall examine this assertion.

We have presented to our readers, from President Lincoln's own lips, indubitable proof that the army was in no condition to move on the 1st of October. We shall now descend into details, and shall show that General McClellan was right in saying, as he did in his report, that, down to the 28th of October, his army still lacked the very supplies which were essential to any general move-

ment of its corps. The imperative wants of the army, after the battle of Antietam, were very numerous. Persons who are not professionally acquainted with such matters can not easily conceive of the kinds and quantities of things with which an army in active operations must be constantly supplied. We conceive of the soldier as a man whose wants have been systematically reduced to the minimum that is consistent with his efficiency. He stands before our imaginations well and appropriately clad, from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, and with his musket, his knapsack, his ammunition-belt, and his canteen. All superfluities are discarded, and he bears on his person nothing that is not absolutely needful to his vocation, and everything that is needful in the best possible condition. But the vast *matêriel* with which the field depots of an army must be constantly filled, in order to keep this human machine, the soldier, in marching or fighting condition, and provide for him when he is wounded or sick, we can bring before us only by an effort of the mind, applied to practical details. We must think of the supply-trains and the thousands of draught-animals required to serve them, and to serve the artillery, and of the horses of a higher class to remount the cavalry. We must think of clothing, and food, and forage; of hospital stores, of shelter-tents, of ammunition, of tools for intrenching purposes, of mechanical implements for all the manifold uses of a great multitude of men who can safely depend for nothing that is wanted upon the country around them. We must remember, too, that nothing is so destructive as war; that in a single battle a well-equipped army, even if victorious, may be reduced to a state bordering on destitution; and that a long and hurried march of troops may strip them of indispensable supplies if they get beyond the base from which their supplies are to come. Recollecting these things, we may be prepared to examine the wants of General McClellan's army after the battle of Antietam, not forgetting the important fact that it had been taken up by him after the defeat at the second Bull Run, in a condition of great derangement, and had been employed in marching or fighting from the 3d to the 17th of September, in which two weeks Maryland had been freed from the presence of the enemy and Washington had been saved.

The principal wants of this army, after the battle of Antietam, consisted of horses and forage, ammunition and food, and shoes and clothing for the men. Whenever an order might come to General McClellan enlarging the sphere of his operations and bidding

him advance across the Potomac, he could be in no condition to obey it unless these indispensable wants of his army had been supplied. Horses, forage, ammunition, and food came forward slowly; but without shoes and clothing no army could be moved, and the deficiencies of this army in shoes and clothing continued to be enormous down to a very late period after the order of October 6th to cross the Potomac and give battle to the enemy or drive him south was received. The reports of the army quartermasters, made to General McClellan's headquarters between the 15th and the 25th of October, leave no possible room for doubt that between those dates large bodies of the army were so destitute of shoes, clothing, and other indispensable supplies, that a general movement was impossible before it commenced. The chief quartermaster, Colonel Ingalls, reported on the 10th, four days after the date of the President's order to advance, "The suffering and impatience are excessive"; and unless we suppose that he and the corps commanders, and the division and regimental quartermasters, were all engaged in a common conspiracy with General McClellan to misrepresent the condition of the troops, we must accept their statements as true. Some of the corps commanders sent their wagon-trains repeatedly on long journeys to the depots where the supplies should have been, and the wagons came back empty. Even on the 30th, after the movement across the Potomac began, some of the corps had not received their supplies, and did not receive them until they were crossing the river. Of course, it is entirely immaterial what may have appeared on the books or records of the Quartermaster-General's office in Washington in regard to the supplies ordered for the Army of the Potomac. The sole question is, When were they delivered at the depots of the army in southwestern Maryland, sixty or seventy miles from Washington? No one must lose sight of and no one must be permitted to obscure the issue: and it must not be forgotten that it was the duty of the authorities in Washington not only to order the supplies, but to cause them to be placed where they were wanted.

General McClellan's report contains a tabular statement of clothing and equipage received at the different depots of the Army of the Potomac, from the 1st of September to the 31st of October. It will be remembered that the battles of South Mountain and Antietam had been fought before the 1st of October. In whatever condition the army may have left Washington between the 3d and the 7th of September, the supplies received before or during those

battles could not have made up the deficiencies caused by the marching and fighting of the two weeks prior to the 18th of September, the day on which Lee's army was withdrawn into Virginia. The tabular statement above referred to shows that by far the greater bulk of most of the enumerated articles reached the depots of the army between the 15th and the 25th of October. But, from the 25th to the 31st there came in, of the single article "boots," 20,040, being 6,240 more than were received prior to the 25th. Of "bootees," there were received 52,900, between October 15th and 25th, being 43,900 more than were received before the 15th. Of "stockings," there came in, between the 15th and the 25th, 65,200; and between the 25th and the 31st, 30,000; being 95,200 received since October 15th, and amounting to 66,975 more than had been received prior to the 15th. A comparison of the other articles enumerated, "forage-caps," "cavalry-jackets," "canteens," "flannel shirts," "haversacks," "trousers," "coats," "shelter-tents," "camp-kettles," "mess-pans," "overcoats," "artillery-jackets," "blankets," "felt hats," "knit shirts and drawers," shows like results. There were, for example, 70,000 drawers received between the 15th and the 31st, being 42,300 more than all the supplies of this article that reached the army from the 1st of September to the 15th of October. On these facts, if we know how to deal with facts, we think our readers will concur with us in believing that Colonel Ingalls might well say on the 10th of October that the suffering and impatience were excessive; for let it be observed that these indispensable supplies, which came in so slowly, after the President's order of the 6th of October had directed a march, came, when they did come, to fill earnest and pressing requisitions upon the authorities in Washington, made continuously from the 11th to the 28th.

But we have not yet done with this branch of our subject. During the period of General McClellan's reiterated complaints that he was not receiving supplies indispensable to an advance into Virginia, the President, supposing that something was wrong, caused a step to be taken by a gentleman in whom he had entire confidence, and who was in every way qualified to ascertain the exact state of General McClellan's army. This was Colonel Thomas A. Scott, of Pennsylvania, who had been Assistant Secretary of War at a former period. From him we have obtained, through a common friend, the information given in a letter, dated at Philadelphia on the 19th of February of the present year, from which we are permitted to take the following extracts:

I had been actively engaged, about the time of Lee's [threatened] invasion of Pennsylvania, in looking after the defenses of our own border, especially in connection with the safety of our own lines of road. In the performance of this duty, I was necessarily called to Washington a number of times, and, while there, about the middle of October, 1862, I had a conversation with Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War, and President Lincoln, in regard to the delay in the movement of General McClellan's army, and its reported condition of inefficiency to effect a movement without proper and greatly needed supplies. At the request of the President and Secretary of War I went to General McClellan's headquarters, near Harper's Ferry, and stated to him the object of my visit. General McClellan then said that it was not a matter that required discussion, but that he would have Major Myers, chief quartermaster of his staff, or rather of the Army of the Potomac,* show me the requisitions that had been made for supplies, and also a statement of the amount received, and that I could draw my own inferences from these data as to whether his army had been properly supplied or was in a condition to move. He stated that he was not only short of shoes, clothing, and other necessaries for the men, but he had not the horses to move his cavalry and artillery, and, notwithstanding he had requested it, he had not been authorized to procure his horses from the country where his army lay, although he felt sure that he could do so more promptly and more cheaply than the horses could be furnished from Washington.

I said to General McClellan that both the President and the Secretary of War were under the impression that all supplies for which he had made requisitions had been furnished him, and that they could not understand why that should be given as a reason for his failing to move.

On learning the facts I have stated, I immediately returned to Washington, saw Mr. Stanton, General Halleck, and the President, and told them the exact state of the case. Both Mr. Stanton and General Halleck then repeated their assurance that all General McClellan's requisitions had been met; and it was then suggested that, as the troops in the forts around Washington constituted a part of the Army of the Potomac, the supplies that were intended for General McClellan's army in the field, instead of having been sent to him at Harper's Ferry, had by some means or other been diverted for the use of the troops in the fortifications, and thus had failed to reach him. This proved to be the explanation of the trouble, and, in conference with the President, he requested the Secretary of War to see that the supplies needed were forwarded at once to General McClellan's army at Harper's Ferry, and also that General McClellan was given the necessary authority to make requisitions upon the country for the horses needed for his army movement. Both of these things were, of course, done instantly, and the result was that General McClellan moved his army—I think in less than a fortnight after the supplies had been forwarded.

It is apparent, from the internal evidence of the dispatches, that

* Major Myers was the assistant quartermaster with Colonel Ingalls.

Colonel Scott's visit to the army and his report to the President must have occurred at some time between the 20th and the 28th of October. After the 20th there was an evident change of tone in the dispatches which General Halleck sent to General McClellan by order of the President. Thus, on the 21st Halleck telegraphed to McClellan: "Your telegram of 12 M. has been submitted to the President. He directs me to say that he has no change to make in his order of the 6th instant. If you have not been, and are not now, in a condition to obey it, you will be able to show such want of ability. The President does not expect impossibilities; but he is very anxious that all this good weather should not be lost. Telegraph when you will move, and on what lines you propose to march." Now, although General Halleck in an official letter, which he wrote to the Secretary of War on the 28th, still said that in his opinion there had been no such want of supplies as to prevent General McClellan's compliance with the orders to advance against the enemy, yet it is apparent that the President knew on the 21st that there must be reason to doubt the correctness of this opinion, and that he would not then permit McClellan to think that impossibilities were required of him. We therefore date the return of Colonel Scott from the army and his report to the President at some time after the 21st of October; and, from the fact that sufficient supplies had not been received on the 28th, and that on the 1st of November the last body of the army crossed the Potomac, we conclude that the supplies which Colonel Scott caused to be forwarded from Washington were dispatched on the 28th, 29th, or 30th of October.

The figures which we have given above, taken in connection with Colonel Scott's statements, show that between the 6th and the 25th of October the forts around Washington must have been gorged with supplies, while General McClellan's army in the field was left destitute. Was this a blunder of "red tape," or was it intentional? Who caused it, or who was responsible for it? Things are sometimes allowed to occur without leaving any trace by which the just responsibility for them can afterward be fixed. Whether it was by accident or design that General McClellan's requisitions were not filled until after the discovery was made by Colonel Scott of the real state of affairs, the detention of McClellan's army on the Maryland side of the Potomac until after the 28th of October is accounted for.*

* While these pages are passing through the press, we have received the results of a research which has been kindly made for us by the officials of the Baltimore and

But we must for a moment retrace our steps, and must again remind the reader that, from the 2d of September until the 6th of October, McClellan had no orders under which he could act otherwise than on the defensive. It has always seemed to us of the highest importance to ascertain, if possible, what were the counsels of Stanton and Halleck, and their compeers, which preserved intact that inexplicable and unparalleled state of things—McClellan and his great army without definite orders until the 6th of October. "General McClellan will have command of the fortifications of Washington and of all the troops for the defense of the capital," remained his sole order from the 2d of September to the 6th of October. Mr. Lincoln knew that McClellan had no orders except to act on the defensive, and that he could not advance except at his peril. How was it, and by whom was it, that Mr. Lincoln was made to keep things in this condition for the space of five weeks? We can conceive of but one rational explanation of his conduct, which will relieve it from a criticism that we do not wish to make. He may have considered, down to the battle of Antietam, as McClellan did, that the order of September 2d, to act on the defensive, ended at the Potomac when McClellan had driven Lee across that river. If so, the period between the date of the battle of Antietam, September 17th, and the 6th of October was a period

Ohio Railroad Company, at their depot in Washington. These results establish the following facts: 1. During the month of October, 1862, the shipments of supplies for General McClellan's army, made from Washington, consisted chiefly of regimental baggage, medical stores, ammunition, harness, hardware, and iron. Some clothing was sent, but not in proportion to other articles. 2. On the 28th, 30th, and 31st of October, no shipments of clothing were made from Washington; but on the 29th there were seven packages and two boxes for the Fifth Regiment of New York Volunteers, and one hundred and fifty-two boxes consigned to Captain Alexander Bliss, at Harper's Ferry, accompanied by a special agent. This was the supply of clothing spoken of by Colonel Ingalls, the Chief Quartermaster, which was intended for Sumner's corps, and which Colonel Ingalls in his report said came almost too late for issue, as the army was then crossing into Virginia. (See McClellan's report, p. 424.) 3. Everything intended for General McClellan's army was dispatched from the Washington depot as soon as it was received there and could be loaded. The large quantities of clothing, shoes, and other supplies, embraced in the tabular statement given in General McClellan's report, and which were received at the army depots from the 25th to the 31st of October, were sent from Philadelphia, or Harrisburg, to Hagerstown; and a comparison of the dispatches sent by Colonel Ingalls to Harrisburg and his report leave no room to doubt that the effect of Colonel Scott's visit to the army and his report to the President was that, in the last days of October, there was the same (although late) activity in sending supplies to Hagerstown from Pennsylvania that was produced in sending supplies to Harper's Ferry from Washington.

when McClellan was both waiting for orders to advance and waiting for indispensable supplies. The order came to McClellan on the 7th of October, and the supplies that were absolutely necessary to enable him to execute it came at the end of three weeks afterward.*

We have now to describe briefly the plans which General McClellan had in view, after he crossed the Potomac, for dividing the forces of the enemy so that he could attack and beat them in detail. Six days sufficed for the march of fifty miles from the Potomac to Warrenton, after the last corps of the army had crossed; notwithstanding that heavy rains delayed the movement considerably in the beginning, and three of the corps had to wait at least one day at the crossings to complete their necessary supplies. At the end of the six days, General McClellan had made the different dispositions of his troops which his plans for advancing against the enemy contemplated. His headquarters were at Rectortown on the 6th of November. The main body of his infantry had then reached Warrenton, and his advanced cavalry lay some miles south of that place, toward Culpepper Court-House. Although, in the order of October 6th, the President had advised an interior line of movement so as to place the army between Washington and the enemy, yet he did not peremptorily direct it, and on the 26th of October General Halleck had telegraphed to General McClellan as follows: "Since you left Washington, I have advised and suggested in relation to your movements, but I have given you no orders. I do not give you any now. The Government has intrusted you with defeating and driving back the rebel army in your front. I shall not attempt to control you in the measures you may adopt for that purpose; you are informed of my views, but the President has left you at liberty to adopt them or not as you may deem best." Two observations may be made here: First, that General McClellan was to make his own plans for the campaign and to be responsible for them; second, that it was General McClellan who had been intrusted with the duty of defeating or driving back the enemy. Yet General Halleck was then preparing in Washington the evidence which was to be used to furnish the ostensible rea-

* The cruel suffering inflicted upon the soldiers by this failure to supply them with necessaries could be described by living witnesses in terms that we can not command. It is a fact that many men, in a corps led by a gallant officer who has depicted to us their condition, marched from the Potomac to Warrenton with bare and bleeding feet, and could not be shod until they reached that place.

son for removing General McClellan from the command, before he could encounter the enemy by the plans which he had been left at liberty to adopt. Our readers will observe, as we proceed, that it could not have been on account of his intended strategy that General McClellan was to be removed; but that the evidence, which was to furnish a plausible ground for his removal, related wholly to the unnecessary delay on the field of Antietam which General Halleck and others in Washington falsely imputed to him.

The plan of campaign which General McClellan had adopted before he reached Rectortown can be best described in his own words:

> The plan of campaign I adopted during the advance was to move the army well in hand parallel to the Blue Ridge, taking Warrenton as the point of direction for the main body, seizing each pass in the Blue Ridge by detachments as we approached it, and guarding them after we had passed, as long as they would enable the enemy to trouble our communications with the Potomac. It was expected that we would unite with the 11th Corps and Sickles's division near Thoroughfare Gap. We depended upon Harper's Ferry and Berlin for supplies, until the Manassas Gap Railway was reached; when that occurred, the passes in our rear were to be abandoned, and the army massed ready for action or movement in any direction.
>
> It was my intention, if, upon reaching Ashby's or any other pass, I found that the enemy were in force between it and the Potomac, in the valley of the Shenandoah, to move into the valley and endeavor to gain their rear. I hardly hoped to accomplish this, but did expect that, by striking in between Culpepper Court-House and Little Washington, I could either separate their army and beat them in detail, or else force them to concentrate as far back as Gordonsville, and thus place the Army of the Potomac in position either to adopt the Fredericksburg line of advance upon Richmond, or to be removed to the Peninsula, if, as I apprehended, it were found impossible to supply it by the Orange and Alexandria Railroad beyond Culpepper.

He then gives in detail the positions in which he had placed the different corps of his army, in accordance with this plan, down to the 6th of November, adding: "Had I remained in command, I should have made the attempt to divide the enemy, as before suggested; and, could he have been brought to battle within reach of my supplies, I can not doubt that the result would have been a brilliant victory for our army."

At this time, the distance between the advanced pickets of General McClellan's cavalry and Longstreet's position at Culpepper Court-House was hardly six miles; and, from the compact mass of Federal troops collected around Warrenton to Longstreet's position,

the distance was not quite eighteen miles. At the same time General Lee, with the other half of his army, was about thirty miles to the northwest from McClellan's advanced position, and somewhat more than that from Longstreet. General McClellan might, therefore, have well anticipated that he would be able to separate the two wings of the Confederate army, beating Longstreet separately, or forcing him at least to fall back upon Gordonsville. In that event, to transfer the Federal army to Richmond would have been only a question respecting its base of supply. If it could not have been supplied directly from Washington, beyond Culpepper Court-House, it could have been thrown upon the Peninsula and have found its old base on the James, with all the advantages of water transportation. The map on opposite page shows the positions of the Federal and the Confederate troops on the 7th and 8th of November.

At a late hour on the night of November 7th, a special messenger from the War Department reached General McClellan's tent at Rectortown, bearing the following order:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *November* 5, 1862.

GENERAL: On the receipt of the order of the President sent herewith, you will immediately turn over your command to Major-General Burnside, and repair to Trenton, New Jersey; reporting on your arrival at that place for further orders. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. HALLECK, *General-in-Chief.*

Major-General McCLELLAN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, *November* 5, 1862.

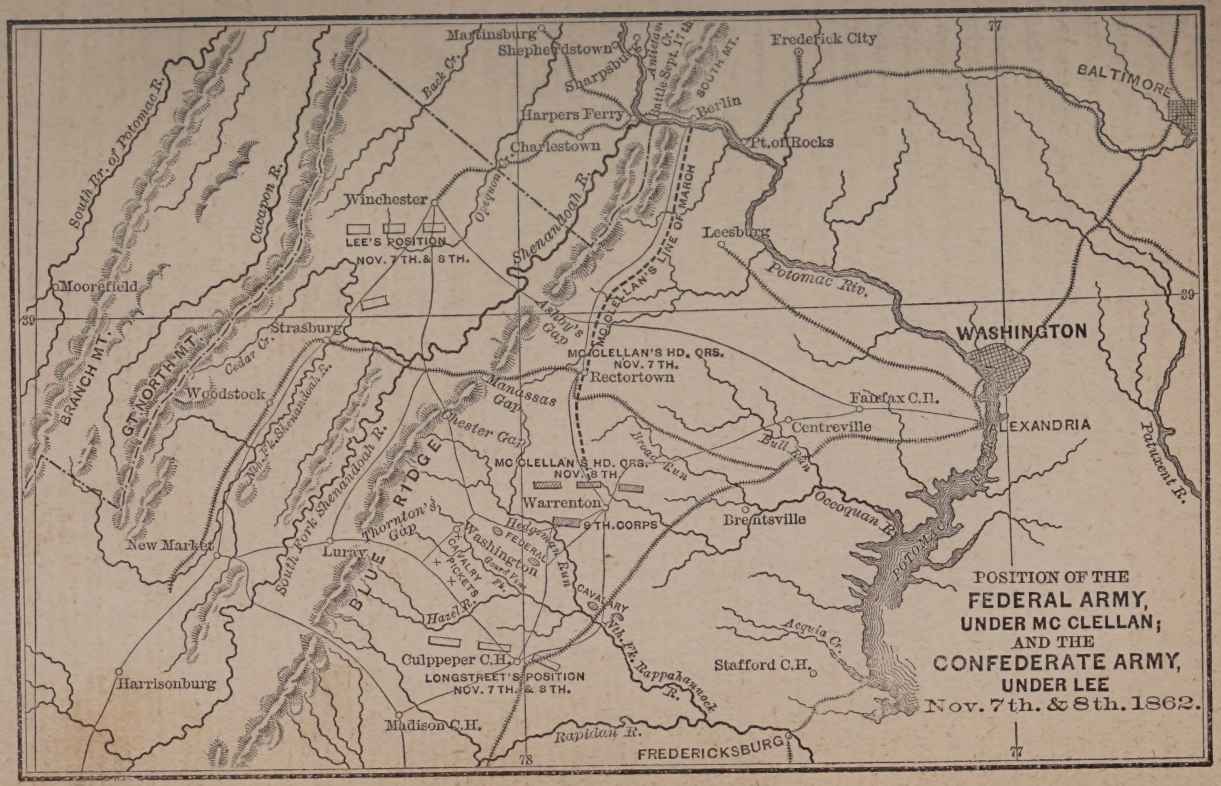
GENERAL ORDERS No. 182.

By direction of the President of the United States, it is ordered that Major-General McClellan be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and that Major-General Burnside take the command of that army.

By order of the Secretary of War:

E. D. TOWNSEND, *Adjutant-General.*

General Burnside arrived at General McClellan's tent with the messenger who brought the order. Having read the order, McClellan handed it to his successor, saying quietly, "Well, Burnside, you are to command the army." At an early hour on the next morning, McClellan, accompanied by his staff, rode toward Warrenton. The order changing the command had not then been promulgated to the army. As McClellan passed the columns on the road to Warrenton, the men greeted him as usual with their enthusiastic


Martinsburg
Shepherdstown
Sharpsburg
Antietam Cr.
Battle Sept. 17th
SOUTH MT.
Frederick City
BALTIMORE
Back Cr.
Harpers Ferry
Berlin
Pt. of Rocks
Charlestown
South Br. of Potomac R.
Cacapon R.
Opequon Cr.
Shenandoah R.
McCLELLAN'S LINE OF MARCH
Winchester
LEE'S POSITION
NOV. 7TH. & 8TH.
Leesburg
Potomac Riv.
Moorefield
Strasburg
Ashby's Gap
McCLELLAN'S HD. QRS.
NOV. 7TH.
WASHINGTON
BRANCH MT.
GT. NORTH MT.
Cedar Cr.
Rectortown
Woodstock
Manassas Gap
Fairfax C.H.
Centreville
ALEXANDRIA
Chester Gap
Broad Run
Bull Run
Potomac R.
McCLELLAN'S HD. QRS.
NOV. 8TH.
Warrenton
Occoquan R.
Brentsville
9TH. CORPS
New Market
Thornton's Gap
Hedgman Run
FEDERAL CAVALRY PICKETS
Washington
Luray
Hazel R.
CAVALRY
Wolf Run Mt. Pk.
Rappahannock R.
Culpepper C.H.
LONGSTREET'S POSITION
NOV. 7TH. & 8TH.
Stafford C.H.
Harrisonburg
Madison C.H.
Rapidan R.
FREDERICKSBURG
POSITION OF THE
FEDERAL ARMY,
UNDER MC CLELLAN;
AND THE
CONFEDERATE ARMY,
UNDER LEE
Nov. 7th. & 8th. 1862.

cheers, but they looked inquiringly and anxiously into his face, for they had somehow, they knew not why, begun to fear that something extraordinary was about to happen. This foreboding, half-bewildered study of his countenance met him at every step. If the troops had known what he knew, what would have been their feelings, their demonstrations, their fears! He rode on, giving no sign of what was in his thoughts, but making his customary acknowledgments of the affectionate greetings of the men. After he reached Warrenton, a day was spent in viewing the positions of the troops and in conferences with General Burnside respecting future operations. In the course of that day the order was published, and General McClellan issued a farewell address to the army. On the evening of Sunday, the 9th, there was an assembly of officers who came to take leave of him. On the 10th he visited some of the various camps, and, amid the impassioned cries and demonstrations of the men, he took a last look of the troops who had followed him with such unfaltering devotion. "History," he said to the officers who crowded around him—"history will do justice to the Army of the Potomac, even if the present generation does not. I feel as if I had been intimately connected with each and all of you. Nothing is more binding than the friendship of companions in arms. May you all in future preserve the high reputation of our army, and serve all as well and faithfully as you have served me!" On the 11th, at Warrenton Junction, he entered with his staff a railroad train that was about to start toward Washington. Here there was stationed a detachment of two thousand troops. They were drawn up in line, and a salute was fired. The men then broke their ranks, surrounded the car in which he was seated, uncoupled it from the train and ran it back, insisting wildly that he should not leave them, and uttering the bitterest imprecations against those who had deprived them of their beloved commander. The scene has been described to us by an officer who was present as one of fearful excitement. The moment was critical. One word, one look of encouragement, the lifting of a finger, would have been the signal for a revolt against lawful authority, the consequences of which no man can measure. McClellan stepped upon the front platform of the car, and there was instant silence. His address was short. It ended in the memorable words, "Stand by General Burnside as you have stood by me, and all will be well." The soldiers were calmed. They rolled the car onward, recoupled it to the train, and with one long and mournful huzza bade farewell to their late com-

mander, whom many of them were destined never to behold again. General McClellan reached Washington on the following day, and without tarrying for an hour proceeded at once to Trenton, where he arrived at four o'clock in the morning of the 12th. From that time he never again saw Lincoln, or Stanton, or Halleck.

It is not inappropriate to consider here what was squandered by the Administration when they took McClellan from the service of the country. Aside from all his other powers, in which his usefulness as a general far exceeded those of any other man who was then on this side of the Alleghany range, there can be no question that he possessed the rare power of inspiring his troops with confidence in his abilities and attachment to his person, to a very uncommon degree. What was the secret of his power over men? Why was it that they loved him and fought under him so bravely, so steadily, oftentimes against odds that would have made an army quail under another leader? During the seven days of the perilous march to the James, there was terrible fighting; but the Army of the Potomac saved its honor, although attacked, through a whole week, by a far larger force, led by some of the ablest generals in the Confederate service. If McClellan, when he ordered that flank movement, had been suddenly succeeded by any other general who can be named, that army would have been annihilated. When the combined forces under Pope were driven back upon Washington in a disorderly rout, why was it that, the instant McClellan's restoration to command became known, the old enthusiasm, discipline, and order were restored, as if by magic? Why did the officers and the troops fight at Antietam as we know they did fight—no important movement in the battle, save one, failing to be executed when the order for it was first given? What, we again ask, was the secret of McClellan's power over an army?

It is worth while to analyze such a power if we can, because, when it exists, it constitutes, for a government that is at war, one of its dearest possessions. It is a public property, as valuable as any other resources for successful warfare, and therefore requiring the most careful and conscientious husbandry. A government that throws away such a moral power might as well cripple itself by destroying one half of its physical means. It has often been said that an army is a machine, and that the more nearly it approaches to the condition of a physical machine, that is absolutely under the control of an operator, the better army it is. But this idea of an army, at least in modern times and in wars in which a great public

principle is at stake, requires a good deal of modification. An army is a machine, but it is a moral and conscious machine, as well as a physical one. It has feelings, passions, intelligence, quick perceptions, and a capacity to understand what is required of it. That impalpable essence which is called the *esprit de corps* of an army, what is it but the aggregate feeling of a great body of men, into which are fused for a time the moral existences of the individuals that compose the mass? Take two soldiers from the ranks, and compare their differences in courage, physical strength, power of endurance, intelligence, and spirit of obedience, and the differences will often be found to be very great. But there is a resultant of these qualities, when the average is formed by the union of a great mass of individual characters in one organization, and that resultant of moral and physical forces is the complex machine with which a commander has to deal.

In studying the careers of distinguished generals who have possessed something more of power over their armies than the mere authority of their stations gave them, it will be found that the individual character of the man has had a great deal to do with his influence over his troops. There have been commanders in whom the passion for personal glory has been the strongest force in their natures; and when the national character has been one that feels national glory to be the greatest of all objects, and that character has pervaded the armies, deeds almost superhuman have been done. When Napoleon I. fulminated his bombastic addresses to his troops, he touched a chord of the national honor in their breasts, a feeling for the honor of France, while he at the same time aroused in them a passionate sympathy with his own glory. When we turn to commanders of an entirely different moral character, we must still look to their personal qualities for the secret of whatever extraordinary influence they may have exercised over their troops, and must also take into consideration the national character and the nature of the war. In our late civil war there was a principle at stake on both sides, which the masses of the armies on both sides well understood, from the first. Perhaps there were greater numbers of soldiers of foreign birth in the Federal than there were in the Confederate armies, but this foreign element did not prevent the national character and the national feeling from predominating over and pervading the whole. As a general thing, the soldiers of foreign birth in the Federal service understood and believed in the importance of the principle at stake as well as the native Americans; and, when

the Federal conscription took place, it was the popular conviction of the necessity for reëstablishing the Union under one government that caused a general submission of all classes to a measure that was unquestionably beyond the limits of constitutional authority.

General McClellan himself was a most conspicuous embodiment of the national feeling for the Union, which existed throughout the States that adhered to the Federal Government, as he was of the general conviction that the welfare of the whole country required that State secession be suppressed. He had and he used a great power to impart this feeling and conviction to his troops. Officers and men who fought under him knew what they were fighting for, and they knew it all the better and felt it all the more intensely because of the example given to them by a commander whom they respected for his virtues, and loved for his conscientious care of their lives. They knew that he had a great heart as well as a wise head. They knew that in executing his orders they were obeying a mind equal to any emergency that they had to encounter; and that for those who would have to meet death, or wounds, or disease, there would be that tender pity which is the soldier's greatest consolation, and that this softer quality of human nature was in McClellan blended with the most robust manliness. Such was the feeling toward him, alike among officers and men; but the former regarded him with a larger recognition. They saw in him a representation of the best attributes of our national character—of its cultivation, its instructed energy, its moral and religious principle, its capacity to encounter difficulties, its devotion to duty, its disdain of unworthy arts, its superiority to vulgar ambitions, its power of self-control when injuries, and injustice, and obloquy, are heaped upon faithful and true-hearted service. To this we must add the effect, upon all classes, of what it is difficult to describe, but it is something that all can understand. It goes by the name of personal magnetism. It is that charm of the personal presence, which is compounded of what beams from the countenance and is expressed in the manners, and what is intuitively felt to be the nature of the man. It is a mysterious influence, but a very powerful one. There have been highly distinguished military men who have not had a particle of this power, and whom one never cares to see a second time. But, when this power is possessed, it is a great treasure. The dying boy, on the field of Antietam, who raised himself on his elbow as his general rode by in the heat of the battle, shouted out

the familiar name with the most affectionate endearments, and then dropped dead upon the turf, might have told the great men at Washington what they would lose if they should take this commander from the head of that army.

We shall close our discussion of this subject in the next number of the Review, with a consideration of the political reason which is supposed to have operated upon President Lincoln, and to have caused him to remove General McClellan from the command of the Army of the Potomac. We have shown that the alleged unnecessary delay after the battle of Antietam could not have been publicly assigned by the President as a reason for this act. The delay was known to the President, nearly two weeks before the date of the order changing the command, to have been occasioned solely by the want of indispensable supplies. It remains for us, therefore, to examine the political reason which has been suggested as the explanation of the President's course. This will bring us to the character and purpose of the Harrison's Landing letter, which General McClellan wrote to Mr. Lincoln just four months before he was ordered to turn over the command to General Burnside and to report at Trenton.

G. T. C.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

THE present century in America has been made illustrious by the names and works of men of genius. With the increase of learning, the next generation is to have a more ample and more scholarly literature; but it is not probable that there will soon be another constellation like that now passing the zenith. While we are near to living men we may fail to see them, in their true relations to the age. We have grown up with a life-long reverence for the genius of the past, and it requires some courage to set up an author as a classic before his century has ended.

Prominent among the great men of this generation is the subject of this essay. More than any of our authors he is an exponent of what is native and virile in the thought of this country. Literature is sometimes considered as if it had no concern with politics. If literature consisted of "woful ballads" and society novels, this would be true. But, in any large sense, the constitution and laws of a country, with the attendant social customs, are the life and soul of its letters. Democratic ideas must pervade any truly American work; but, it is proper to add, democracy, as exhibited in the bluster of Buncombe orators in Congress, is quite different from the ideal democracy of a philosopher.

The intellectual life of Emerson for nearly half a century has affected educated men with an influence that is immeasurable; he is "the Columbus of modern thought." Since Lord Bacon, there has not been another writer whose resources were so wholly in himself. He belongs with the three or four philosophic minds of the first order, born of the Anglo-Saxon race.

The relation of Emerson to the philosophy and literature of modern times can not be well understood without some consideration of the state of affairs in New England. The original framework of society was a theocracy, although government was carried

on under democratic forms. The Papacy in its most palmy days never had a more complete ascendancy than the clergy in Boston.

Various circumstances combined to rivet the union of Church and state. The Indian wars consolidated the people, and made it necessary to drive out every person whose loyalty was not fully known. The long struggles to preserve the colonial charters had a similar influence. The strong antipathy to the Episcopal form of worship was blended with a dogged resistance to monarchy. The principles that had overthrown Charles I. and set up Cromwell survived in the colonies, while in England the profligate Charles II. and the gloomy despot James II. were annulling the acts of the Long Parliament, and trampling out nonconformity.

For all practical purposes the town and the parish were one. The town officers collected taxes for the support of the gospel from believers and unbelievers alike. In every place of worship sittings were assigned according to some standard of social rank by the town officers and deacons. This was called "seating the meeting." In the church-steeple under the bell-deck was stored the town's stock of powder and ball for common defense. On the church-door were legally affixed all public proclamations and the warrants for town meetings.

After one hundred and seventy years of clerical rule, which it would be mild to call bigoted, there came a powerful reaction, that was felt in doctrine, discipline, and conduct. On the part of the evilly-inclined there was manifested a defiance of decorum, a willful wickedness, and a general indulgence in strong drink. Graphic pictures may be seen of this period in Judd's "Margaret," a powerful book, written by a native of the town where, long before, that ablest of Calvinists, Jonathan Edwards, wrestled with Fate and Free-Will. The reaction in discipline was seen in the adoption of the "half-way covenant," and in allowing withdrawals from the parish. But the reaction in doctrine was destined to have more important results. More than half the churches in Boston and vicinity, while retaining the Congregational name and the traditional forms of worship, went through a complete change of faith. They rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, of total depravity, of election and reprobation, and of the vicarious atonement; and, while they held mainly to the inspiration of the Scriptures, they claimed that the interpretation must be in accordance with enlightened reason.

Emerson was a son of a Unitarian clergyman, and might almost

be considered a Levite in descent; since no fewer than seven of his ancestors, during the brief history of the colony, had been ordained preachers. The old faith was now left behind, abandoned by his family and friends, as at variance with nature. The old literature was left behind, as thorny and unfruitful. A new school of letters was to arise, linked with a new philosophy and a new conception of piety. Whether the new or the old would be the better for mankind, it is not necessary to consider. The time for change had come, and with it the predestined leader, William Ellery Channing.

When the boy Emerson was receiving the rudiments of education, the literary nutriment of the time was wholly from British sources. With half a dozen exceptions, most of them unimportant, not a single work of value had appeared in the New World. We can scarcely point to any literature of the last century which would be of service to a budding philosopher or poet, except as a warning. The Revolutionary period was naturally full of stir, and brought forth many pamphlets and speeches, notably those of Samuel Adams and Thomas Paine; but hardly anything remains that the world continues to read. A vital book is reprinted; a dead book is delivered over to antiquaries to be embalmed.

Judged by present standards, the Boston of 1800 was a dull and pedantic little town. Its society may have been more stimulating and more attractive than its literature; but such newspapers as the "Columbian Centinel" are sufficiently self-accusing. To maintain liberty, to split hairs in the discussion of Christian doctrine, and to find profitable markets for fish, had engrossed the energies of the people. Struggles with nature and with savage foes had made the colonists hardy; resistance to kingly power had made them bold and self-respecting; and the pursuit of commerce had brought in wealth, that was to serve as a basis for culture in the succeeding generation.

It was in this rather sterile and unlovely field that one of the most subtile of philosophers and one of the rarest of imaginative poets was to be developed. Genius is always a surprise, because no one can see in the bearding boy the hidden strands of ancestral traits. Nothing, however, is surer than heredity, for heredity is practically fate; and in this descendant of a line of clergymen were to be blended, along with their gravity, patience, and self-control, their clear sight, their high moral sense, their love of truth and beauty, their skill in dialectics, and their before undreamed-of power of imagination.

As before said, there was no impetus from behind; but there were a "promise and potency" in existing elements. The poet Dana, with Greenwood, Channing, and others, were establishing our now venerable "Review"—writing for nothing, and paying the printer besides. In the day of small things this was an event of no ordinary character. For almost the first time men saw an American periodical in which living topics were adequately discussed by scholars in a tone that was free from cant and pedantry. The intellectual movement might not have been the consequence of the metamorphosis of faith, but it followed closely after—*post hoc*, if not *propter hoc*—and it is a striking fact that nearly every noted poet, historian, scholar, and statesman in New England and in the North has been indebted to the influence of Channing and his associates. Many of them sat at his feet as disciples; all were touched by the power of his free spirit.

Consciously or unconsciously, every living man in the Northern States has been made more liberal in thought, and has been led to broader views of life and duty, by the teachings of Channing. This widespread influence has created the audience for the philosophic teacher, the circle of readers for the historian and poet, and the constituency for the philanthropic statesman. Before the Revolution neither Channing nor Emerson could have had a hearing. It may be added here that every living American who reads books, or listens to sermons or lectures, is swayed by the influence of Emerson. No writer of any elevation of sentiment, certainly no Protestant writer, has escaped his influence. He stands in the pulpits of those who attack or deplore his doctrines. His brilliant points are transferred to shine in the sentences of his critics. His philosophy and his phrases are in the air; men can not escape them. Every essayist and peripatetic reformer is translating into more obvious, but also into more awkward phrase, such of the Emersonian apothegms as he has mastered. To know how universally the thought and the portable epigrams of Emerson have been diffused, it is only necessary for the reader, familiar with recent literature, to open some of the earlier essays, such as "Nature," or "English Traits," and to renew the acquaintance begun twenty-five years ago. On every page there will be seen scintillating lines that have since become the common property of mankind, quoted by everybody, like Hamlet and Lycidas, and generally without a thought of the source whence they came.

Mr. Emerson's life has been singularly uneventful; the facts are

few and in simple order. What his future biographer may have to relate of his inner experience may be much fuller and more fascinating. He was born in Boston in 1803, May 25th, was fitted for college at the Latin School, and was graduated at Harvard in 1821. He taught school for five years, and then studied divinity. In 1829 he was ordained as colleague to the Rev. Henry Ware, pastor of the Second Church in Boston; but in 1832 he resigned his place, and practically left the ministry. He twice visited Europe—in 1832 and again in 1847. He was married in September, 1830, to Miss Ellen Louisa Tucker, who died in February following. In 1835 he was married to Miss Jackson, a sister of the late eminent *savant*, Charles T. Jackson. In the same year he removed to Concord, Massachusetts, where his residence has attracted the society of congenial people — the Hawthornes, Alcotts, Channings, and others—until the historic village has become a rustic Weimar, the resort of literary pilgrims every summer.

His literary work, almost without exception, took the form of lectures. A considerable number of them, after having been kept for the Horatian nine years and more, have been collected and published; but many still remain in manuscript, which, it is to be hoped, will some time be given to the world. The only departure from this even tenor of his literary life was his share in the conduct of "The Dial," a quarterly periodical edited at first by Miss Margaret Fuller (Marchioness d'Ossoli) and afterward by himself. The best-known contributors were A. Bronson Alcott (father of the world-famous Louisa), William H. Channing, George Ripley, now literary editor of the "Tribune," and Theodore Parker. This was known as the organ of the "Transcendentalists," disciples of an ideal philosophy, which has been since merged in larger statements, and has ceased to exist as a distinct school.

Authors are easily classified, if we do not attempt nice discriminations. But, when Emerson is called philosopher and poet, both terms need definition. In his first essay on "Nature," in the chapter entitled "Idealism," is a passage that helps us to a correct perception of the man: "While thus the poet animates Nature with his thoughts, he differs from the philosopher only herein, that one proposes Beauty as his main end; the other Truth. . . . The true philosopher and the true poet are one; and a beauty which is truth, and a truth which is beauty, is the aim of both."

This is the distinction of Emerson, to have unified poetry and philosophy as no one else has done, with the single exception of

Goethe. Indeed, with the same exception, no other philosopher has taken any rank as a poet, and has been eminent both in prose and verse. Excepting Pascal, no philosopher is so entertaining a companion. We may go further, and say that few philosophers in all the ages have enlivened their discussions as Emerson has with the surprises of wit, the charm of a grave humor, and the unfailing analogies of the natural world.

Let us observe at the start that metaphysics is but a minor branch of philosophy, and one that is daily declining in importance. It is a science of definitions without known bases. It contains a vast amount of laborious logic that leaves us no wiser than we were. To read Kant, Hegel, and Hamilton may be intellectually stimulating; but, when so much practical work remains to be done, it is like a Western settler's practicing with Indian clubs to develop his muscles, when he might be felling trees and building a cabin. Doubtless every successive theorist supposed he had solved the universe, and each one probably did contribute something to the world's stock of ideas; but the general view of the systems of philosophy as seen in Lewes's bulky history is like that of a lumber-room in the Patent-Office, filled with abortive and superseded inventions. Among the philosophers who appear to have most strongly impressed Emerson may be named Plato, who shines like a star across the ages; Kant, the modern idealist; Goethe, in his capacity of naturalist; and Comte, the formulator of the development of the sciences. He has also a half-confessed fondness for Berkeley, who pushed idealism to the farthest verge until it touched immateriality. And by sheer audacity of imagination he anticipated Darwin in announcing the theory of evolution.

That we are spirits in prison, eager for enlargement, and undyingly curious as to our status in the universe, does not matter We shall always speculate, but it is equally certain that we shall not penetrate the mystery of being—a mystery just as profound in a head of lettuce as in the processes of Shakespeare's brain.

Emerson is fitly placed among philosophers; but it is not because he has attempted to arrange universal knowledge in eternal formulas. He is a philosopher because he perceives the relations of man with nature, and because he shows universal wisdom in human affairs. He admires mostly those philosophers who are of the intellectual lineage of Plato. The sense of beauty is his supreme faculty. In this respect only one modern author, Ruskin, bears a comparison with him; but, with that particular, the resem-

blance ends; for Emerson elaborates no formal landscapes, line by line, as are shown in the "Modern Painters"; instead of this, he flashes scenes upon the mind with a mere phrase.

Parallels are useful to give us clear ideas; but, in truth, no perfect parallel is possible for Emerson, or for any man of transcendent original genius. He is in one aspect a unit, a blazing point of intelligence; in another, he is a complex entity, to form which strong and various ancestral traits have combined—which Puritan tradition tinged—which the revival of free thought under Channing nurtured—which German philosophy developed—which the spirit of New World democracy inspired—and which the influences of nature have softened into love. What distinguishes him from most philosophical writers, as has been before intimated, is the force of imagination. A page of Hume is full of the germs of thought, but Hume sets down principles and theories like arithmetical tables. There is no warmth in the man; he is no more enthusiastic than a clockmaker. Still colder and more arid is Herbert Spencer. His horizon is broad, and his thought is tenacious, but the element of poetry is wanting. If men were only thinking-machines, destitute of emotion and of the sense of beauty, Spencer would be for them a perfect writer. This is not to disparage that great man, whose services in favor of practical philosophy all reasoning minds acknowledge. We are only casting a side-light upon the writings of Emerson.

The profound emotion which we occasionally observe in our philosopher must appear to colder minds like the baseless hyperbole of Eastern poetry. The truth is, to understand this wonderful, complex mind, there must be a kindred feeling and a kindred development in the reader. All the world worships Shakespeare, yet the attributes that make him the first poet of all the ages are perceived by scarcely a thousand men in a generation. Only a poet can do justice to Emerson's philosophy; only a philosopher will see what is deepest and grandest in his verse. The poetic sentiment in view of the beautiful or the sublime is easily assumed; and many persuade themselves that they share the feelings of the poet they read. But nature as seen in a library, before a comfortable fire, or as contemplated from the seclusion of a hammock, swung under an apple-tree, is one thing; but nature, met face to face, without aid from books or from remembered poetical fervors, is quite another thing. How many persons actually climb a hill-top, unless it is the fashion? How many feed their souls by communion with the sea?

How many find the haunts of wild flowers, or know the floral almanac? How many recognize the various songs of birds, and can predict the migrations of these winged poets? How many feel anything but wrath at the physical discomfort of a snow-storm?

When a man has a sincere admiration and awe in presence of the works of the Creator, he will be in a mood to estimate Emerson at his true value. But fancy an ignoble man, a philistine, reading this: "I see the spectacle of morning from the hill-top over against my house, from daybreak to sunrise, with emotions which an angel might share. The long, slender bars of cloud float like fishes in the sea of crimson light. From the earth, as a shore, I look out into that silent sea, I seem to partake its rapid transformations: the active enchantments reach my dust, and I dilate and conspire with the morning wind. How does nature deify us with a few and cheap elements! Give me health and a day, and I will make the pomp of emperors ridiculous. The dawn is my Assyria; the sunset and moonrise my Paphos and unimaginable realms of faerie; broad noon shall be my England of the senses and the understanding; the night shall be my Germany of mystic philosophy and dreams."

Colder people will think this an outburst of the riotous blood of youth; yet it is only in Shakespeare and in kindred geniuses that the blood riots so.

Observe this also: "Standing on the bare ground, my head bathed by the blithe air, and uplifted into infinite space, all mean egotism vanishes. I become a transparent eyeball. I am nothing; I see all; the currents of the universal being circulate through me; I am part or particle of God."

"Pantheism!" shouts the ecclesiastic. Not so, but rather the losing of mortal sense in contemplation of the infinite. While we are quoting, it may be well to look at a passage already referred to, which, though in the phrases of to-day, was written nearly forty years ago: "Now we learn what patient periods must round themselves before the rock is formed, then before the rock is broken, and the first lichen race has disintegrated the thinnest external plate into soil, and opened the door for the remote Flora, Fauna, Ceres, and Pomona, to come in. How far off yet is the trilobite! how far the quadruped! how inconceivably remote is man! All duly arrive, and then race after race of men. It is a long way from granite to the oyster; farther yet to Plato, and the preaching of the immortality of the soul. Yet all must come, as surely as the first atom has two sides."

Notice also this prophetic stanza, prefixed to the same essay :

> "A subtile chain of countless rings
> The next unto the farthest brings ;
> The eye reads omens where it goes,
> And speaks all languages the rose ;
> And, striving to be man, the worm
> Mounts through all the spires of form."

To state the religious doctrines of Emerson is a matter of delicacy. If religion were merely the equivalent of piety, it would be an easier task. But we observe a cautious phraseology, born not of unbelief, but of a high and rare sense of the value of words. He avoids the bald and positive terms in which unreflecting minds speak of the Infinite. He sees only God in his works and in the operation of his laws, and therefore can not picture his personal attributes, as Phidias might have thought of Jove. This sensitive conscience in terms has led some persons to accuse him of leaving God out of his theories. But Emerson is no atheist nor pantheist. He is full of natural piety, filial toward the Creator, and brotherly toward mankind. Both his poetry and his prose abound with lively descriptions of nature, and show the utmost delight in every sight and sound of the material world ; and yet in every hymn the undertone of harmony which is heard is the joy of the soul in these manifestations of the Divine Author of beauty. He tells us : "The aspect of Nature is devout. Like the figure of Jesus, she stands with bended head, and hands folded upon the breast. The happiest man is he who learns from Nature the lesson of worship." And again : "Is not prayer also a study of truth—a sally of the soul into the unfound Infinite ? No man ever prayed heartily without learning something."

It is desirable, perhaps, to look a little more closely at what our author has proposed to himself to do. The object of modern philosophy, as Macaulay expressed it, is fruit ; to accomplish something beneficial to mankind. The arts and sciences are studied to increase knowledge and practical power ; ethics and religions are cultivated to develop truth, justice, and piety ; letters and the fine arts are used to make clear the perception of beauty and symmetry, and to furnish the mind with agreeable images and objects of thought. Philosophy should unite all these forces for the well-being of the race. "Fruit" is not simply what is good in the material sense. It includes sound thinking, good laws, humane institutions, wise

marriages, and a high tone of morality, public and private; and its ultimate result should be in peopling the whole earth with well-descended, well-trained, pure-minded, generous, and prosperous societies of men and women. Now, although Emerson has pointedly avoided a system, it is not the less true that all the elements we have mentioned are steadily held up before the reader. This being the grand aim of philosophy, Emerson has a rightful place among the benefactors as well as among the lights of the age. His first work (as it stands in his volumes) is entitled "Nature"; and it contains, besides its grand and pregnant introduction, "Commodity" (material advantage), "Beauty," "Language," "Discipline," "Idealism," "Spirit," and "Prospects." It came before men unheralded, and, one might almost say, at first, unheeded. But what a challenge it was to the old world of thought and of men! He had turned his back on the past, and struck out a new course, across an untraveled ocean. The terms he used were his own. The curious, lucid, compact style was his own. Extreme parsimony was evident: never a word too much; always the word chosen was the one inevitable word. In this small treatise are the germs, or rather the prophecies, of his future volumes. It seems like an original essence with a power and a flavor unknown before. Nothing that concerns man seems to have been omitted; but the chief stress is laid upon the need of high ideals in life. Nature is shown not merely as a background or a theatre for man's activities, but as a source of beauty and strength, working with and for us, and always leading us to worship.

As Emerson makes use of philosophy only to benefit men, and passes it by when it leads to doubtful disputations, so, it must be admitted, he disregards the formal statement of dogmas and the prescriptive observances which constitute the popular notion of religion. We should not presume to supply his reasons except as far as they are apparent. But he seems to believe that the whole aim of religion should be to make men devout and moral; and, as he regards the end only, he is indifferent toward the doctrines and ceremonies which have been associated with the simplicity of piety and good conduct.

In all that concerns the sterling worth of character, right living, and wise thinking, this first treatise is of the utmost value, wholly apart from its rare beauty and imaginative power. Succeeding essays and larger works have developed and illustrated these primal ideas. Their whole force is given to raising man to higher levels—

to enlarging the scope of ideas—to the quickening of conscience—to the practice of the best wisdom in daily life—and to the fostering of the finer spiritual intuitions. Surely this is fruit. And it is not the less actual and tangible because its serene philosophy is wreathed with flowers and enlivened with song.

There is a kind of fascination that is renewed and vivified when we turn over the volumes of early essays, merely from seeing the titles and head-lines. Each subject once had its season of profound interest, and has left its indelible record in the soul. The very indexes are finger-posts along the track of memory. History, self-reliance, compensation, spiritual laws, love, friendship, prudence, heroism, manners, gifts, character, poetry—these and many more are like the formulas of the chemist, and stand as symbols of remembered delights. All of them contain the familiar, clear sentences, interspersed with the density of proverbs and the apt illustrations from history; and all are pervaded by the subtile aroma of poetry. If such weighty and practical thoughts do not make the world better, it is because they are not read. For, if a man should be imbued with this wisdom and guided by these lofty aims, he would be as nearly perfect as is permitted to mortals.

Probably the most popular of Emerson's works is "Representative Men," a series of studies of character, finely contrasted and profoundly suggestive. Perhaps some of them are not wholly just. Something must be always allowed for the personal bias of a writer. There are some evident qualifications necessary to his estimate of Napoleon; and, with regard to the place he claims for Swedenborg, we must modestly but strongly dissent. For mystics, as such, there is a surely waning respect. Swedenborg may have given a sublime system to the world, but for him in his supernatural aspect, and for Jakob Boehme, for Fox in his dreaming days, and for the hysterical convulsionists who afflict themselves under certain ministrations of religion, there can not be a sentiment that rises much above pity. It is true, we are not all intellect. We have emotions, but it is the part of reason to control them; they are not to control us: otherwise a wayward child, a savage, or a Southern negro at a camp-meeting, would be a better model for imitation than the mystic himself.

One of these representative men is Montaigne. If there is any man whose manner has influenced our author, it is this first of personal essayists. Centuries have passed without dimming his fame, and without diminishing his hold upon readers. Every scholar,

every well-read gentleman, knows that he must go through Montaigne at some time. But the great Frenchman was wholly different in nature and in purpose from our great New-Englander. He occupied himself with more mundane affairs, with stories of camps and courts, with ransacking the stores of the ancient classics, and with pleasant disquisitions on every-day affairs, including his school-days, his amours, and his morbid liver. The difference in the plane of thought is enormous, but *the tone*, it must be confessed, is often the same in the Yankee as in the Gascon.

The article upon Goethe is one of the author's most finished works. The style is marvelously perfect; the opening sentences are clear and bright as mountain-brooks. To any one of mature age and reasonable cultivation, who should be in doubt as to the merits and as to the charm of Emerson, this would afford a happy solution.

"English Traits" is the title of one of the *best* of Emerson's works. We say the best, because it concerns the island which is the center of thought and affection for all English-speaking people, and because it has a delightful mixture of shrewd observation and pungent comment. Many eyes have looked upon the men and manners, the works and institutions, of the British Isles, but none with such a fatal certainty of vision. Under the heads of "Race," "Ability," "Manners," "Character," "Wealth," "Aristocracy," "Universities," "Religion," "Literature," and a few others, he has made almost a chemical analysis of the constituents of the body politic. The book *is* England dissolved in ink. In most books of travel the writer is disagreeably in the foreground; he will not get himself out of the way, that we may see the landscape or the people. There is nothing of this in the "English Traits." There are only observations and results. Without wasting time in superlatives, we may say that this is such a summary of the origin, development, institutions, and social traits of England, as was never made before of that country, or of any country. We have sketches of Wordsworth and Coleridge that are as strong and literal as the pictures of Holbein; also delightful interviews with Carlyle and Landor. Coleridge makes a rather poor figure—"a short and stout old man, leaning on a cane," and with not much to say except with regard to his detestation of Unitarians. Wordsworth appears in a desperately prosy vein. He shows narrowness, pique, envy, and other belittling traits. Emerson's estimate of his poetry is high; his view of the man is not ennobling. Readers who have seen Maclise's

outline portrait of the great man, as he sits pensively and mild-eyed, with an unsubstantial body, thin legs, shrunken cheeks, and a noble dome of head, will never forget the impression. Maclise's sketch is called a caricature; it seems rather a likeness of a poet in a humdrum mood, showing the soul in a kind of limp undress. The intellectual crown seems top-heavy for want of fleshly support. There is evidently something behind the dreamy eyes; but a feeble irresolution in the lines of the mouth seems to render the spiritual power abortive. This masterly portrait and our author's unconsciously satirical description precisely complement each other.

The chapter upon "Literature" in the "English Traits" is brief, but full of thought and of the materials for thought. His aspiring Platonism dictates the choice of his favorites, yet he has a word also for the sturdy and manly realistic writers. He is perhaps a little too positive to do justice to natures and faculties alien to his own, and we read with some regret his sweeping condemnation of authors of known ability and worth. Pope was as far as possible from an ideal or imaginative poet, but Emerson's gibe seems quite unworthy. The author of the "Essay on Man" and of "The Universal Prayer" is not simply the poet to make couplets "fit to put round frosted cake." Chaucer, too, is something more than "a hard painter" of contemporary manners. And Southey, who was a scholar, and a man of sentiment and sensibility, deserves, so we must think, a different recognition. "He pestered me with Southey," says our author of Landor; "but who is Southey?" These are drawbacks, to be sure, but they are characteristic, and one would not spare even a single damnatory phrase.

Literature still remains greater than any one man; no critic has mastered even a section of it. Witness the brilliant and all-accomplished Taine and his scant estimates of English genius. Witness the compendiums and handbooks.

That the "English Traits" was not popular in England is not remarkable. The time for a just appreciation by Englishmen of monarchy, aristocracy, and throned bishops has not come. The noble of thirty descents does not relish the name of "filthy thieves" as applied to the followers of William the Norman. The churchman, who is dumb when the Thirty-nine Articles are called in question, does not like being compared to a box-turtle.

Among Emerson's essays written in his prime are those grouped under the general title of "The Conduct of Life." The last of these, "Illusions," appeared in the first number of "The Atlantic

Monthly," November, 1857. Another brilliant volume appeared in 1870, entitled "Society and Solitude." The last of the series, if we mistake not, "Letters and Social Aims," was published in 1875. If these three volumes have less spirit and a lighter tone, they are upon topics of more general interest, and are filled with apposite reminiscences from history and biography. The early essays have perhaps more weight of thought and more imagination, and show more lively impressions of natural objects. The later ones are full of practical wisdom and the best results of wide reading, and are more in the current of modern ideas. Each series has its own indescribable charm. Under every head is gathered a succession of profound or suggestive observations, apparently disconnected, yet in a line with the controlling thought. Nothing is more difficult than to give an account of such compositions; they have no counterparts. The chief thing that remains in mind is the brilliancy that illuminates each field of thought by turns. When the electric light at Nantasket was directed across the harbor to the opposite Hingham shore, the silver track brightened every wave, made a ghost of every passing vessel, rimmed the cedar-tufted hills, and was reflected back from the far-off clusters of seaside villas. In reading Emerson, the images, thoughts, and feelings rise into view; the light of his genius falls upon them, and there is a track of radiance to the verge of the horizon.

There is no short way to an understanding of this. The reader must learn the secret for himself. One can not give the substance of a proverb, being all substance; nor a lamina of diamond, the gem being inseparable without destruction. These thoughts are primal types. Of the odor of rose we simply say it is rose.

We had intended to make a brief collection of striking sentences. Two came to mind. The first was this: "It makes a great difference in the force of any sentence whether there be a man behind it or no." This was the other: "The democrat is a young conservative; the conservative is an old democrat. The aristocrat is the democrat ripe and gone to seed." Then the selection became as bewildering as the choice of sticks in a thicket; all was proverb, and the collection had to be abandoned.

One of the early and vulgar notions about Emerson has well-nigh disappeared: we refer to the alleged obscurity of style and the enigmatic character of his sentences. It is true that Emerson does not write so that "he who runs may read"; neither did Bacon, nor Hume, nor Pascal. There is no difficulty in Emerson's *style*, for

that is crystal clear in meaning; the obstacle to rapid or careless reading is the weight of thought. Coleridge tells a story of a little girl in Germany who was in the habit of assisting him in reading the language. Looking over his shoulder one day, and finding him occupied with the "Critique of Pure Reason," she exclaimed with charming *naïveté:* "Why, Mr. Coleridge, do you read Kant? *I* can't understand Kant!"

Emerson, like Carlyle, was at first strongly affected by the intellect of modern Germany, chiefly by Goethe and Richter. In his perverse fashion of utterance, in his whims, his grim humor, and especially in his crabbed diction, Richter is the descendant of Rabelais, though a fairer and cleaner soul. The "Sartor Resartus" is purely Rabelaisian and Jean-Paulesque; as its sentences—given to "yawing, not minding the helm, and going stern-foremost"—and its grotesque and malodorous names, such as *Smelfungus* and *Teufelsdröckh*, fully attest. Carlyle delved in this German field long enough to be strongly influenced in his own style; and his early sentences were as unmistakable as the whimsicalities of Sterne (another of Rabelais's offspring). But "the crooked" has been "made straight, and the rough places plain." The stream of English flows through Carlyle's maturer works with an equable, broad, and magnificent current. In his articles on Burns and Voltaire the old strength is visible; but the saturnine humor and the droll epithets are left out, and the sentences no longer startle us with acrobatic poses.

There was a mild Teutonic flavor in Emerson's early style; and, as the traits of German thought were then more noticeable than now, the unreflecting public at once accused our philosopher of being an imitator of Carlyle. The statement was absurd, because the native qualities of the two men have always been diverse. There was never any similarity between Carlyle and Emerson except in regard to acuteness, honesty, and fearlessness. If there was at one time observable in their writing the influence of the same German masters, there has since been a growing divergence. They have been occupied with widely different themes, and have gone on, each in his own way. The one has produced essays and poems, dealing mostly with abstract ideas; the other has written voluminous histories, biographies, and reviews. The one crystallizes thought into proverbs; the other can be downright when he will, but often indulges in long periods, connected, oratorical, and rising to climaxes. Carlyle has more energy, Emerson more insight. Carlyle is planted

upon the actual, in the domain of the understanding ; Emerson soars on the wings of imagination. Carlyle portrays kings, soldiers, and statesmen, with hard outlines and abundant detail ; Emerson shows us the souls of poets, prophets, and philosophers, and conveys their wisdom and love. The history of a German prince, half robber and all tyrant, may not interest future ages ; but the "Essays on Nature" are a part of the permanent treasures of thinking men, like the "Phædo" of Plato, and the "Essays" of Lord Bacon.

The poetry of Emerson is separated from his prose by a narrow and sometimes imperceptible line. Quoting once more his own sentence, we see that the pursuit of "a truth which is beauty" and of "a beauty which is truth" are often two modes of describing the same process. As his philosophy is often conveyed in highly figurative language and illumined by flashes from the imagination, so his verse, though full of the vital characteristics of poetry, has always a philosophic tone and aim.

The elements that would have made Emerson a poet, skilled in more varied strains, and able to touch the hearts of all men, are comparatively few, and are often shared by natures greatly inferior to his. The sense of comedy and the feeling of jollity seem wanting ; his pleasure is of a high, placid quality. Though there is no gloom, yet there is not a laugh, nor scarcely a smile, in all that he has written—so much, perhaps, for having had seven ancestors in black cloth. There are no hymns to Bacchus or Venus. With this calm-eyed man one would think there had never been a hurried heart-beat. There is no trace of love's volcanic fires, not even the ashes or cinders of an extinct passion. He almost comes within Luther's malediction—

"Who loves not woman, wine, and song," etc.

All the great poets have been furious lovers, and the world is unwilling to call him poet who has not at some time put his soul into a love-story like Coleridge's "Genevieve." And, truly, it sets one thinking how it is that he whom love has never inspired, nor wine warmed, nor passion tempted—who neither laughs at men nor with them—who makes an abstraction of religion, and to whom all creatures are as pawns upon the world's chessboard—how such a man, with the residue of nature and of human nature, can be a great poet, as Emerson undoubtedly is. Three or four elements are clearly his : a soul sensitive to beauty, an instinctive perception of human nature, the power of comparison and analogy, and the force

of imagination. The term imagination is so belittled and misapplied in superficial criticism that one hesitates to use it without some phrase to indicate its quality. For instance, people speak of the pretty conceits of "The Culprit Fay" as displaying "imagination," as if that were some finery put on, and not the very soul of the thought. In this great quality Emerson is probably first of living men; certainly no one but Tennyson can dispute the claim. "Each and All" is a series of pictures that display imaginative power, placing the poet and the reader *in the scene* as sketched. The lines are too familiar to be quoted anew:

> "Little thinks in the field, yon red-cloaked clown,
> Of thee from the hill-top looking down," etc., etc.

It was imagination that added to the flight of the Humble-Bee over beds of wild flowers—

> "All was picture as he passed."

It was imagination that inspired the thought—

> "Here once the embattled farmers stood,
> And fired the shot heard round the world."

"The Chartist's Complaint" is pure imagination, and a sure test of the power of appreciation in a reader.

On a much higher key is "The Problem," an imaginative poem, wholly grand, and at times sublime. The lines seem fated—done by a stroke of creation; not wrought in detail, but spoken into being. Emerson himself has said that Wordsworth's "Ode on the Intimations of Immortality" is the high-water mark of poetry in this century; and the judgment is just, unless "The Problem" be the greater. And it is our judgment that this poem, as a whole, has more depth of thought, imaginative insight, and power of expression, than any since the time of Milton. The volume of Emerson's poems seems to open at this place of its own accord, and the thrilling lines have been so often read that they seem to have always existed. We must quote a few, no matter how familiar:

> "The hand that rounded Peter's dome,
> And groined the aisles of Christian Rome,
> Wrought in a sad sincerity;
> Himself from God he could not free;
> He builded better than he knew—
> The conscious stone to beauty grew.

. . . . . .

Earth proudly wears the Parthenon
As the best gem upon her zone;
And Morning opes with haste her lids
To gaze upon the Pyramids;
O'er England's abbeys bends the sky,
As on its friends, with kindred eye;
For, out of Thought's interior sphere,
These wonders rose to upper air;
And Nature gladly gave them place,
Adopted them into her race,
And granted them an equal date
With Andes and with Ararat."

In this poem we see Emerson's belief that the divine influences neither began with Moses nor ended with Jesus; that all sincere prayer and praise are inspired; and that—

"One accent of the Holy Ghost
The heedless world hath never lost."

By far the greater number of his poems are upon the sights and sounds of the world of nature. The poem called "May-Day" is full of the fluttering of sparrows, the raucous cry of wild geese, the piping of robins and blackbirds. We *see* the tide of heat rolling northward, and the flushing of maples and oaks. Pines and birches breathe their fragrance, flowers peep out from among dead leaves, and life returns to every nook of field and forest. The charm of this poem is like that of nature itself. It is sweet and fresh, but mobile and restless, full of surprises, and with unexpected changes of key. The measure is short and fitful, not to be scanned by pedagogues. Impulse rules, as in the soul of a bird while he sings, tilting on the tip of a bough. As the poem stands, it is a type of a lovely wild country, unspoiled by man, with lonely lakes and plashing brooks, with majestic growths and the luxuriance of ferns, mosses, and flowers, the air vocal with birds, and every leafy fastness peopled with the bright-eyed and shy favorites of nature. If it were made methodical in rhyme and rhythm, it might perhaps be turned into a dull pleasure-ground, as bare of nature and of romance as a city square.

But Emerson knows also the hollowness of society, and has touched the vices of pride and insincerity with a wand like Shakespeare's. In his "Good-by" there is a solid energy of reprobation which the poor and unfashionable will always admire:

"Good-by to Flattery's fawning face;
To Grandeur with his wise grimace;
To upstart Wealth's averted eye;
To supple office, low and high;
To crowded halls, to court and street;
To frozen hearts and hasting feet;
To those who go, and those who come;
Good-by, proud world! I'm going home."

Our poet is also so terse in expression that his thoughts might be selected out and printed as epigrams. Multitudes of these are floating in the memories of man. In his sad "Terminus" we have a line that Milton might have written:

"Obey the voice at eve obeyed at prime."

Notice the power of this quatrain:

"Though love repine, and reason chafe,
There came a voice without reply—
'Tis man's perdition to be safe,
When for the truth he ought to die.'"

The poem entitled "Brahma," too hastily ridiculed at first, is only a compact rendering of the leading ideas of the Hindoo mythology; but it is a rendering that no other living man could have made. Another striking poem is the "Boston Hymn," written for the Day of Emancipation. The overthrow of slavery was a gigantic fact—an event of greater importance than any in our history; and the poet has celebrated it in stanzas rough and impressive as Stonehenge. Here are a few:

"God said, I am tired of Kings,
I suffer them no more;
Up to my ear the morning brings
The outrage of the poor.

"I will have never a noble,
No lineage counted great;
Fishers and choppers and plowmen
Shall constitute a state.

. . . . . .

"Pay ransom to the owner,
And fill the bag to the brim.
Who is the owner? The slave is owner,
And ever was. Pay him.

"O North! give him beauty for rags,
And honor, O South! for his shame;
Nevada! coin thy golden crags
With Freedom's image and name."

In "Monadnock," a bold and irregular but most forcible rhapsody, occur many nervous lines. We have room only for these (the mountain speaks):

". . . . I await the bard and sage
Who in large thoughts, like fair pearl-seed,
Shall string Monadnock like a bead.
Comes that cheerful troubadour,
This mound shall throb his face before,
As when, with inward fires and pain,
It rose a bubble from the plain."

But it is time to stop quotation. If there were space a volume could be filled. The poems are full of texts and mottoes for discourse; they form a treasury which future generations will pore over. Posterity will envy those who had the fortune to live in daily sight of his gracious features, and within the sound of his noble voice.

Every original genius presents a new phase to the world; and the verse-maker who never attempted an epic, nor a song, nor an idyl of human passion, and who used no variety of meters, and no prettiness of phrase, will come to be regarded as one of the great poets of the century. Both as poet and as philosopher the fame of Emerson is secure; and, if the theory of human progression does not prove a delusion, his fame must continue to grow as the years roll on. His character will add to his fame, or rather will become a part of it; for a purer and nobler nature has seldom existed. He has had the reverence and love of all who have known him, and his "Terminus" will be read with mourning in all nations of men.

FRANCIS H. UNDERWOOD.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND THE ISTHMIAN CANAL.

More than twelve years have elapsed since the traditional faith of the American people in what is vaguely known, but vigorously clung to, as the "Monroe doctrine" was last invoked, and invoked with signal success, by the American Government, to sustain it in carrying out an important measure of foreign policy. Now that once again the "Monroe doctrine" has become the theme of politicians and of the press, it is of importance, not only that the origin and the true significance of this doctrine should be clearly and calmly set before the public mind, but also that the history of its previous applications to the practical policy of the United States should be briefly and yet sufficiently recited.

It has unfortunately grown almost into a mental habit with the American people to look at every question which comes under debate before them in a Presidential year from the point of view of its possible or probable relation to the aims and aspirations, either of individual candidates for the Presidency, or of one or another great party in the republic. This is, no doubt, an inevitable incident of popular government in all countries, and it marks, though not perhaps so deeply in the one case as in the other, the course of political history in England as well as in the United States. In both countries it is a thing to be deplored, especially in its influence upon the popular apprehension of questions affecting the foreign policy of the national Government. In the case now before us, for example, a very cursory glance at the general tenor of the discussions which have been provoked in the daily press by the message of President Hayes to Congress touching the projects of M. de Lesseps on the Isthmus of Panama, and by the resolutions concerning these projects which on one or the other political side of either House have been introduced into both chambers of Congress,

suffices to show that the wide and permanent national aspects of the issues raised in that message and in these resolutions have so far attracted much less attention than the possible advantages to be secured to one political party or to another by the affirmation of or by the refusal to affirm the "Monroe doctrine." As was to be expected, it seldom occurs to the disputants on either side to represent clearly to themselves or to their readers precisely what this "Monroe doctrine" may be, which they so eagerly endorse in some cases and in other cases so angrily denounce. It is fought over, in fact, quite as hotly and quite as blindly in America as the legendary will of Peter the Great in Russia. Yet there can be no doubt that, whether understood or misunderstood, the Monroe doctrine really, and not inaccurately, represents to observing foreign statesmen a deep, ineradicable, and most formidable instinct in the character of the American people, just as the legendary will of Peter the Great represents to observing foreign statesmen a deep, ineradicable, and most formidable instinct in the character of the Russian people.

It matters little whether the inspired despot who first thrust forward the power of the Muscovites, like a lance-head of Asia into the flank of Europe, did or did not bid his descendants aim steadily and unshrinkingly at the control of the Bosporus and the possession of the great world-capital of Constantine. From the moment that the millions of the Russian race came together into a common consciousness of their nationality, a law higher than the will of any Czar made this the inevitable aim, not of a dynasty, but of a race. In like manner, it is of slight consequence to inquire what the specific aim of President Monroe may have been when he introduced into his message to Congress, of December 2, 1823, the declarations which have since been known under the name of the "Monroe doctrine." From the moment when the American States, united into a single nation, got possession of the valley of the Mississippi, it became a law of their national growth that they should repel every attempt, under any form whatever made, to introduce a controlling European influence over any portion of that great American Mediterranean into which the Mississippi pours the gathered waters of the great West.

As a matter of historical fact there is little doubt that President Monroe himself but partially appreciated the force and scope of his own declarations. He was not a man of great abilities, and, as is clearly apparent from his book (which General Washington contemptuously called his "voluminous work") on the "Conduct

of the Executive in the Foreign Affairs of the United States," he was a thorough partisan, and really quite incapable of rising above the level of immediate partisan motives, either in deciding upon his own political course or in forming a judgment as to the political course of other men. His famous declarations were imposed upon him by the course of events in Europe and by the superior will of his Secretary of State.

After the Congress of Verona, in 1822, the Legitimist Government of France, in close alliance with the absolute Government of Austria, undertook to organize an effective crusade for the suppression of what the "friends of order" regarded as a recrudescence of the destructive revolutionary ideas of 1789 throughout Europe and the dependencies of Europe. The armies of Austria were marched into Italy to put down the Liberal movements in Piedmont and in Naples. The armies of France, under the Duke of Angoulême, were marched into Spain in the spring of 1823, to reëstablish the tyranny of Ferdinand VII. Great efforts were made to seduce England into the projects of the alliance, and offers were even conveyed to the Court of St. James of an eventual coöperation of the Continental powers with Great Britain to curb first and then to crush the rising power of those revolted British colonies in the West, which, as the United States of America, had already extended their dominion far beyond the limits recognized by the treaties of 1783, and which were making serious inroads all over the world upon the mercantile predominance of Great Britain after inflicting, in the war of 1812–'15, a by no means unimportant blow upon her naval prestige.

Had these offers not carried with them a necessity on the part of Great Britain of acquiescing in the steps which the allies proposed to take for reëstablishing the American empire of Spain, then already shaken to pieces by the revolutionary movements which, beginning in South America with the establishment of Joseph Bonaparte at Madrid, had extended to Mexico, it is by no means certain that the Government of George IV. might not have lent a listening ear to them. George Canning, then really at the head of the Cabinet, though nominally but Foreign Secretary, shared the alarm and disgust of the extreme Tories at the agitation for Parliamentary reform, and certainly regarded the democratic institutions of the United States with extreme aversion. But, in the liberated countries of Spanish America, England had found a new market from which for centuries she had been shut out by the

jealous policy of Spain. It was an epoch of colonial stock-gambling in London in the bonds of the Spanish-American states, and in enterprises of all kinds within the area of what had been the secluded and inaccessible domain of Castile and Leon in the New World.

Apart from all other considerations, the commercial importance to England of the independence of Spanish America determined the British Foreign Secretary to throw the whole weight of British power and British influence against the successful reëstablishment in the New World of that exclusive policy under which, for three centuries, Spain had closed the ports of either ocean from the Gulf of Mexico to Cape Horn against the traffic of the world. To this end Mr. Canning sought interviews with the then American Minister in England, Mr. Rush, of Pennsylvania, an amiable and intelligent man, and, communicating to him so much of what was going on between his own Cabinet and those of St. Petersburg, Berlin, Paris, and Vienna, as seemed to him well fitted to awaken the fears of the American people, urged him to promote some demonstration on the part of the American Government which might give the Continental powers reason to expect active opposition from the United States in the execution of their designs upon Mexico, New Granada, and the other Spanish-American states.

There was little or nothing in the attitude of revolutionary Spanish America toward the United States to suggest to an American Minister such a demonstration in their favor. Independent Mexico, under Iturbide, had shown no friendly regard for the United States. On the contrary, indeed, it was well known to the American Government of that day that the Mexicans regarded the cession both of Louisiana and of Florida to the United States as invalid acts, and that one of the projects of Iturbide, during his brief tenure of the imperial power in Mexico, had been to organize a serious demand upon the United States for the surrender to the Mexican Empire of the whole coast of the Mexican Gulf, from what is now the frontier of the State of Texas to the capes of Florida.

These are strange things to think of now, but it is necessary to bear them in mind when dealing with a question which, like this of the Monroe doctrine, goes down to the roots of our national being as a great power, and touches all the essential and enduring conditions of that being. Twenty years had barely passed away, at the time of which we are speaking, since the navigation of the Mississippi

had been obstructed by Spanish forts, and Spanish intrigues had been carried on with the Indians of what is now the valley of the great West, and American settlers maltreated within the territory of what are now the American States of Kentucky and Tennessee, by Spanish officers. A Senator of the United States had been found guilty of carrying on treasonable negotiations with English agents against the possessions of Spain. The cession of Florida to the United States by Spain, in 1821, was regarded, as we have said, with extreme anger by the Mexicans. There was nothing in the immediate past, therefore, and little in the apparent immediate future of the Spanish-American countries to prepossess the United States in favor of a policy intended chiefly to consolidate and develop the power of those countries. But it concerned the United States considerably that the commerce of these countries should not again be monopolized by Spain; for American goods and the American flag were then more widely known both on the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts of Spanish America than they are to-day; and it concerned the United States still more deeply to prevent the transfer to the New World of the mighty struggle between the arbitrary and the popular systems of government by which Europe had so long been convulsed.

When, therefore, Mr. Rush communicated to the American Secretary of State, Mr. John Quincy Adams, the substance of the conversations had by him with Mr. Canning, Mr. Adams at once saw in them, what neither Mr. Rush nor President Monroe seems to have seen, an opportunity not to be trifled with for notifying, not the Holy Alliance of the Continent alone, but Great Britain herself and the new Spanish-American states as well, that the system of the United States Government had been formed not for greatness only but for growth, and that the ages of European adventure in the New World had come to an end. It was with some difficulty that Mr. Adams brought the chief of his Government up to the point of taking the firm and advanced position upon which his own ardent and determined nature had instantly seized. Mr. Monroe saw clearly enough that the views which Mr. Adams had formulated and which he was asked to incorporate with his annual message, were by no means likely to gratify the British Minister. He dreaded the possible complications to result from giving expression to them, and he was anxious and uncertain as to the support which would be given him, particularly by the adherents of a great man then foremost among the rising public characters of the

Union, without whose support he knew that nothing could be done with the most vigorous and popular elements in the country. As to this last point, he was soon reassured by the emphatic declarations which General Jackson made, both in public and in private, of his perfect readiness to draw his sword, if need be, in maintenance of the positions assumed by the Secretary of State. His hesitation on other grounds was overborne by the impetuous earnestness of his high-spirited Minister, and he finally adopted as his own the declarations prepared for him by Mr. Adams.

The sum of the suggestions made by Mr. Canning to Mr. Rush is conveyed in the artful question put by him to the American envoy: "Are the great *political* and *commercial* interests which hang upon the destinies of the New World to be canvassed and adjusted in Europe without the coöperation or even the knowledge of the United States?" It was the expectation of Mr. Canning that, in response to this question, the American Government would come forward with a declaration of its views which would put it in the attitude of an ally of Great Britain, coöperating with that power, and of course under the leadership of that power, in the councils of the great states of Europe upon questions affecting "the political and commercial interests" of the Western Continent. By the events of 1815, it must be remembered, and through the policy adopted after the Peace of Vienna by the great Continental states, England had become isolated as a constitutional monarchy in Europe. It was the weight added to English influence in Europe, and not at all the new importance given to the United States, that Mr. Canning had in his mind when, after the receipt of the message of President Monroe in Europe, he uttered the famous boast in the House of Commons that he had called a New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old. For him, and for all who saw England as the foremost country in the present and future of the concert of nations, that was the sole worthy and real significance of the "Monroe doctrine." Far otherwise was it with the great American author of the "Monroe doctrine"!

Mr. Adams thoroughly and always throughout his long life appreciated the absolute incompatibility of European, and especially of English, influence with American greatness and growth in the New World. He was cognizant of the efforts made by England, at a very early period, in the movement which resulted in the separation of the Captaincy-General of Guatemala from the Spanish crown, to extend the English claims, founded upon a casual occupancy of the

Islands of San Andres and La Providencia, to the mainland of what are now the Republics of Nicaragua and Costa Rica and to the territory of Veraguas. It was with an indirect reference (which was, however, perfectly well understood in London) to these efforts that, in a passage of the message of December 2, 1823, he induced Mr. Monroe to lay down, as touching the Anglo-Russian questions of our northwestern boundary, "the principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American Continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as future subjects for colonization by any European power." Nothing could have less resembled the subsidiary assent to England's European leadership in American questions, which Mr. Canning had hoped to extract from the United States Government through Mr. Rush, than this sweeping and cleaving declaration, and it is not surprising that it should have been received by Mr. Canning, as it was, with ill-concealed chagrin and vexation.

This chagrin and vexation were not diminished by the skill with which Mr. Adams also contrived to insert in the very core of that specific declaration against the projects of the Holy Alliance, which Mr. Canning plumed himself before the Commons upon securing, a plain intimation of the purpose of the United States not to permit any further "political or commercial" control by any European power of the destinies of the New World.

After stating, in cool and measured terms, the differences existing between the political system of the allied powers in Europe and that of the United States, Mr. Monroe in his message was made by Mr. Adams to say: "We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments which have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great considerations and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition, for the purpose of oppressing them, or *controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power*, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

In the words which we have here italicized, Mr. Adams gave Mr.

Canning to understand, as distinctly as comported with the proprieties of public intercourse between friendly states, that the United States were so far from any disposition to permit the "political and commercial" interests of the new continent to be "canvassed and adjusted in Europe without the coöperation or even the knowledge of the United States," that any attempt at "canvassing and adjusting" these interests in Europe would be regarded as a proof of hostile feeling toward the United States, whether made at Paris, at Vienna, at Berlin—or at London!

In its origin and in its true significance, as we have seen, what we call the "Monroe doctrine" appears to be, and may be truly described as being, the Second Declaration of American Independence. If we judge the message of December 2, 1823, by the light of what is generally known as the international law of Europe, it will be seen that it really secludes and segregates the Continent of America from the operation of that international law. It has, indeed, been repeatedly denounced and protested against by able European writers on international law on this very ground. But it has been contended, also, and with much show of logic, by British writers, that the action of the States of Holland and of the French monarchy in forming an alliance with the revolted colonies of Great Britain was taken in violation of the principles and precedents of the international law of Europe; and the truth is that, from the nature of human society itself, the formation of any new and great power within the circle of an existing family of nations always implies and brings about great and radical changes in the essentially conventional system of international law. We have been witnessing the evidence of this, from year to year, in the condition of Europe ever since the formation of the great and united German Empire in 1870.

In the New World, as in the Old World, international law must mean and can only mean a general system under which the weaker states included in it are enabled to live on terms of peace and reasonable equity in their relations with the stronger states. For Europe international law, therefore, means the principles and lines of general policy agreed upon tacitly or explicitly, as the case may be, between the greater European powers from time to time. For America, where there now exists, and in the nature of the case must for a long time to come continue to exist, but one great power, the United States, international law means, and must continue to mean, the system under which the United States, while pro-

tecting their own interests and securing their own development, can find it possible to live on terms of peace and reasonable equity with the weaker American states. In the Monroe doctrine, Mr. Adams formulated for us the first full and deliberate expression of the fact that such a system must be based, first of all, upon the complete exclusion of the great powers of Europe from all interference, "political and commercial," with the interests of the American Continent. This does not mean that the United States are to monopolize the commerce of the American Continent, or to meddle with the domestic politics of the weaker states of the American Continent. On the contrary, it means that, by keeping the interests and *all the interests* of the American Continent free from the domination of European interests in any form, the United States will avert from the American Continent the perils of war inherent in those inevitable complications of one set of European interests with another set of European interests, which are to be looked for under a system constructed to be worked now by the joint action and again by the contradictory action of three or four or five great powers, as the case may be.

On two important occasions, and on two important occasions only, since the publication of the Monroe doctrine, have its principles been involved in any practical connection with the action of the United States. On the first of these occasions those principles were practically disregarded, with results to the disadvantageous and troublesome influence of which our whole subsequent diplomatic and commercial history bears witness. On the second of these occasions those principles were recognized and applied with results to the happy and beneficent influence of which our whole subsequent diplomatic and commercial history bears witness.

In the year 1849 Mr. Hise, then Chargé d'Affaires of the United States in Guatemala, signed a treaty with the Republic of Nicaragua, under which that republic granted to the United States an exclusive right of way across her territory for the purpose of connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by a canal. In this treaty the United States guaranteed to Nicaragua the protection of her whole territory, and assured Nicaragua of support in any war for its defense. It was well known at the time when this treaty was negotiated that Nicaragua had suffered an invasion of her territory by Great Britain under certain absurd pretensions founded upon an alleged convention between Great Britain and an alleged King of the Mosquito Indians. There were rumors also in the air of an intention on the

part of certain factions in Nicaragua to seek foreign aid from lawless persons in the United States and elsewhere in stirring up domestic troubles in that country. From whatever point of view it may be regarded, it will be seen that the treaty negotiated by Mr. Hise was drawn up in substantial accordance with the principle acted upon by Mr. Adams and President Monroe in 1823.

At the time when that treaty reached the United States, Mr. Clayton, of Delaware, was Secretary of State, and Lord Palmerston was Secretary of Foreign Affairs in Great Britain. Discerning as he thought in this treaty a speck of coming difficulty with Great Britain, Mr. Clayton received it with something not unlike consternation. He sent for the then British Minister in Washington, Mr. Crampton (the same person whom a few years afterward it became the duty of another American Administration to dismiss peremptorily from the country for his audacious and flagrant violations of our laws in connection with the Crimean war), and, laying the text of the Hise Treaty before him, expressed his entire opposition to that treaty, and incited Mr. Crampton to assure Lord Palmerston of his anxious desire to enter into joint arrangements with Great Britain for the adjustment of the canal question in the first place, and for the settlement of the claims of Nicaragua in the second place. Anything less in keeping both with the spirit and with the letter of the declarations made by Mr. Adams in 1823, than these extraordinary communications made by Mr. Clayton to Mr. Crampton, can not easily be imagined. It is painful for an American to recall this incident in our history, but the circumstances of Mr. Clayton's conversation with Mr. Crampton on this occasion are so instructive, and throw so clear a light on the fatal consequences already alluded to by us of looking at great questions of foreign policy only in their relations to the domestic strife of parties, that it is proper, if not pleasant, to set them down as they are recorded by the British interlocutor.

On the 17th of September, 1849, Mr. Crampton wrote to his chief, Lord Palmerston, that Mr. Clayton had made a pathetic appeal to him on the ground of "the embarrassing situation" in which the Hise Treaty had placed the United States Government. "'You know,' he said'" (observe that this is a British envoy quoting the language used to him by the Secretary of State of the United States), "'that the Government have no majority in the Senate; you know that the treaty will be called for by Congress; the substance of it, indeed, has already found its way into the newspapers. You are

aware of the opinion which, whether right or wrong, is generally entertained in this country of the claim of the Mosquito chief to any part of the territory claimed by Nicaragua ; and you can form an idea of the eagerness with which the party opposed to the Government will avail themselves of the opportunity of either forcing us into a collision with Great Britain on this subject, or of making it appear that we have abandoned, through pusillanimity, great and splendid advantages fairly secured to the country by treaty.'"

A more humiliating picture than this was probably never presented by the premier of one great country to the envoy of another. The consequences were precisely what they might have been expected to be. Mr. Crampton at once replied that while he had nothing to say about the Isthmus passage, he could offer no hope that "her Majesty's Government would recede from the position taken by it in regard to the rights of the Mosquito King."

This was the beginning of the long and weary negotiations which were finally taken up by Sir Henry Bulwer, and which culminated (after a most skillful use by Sir Henry of the advantages given away at the outset so scandalously by Mr. Clayton to Great Britain) in the notorious Convention of April 19, 1850, known as the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, a treaty utterly inconsistent with the principles laid down by Mr. Adams and Mr. Monroe in 1823. What have been the results of this deplorable departure from the Monroe doctrine? So far from insuring peace and order in the relations of the United States with Great Britain and with Central America, it continued, until it was gradually dropped by the tacit consent of both powers into a semi-oblivion, to breed new quarrels and perils of war with each successive year. It led to the bombardment of Greytown by an American squadron, to chastise outrages upon American citizens perpetrated with the connivance of and at the direct instigation of British officials, exercising an illegal authority. It has hampered and delayed ever since the solution of great commercial questions, of grave importance to the welfare not only of the United States but of the Central American states ; and its specter is now invoked to darken and disturb the settlement of the question of an Isthmian Canal on the only sound and stable basis on which that question ever can be settled, of an absolute and unchallenged American protectorate in the interest of the innocent use and commerce of all civilized states ! Contrast with this case the effectual assertion by Mr. Seward in 1867 of the principles of the Monroe doctrine in the matter of the French attempt to aid the Clerical and Conser-

vative party of Mexico to establish an empire in that country under the Archduke Maximilian of Austria.

That a large party in Mexico, including many of the wealthiest and most reputable of its people, ardently desired the establishment of the throne of Maximilian is unquestionable. It is unquestionable, also, that during at least two years of his nominal reign the Emperor Maximilian exercised a practically undisputed authority over a very great portion, and that the richest and most populous portion, of the Mexican territory. There is, indeed, no reason to suppose that his sway over the country might not have continued to this day, could he have secured the recognition of his government as a legal government by the Government of the United States. Why was that recognition refused? What justification can be found for our refusing it outside of the solid American groundwork of the "Monroe doctrine"? Mr. Seward refused that recognition—incurring in the refusal, as he did, the constant peril of bringing on hostilities between this country, rocking in the midst of a great civil strife, and the then most powerful Government of Europe, the empire of Napoleon III.—on the one clear and definite ground that the United States can not and will not view the interposition, in the affairs of any of the countries on this continent, of any European power, for the purpose of oppressing them or "of otherwise controlling their destiny," in any other light than as a sign of hostile feelings toward the American people. Not only this: Mr. Seward finally took active steps to compel the withdrawal from Mexico of the French army of occupation—an army sent there, as M. Michel Chevalier, speaking with the authority of a trusted counselor of the empire, did not hesitate, in 1864, to say and to print, expressly for the double purpose of "reaffirming the position of Europe, shaken by the arrogance of the American democracy and wounded by acts perpetrated in the name of the Monroe doctrine, and of resuming for Europe the exercise of faculties which belong to her in the general interest of civilization, as well as in her own interest."

The French army of occupation was withdrawn from Mexico. The Monroe doctrine was asserted in all the breadth and depth of the principles which it represents and stands for. What have been the results of this assertion? Thirteen years of profound peace between the United States and the rest of the world.

Can anything be more plain than the lesson read us by this rapid summary of the history of the Monroe doctrine in regard to the actual situation created by the schemes of M. de Lesseps? Is it not

perfectly obvious that nothing but a determination to escape, if possible, from the operation of the principles of the Monroe doctrine can adequately explain the failure of M. de Lesseps and of his coadjutors to begin their enterprise by seeking for it the recognition and by putting it under the direct protection of the United States? On what grounds can France or Great Britain or Germany claim a right to divide with the United States the duty of supervising and controlling, in the interests of all mankind, a great ocean waterway which can not be constructed without making the protection of some great power or powers essential to the preservation of order along its line, and of the investments represented in it, and which, if constructed, must immediately and profoundly affect the political and commercial relations of the Pacific with the Atlantic territories of the American Union? If the principles of the Monroe doctrine, as we have ascertained them in this rapid review of their history and their working, do not directly and forcibly apply to the question of an Isthmian Canal, as that question has of late been brought before us by M. de Lesseps, to what conceivable question connected with American affairs can those principles ever so apply?

RECENT HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

1. History of the Norman Conquest.
2. The Life of Gladstone.
3. Lamartine and his Friends.

I.

THE recent appearance of the index-volume of Dr. Edward A. Freeman's "History of the Norman Conquest" is fit occasion for some further reference to the work itself, already recognized as the greatest historical achievement of modern times. In looking again through these five volumes—comprising not only the results of more than a quarter of a century of the most patient, conscientious, and laborious research, but the results of the subjection of these materials to the crystallizing effect of a comparative, deductive, and combinative faculty of the highest order—we are impressed with two things above the general sustained high excellence of the work. First, Dr. Freeman's statesmanly conception of the importance to the world's history of the events of the year 1066. Selecting the Norman Conquest as the center around which he aggregates all other great world-struggles for comparison—a comparison shown to be as legitimate as it is exceedingly interesting; for instance, that of William the Conqueror with Theodoric the Goth, and also with the Crusader, Charles of Anjou; so that his history actually comprises a history of all other great commotions in the world previous to the Magna Charta—he shows with masterly skill the events of that year in their proper relations both to preceding and subsequent history, clearly demonstrating that upon them alone hinges the otherwise enigmatical situation of England in her language, literature, art, and political constitution, in her whole relation within herself and with other powers to-day. And in this Dr. Freeman does not represent that the England found by the Normans was swept out of history and replaced by them, but the rather preserved with only a strong Norman infusion. As, for example, in the lan-

guage—"It did not," says Dr. Freeman, "abolish the English language, but it brought in a new language by its side which for a while supplanted it as the language of polite intercourse, and which did not yield to the reviving elder speech till it had affected it by the largest infusion that the vocabulary of one European tongue ever received from another." As to the character and ultimate effects of the Norman Conquest, Dr. Freeman says: "Normandy taught England to become a Continental power, she taught her to become the special rival of France, and, having done this, she gave up, as it were, her own separate being, and herself sank into a French province. . . . Strange as it may seem, the Norman Conquest has in its results been the best preserver of the older life of England. . . . William can not, in view of universal history, claim to have left his impress on all time like Alexander, Cæsar, Constantine, and Charles. His work, after all, was bounded by a single island and a small portion of the mainland, but, within that comparatively narrow range, William wrought a work which, in one sense indeed, has been far more abiding than theirs. Of each of those lords of the world we may say that the influence of his work is eternal, but that his work has fallen to pieces; but, within William's island-world in the empire where he could be at once king and Cæsar, not only has the influence of his work been eternal, but his work itself abides. His work has been more lasting because in some sort less brilliant. Almost alone among conquerors, he conquered neither to destroy nor to found, but to continue."

The other exceptional excellence in this work is that it does not, with the exception of the pivotal battle of Senlac, dwell on the processes of battles, the bloody details, nor upon the minutiæ of the peace negotiations, but deals with exceeding skill and interest with their larger effects in constitutional and ethnical history. The scene of the battle of Senlac was five times visited and carefully examined by Dr. Freeman, and the description of the battle, covering nearly forty pages, is minute, exact, and grandly picturesque; one turns from reading it with the feeling of having gazed upon a great painting of a battle—spear, plume, horse, rider, hill, slope, sky, even the very tumult and tremendous action caught into the colors by the divine touch of genius. It is a word-picture offering immortality to the artist who can reproduce it upon canvas, and suggests the inspired hand which painted "The Roll-Call." To this admirable structure the last and index volume is like a trained cicerone with whom we can make tour of the whole or any part with

quickness and certainty—a cicerone whose succinct and orderly exactness of information impresses us freshly with the philological interest as being almost if not quite equal to the historical interest of this majestic work.

II.

To-day, when it is clear that Mr. Gladstone—once more to the fore of English politics—will be *Cæsar aut nullus*, it is interesting to recall these strong just words of a leading English journal on the occasion of Mr. Gladstone's resignation of the Liberal leadership in March, 1878: "When the impartial voice of posterity shall pronounce its final and abiding judgment upon the career of Mr. Gladstone, it will be a verdict which will write his name in the very highest place upon the roll of fame. And, when the moving incidents of that most noble and most beneficent life of struggle and labor are summed up, there will hardly be a brighter page than that which records the history of his efforts during the past two years."

Nothing could be more timely than a work which should give us, just at this present crisis in English affairs, a faithful representation of Mr. Gladstone as gentleman, Christian, statesman, scholar, and author. There was published in England last fall, just when the immediate dissolution of Parliament was expected, a book in two volumes entitled "The Life of Gladstone,"* by George Barnett Smith, which is now reproduced in America† in one thick volume. In spite of all that can be said and has been said by Mr. Smith's English and other critics concerning the difficulties in the way of writing a good biography of a man while he is still among us, there is, in the case of Mr. Gladstone, abundant material—without drawing on those private stores naturally reserved for posthumous tribute—which could be used with entire propriety for making a biographical account of him a vivid and characteristic work.

Mr. Smith, who is the author of a "Critical Biography of Shelley" and of a work entitled "Poets and Novelists," and has contributed critical and biographical articles to the "Edinburgh," "Fortnightly," "Macmillan," and "Cornhill," gives us in the present volume a greater bulk of facts, and very carefully chronological in their arrangement, about Mr. Gladstone and the years of English politics in which he has played so prominent a part, than does any other single work.

* Published by Cassell, Petter & Galpin.

† Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

But the book provokes vexed laughter. We are promised biography and assured against polemics; yet, with the exception of four chapters out of the thirty, it is altogether polemical, and the whole it written in the spirit of what Americans would call a campaign document—at the very close of which we find this Parthian dart: "When the public expenditure has risen from £71,000,000, or thereabout, and a surplus in the late Premier's time, to £85,000,000, and a deficit in that of his successors, the Liberals have a most potent argument with the electors."

Mr. Smith tells us that, though Gladstone "is without that highest of all gifts, an absolutely informing genius (?), he has perhaps every endowment save that"; that "Liverpool gave him his financial talent and business aptitude, Eton his classical attainments, Oxford his moral fervor and religious spirit" (angels and ministers of grace defend us!); that "he has thrown a halo around the science of finance . . . has trodden every stage with success, and into every work he has undertaken has *imported* an earnestness," etc.; that his "tenacity of purpose, strength of will, power to grapple with opposing circumstances, breadth of mind which grasped the various aspects of a difficult problem at a glance, all these practical qualities are reflected in him from his father." *Ergo*, Mr. Gladstone started at zero, as a surface giving back the features of his sire, as a reservoir empty but most capacious, which Liverpool, Eton, and Oxford, made haste to fill, each after its kind. The father's practical quality appears in his "early discovery" that he had a smart boy, and in his "wise determination" to send him to Eton, where, as we are next told, "the number of scholars is so great that proper supervision can not be given to them; hence, laxity as regards the older boys, while the smaller and weaker are exposed without hope of redress to the tyranny of their superiors in years and strength," and where also "no instruction is given in any branch of mathematical, physical, metaphysical, or moral science, nor in the evidence of Christianity." Then follows a discussion on the system of fagging, leading us—as this is a biography of Gladstone—to darkly surmise that he may have done a good deal of it. Then we are led back to Eton to hear that "many of the finest men of the century have been educated there," yet that "perhaps they can not be legitimately claimed as the product of Eton"; and that "the curriculum is still strictly classical, though some *secondary* subjects such as French, German, and *mathematics* are taught." Here are a style and a notion of things almost as wonderful as Sir Henry Rawlinson,

or Edward Dicey, or Sir Garnet Wolseley could afford! With the exception of such heavy gambolings among facts and deductions, the work plods on with a trudging gait through a mass of material good, varied, and sufficient for a work worthy of the timely theme. The first chapter, upon Mr. Gladstone's ancestry, and the thirteenth, upon his "Homeric Studies," are very interesting and fairly well written, but the book in the main is a summary of England's foreign and domestic policy, the budgets and Parliamentary and country addresses from 1841 to 1879, and this tediousness is unrelieved by any skill in condensation or arrangement, or by any interesting deductions. Over a hundred pages, nearly one fifth of the whole work, are occupied with the elaborate financial report, whereas the twenty-sixth chapter of nine pages, reviewing Mr. Gladstone's financial policy, contains all that is essential to a fair understanding of his masterly financial improvements. The chapter on the Eastern Question is extremely superficial, and shows the author to be at this point, as elsewhere in the work, overwhelmed with theme and materials with which he is entirely unqualified to cope. The book is a tribute to Gladstone. So was the gold wreath of Turnerelli a tribute to Disraeli! If we have spoken with severity, it is because the excellence of the last chapter has shown us that we might have been spared the keen dissatisfaction which any good judge of English affairs must feel with the book as a whole, whether considered as history, biography, or polemics. He who, undertaking a subject of such imminent interest and importance, could write the last chapter in this book so incomparably better than all the rest, was under the most imperative obligation to resist any and all pressure which could lead to the production of so hurried, undiscriminating, and so dull a compilation concerning a man described in Reid's celebrated "Cabinet Portraits" as "a mixture of Cromwell and Gambetta"!

III.

In "Lamartine and his Friends," published in France, in 1872, and just now excellently translated into English by Miss Odell, of Paris, no really new light is thrown upon Lamartine's well-known public career. But the author, Henri de Lacretelle, himself a novelist, a poet of fine quality, the disciple and life-long close friend of the great Frenchman, gives us what is of deep interest and value, a picture of Lamartine at home among his friends, his vineyards, his birds, and his hounds. The story—a *blasé* novel-reader would find it beguiling—has throughout the setting of exquisite natural sce-

nery, a background of life, insect, animal and human, making a kind of subdued orchestration, and in the midst is Lamartine, always in entire harmony with this bucolic beauty and retirement. Lacretelle was a little boy when he first saw Lamartine, who was sitting under a tree "in the garden at Bel-Air," talking with the elder Lacretelle. The shy boy peeped at his hero through the slats of the blinds in his mother's room, and saw Lamartine gently fondling his greyhound, and then heard himself kindly spoken of between the two elders. In his account of their long association in after-years, Lacretelle makes no retouchings of this first impression which take from Lamartine this lovable character of the great, simple, gifted child, most at home, as children always are, in the open air. Indeed, Lacretelle claims for him that he had no pride ; that anything resembling arrogance or conceit was only apparent when in any sense he stood for others. When reproached by Lacretelle on one occasion, for his rudeness to "X——," "I do not belong to myself," said Lamartine. "If X—— had dined with me, all Europe would have said that I accepted the ministry. But I really like X—— ; let us go and see him." Again, when, after the failure of the Republic, the Empire would have paid his debts, Lamartine, in spite of his terrible embarrassments, steadfastly refused, on the ground that in him the Republic should not lie down and lick the hand of the Empire. One thing that impresses us at every stage in Lacretelle's story is the great and most rare good fortune Lamartine had in a home circle of friends who made instant part in all his moods, so that he could express the very flush and freshness of his thought, the sudden dominance of emotion, or yield to the most inexplicable caprice, without missing the sympathy or the understanding of his friends. He had that harmony in surroundings and association which Madame de Staël speaks of so movingly in "Corinne" as being absolutely essential to a happy and true development of genius. His English wife, with her talents, intelligence, and refinement, made an admirable companion and a versatile helper for Lamartine. Her patience, energy, modesty, and devotion appear to have had a certain both inspiring and concentrative effect upon Lamartine's errant characteristics, which would hardly have been possible to a marriage relation less peaceful and firm.

There was a lovable greatness of mind about Lamartine which made him willingly considerate of all shades of opinion ; and to the truths of other people, however opposed to that which was truth to him, and however severe in their bearing upon himself or his work,

he listened with amiable patience, and with a ductility to the criticisms of his literary work amounting almost to weakness, since it sometimes led him to alter what should have remained untouched. This trait alone must have been sufficient to give him an immeasurable personal effect, as the most sensitive *amour propre* needed no buckler against him, nor needed to provide him with one. It made it possible for all, who had the insight to be so, to be quite frank with him. On one occasion Ducuing met Madame Lamartine leaving her husband's study in tears. After listening to Lamartine's exclamations of flippant disparagement and ungracious praise of his wife, Ducuing said, "I do not know what the question was, but Madame Lamartine has cried, and I am sure you were in the wrong." "Come and dine with us this evening," was Lamartine's gentle and sole reply. Ducuing came, and found husband and wife in perfect harmony. At one of Lamartine's breakfasts Lacretelle *père* alluded with animated bitterness "to the Vandal who, in 1810, had sold the grand old stones (the Benedictine Abbey of Cluny) which even the Revolution had respected." An embarrassment fell upon the little group at table, showing itself in whispers among the young ladies, smiles between the servants, and the lower drooping of the head of a venerable *curé* over his plate.

Lamartine, whose habit was never to interrupt, broke into this eloquent philippic with unwonted dash, telling admirably the story of a visit he had once made in company with a Roman prince and his nieces to a monastery. The father-porter would not admit the nieces; "his house was holy—nothing unclean could enter there." So the uncleanness, in the shape of laughing, dark-eyed, high-born beauties, sat down on the outside steps till the gentlemen should come out. Within, Lamartine saw a young man writing upon the inspiring theme of priestly celibacy. The young monk rolled up his manuscript and became their escort, and at the outer portals came unexpectingly upon the pretty young countesses! They viciously poured out upon him the whole battery of blushes, smiles, gracious speeches, and coquettish glances, and, as he retired in violent discomfiture, "fragments of paper were falling behind him on the tiles—he was tearing to pieces his panegyric on celibacy!" After breakfast, Lacretelle *père* asked Lamartine why, even if it had been ill-timed, he had not allowed him to finish what he had begun.

"I beg a thousand pardons, my dear friend," said Lamartine, pointing to the old *curé*, telling his breviary, "but *there* is the destroyer of Cluny!"

With such delicate, ready, witful adroitness, we have the contrast of the tender but oddly asinine performance of Lamartine's taking his wife and friends upon a long ride to dine under the willows in front of the farmhouse of Château-Tiers, there to be waited on by the Janette of his "Mémoires," now no longer the little maid whom he used to meet and make love to in the meadows at Milly, but a handsome gray-haired woman of fifty years, a farmer's wife and the mother of six fine sons; who nevertheless, as she recognizes her childhood's lover, has enough of sentiment left to blush and say oracularly, "It is a long time since the mignonette has faded."

It is hardly wonderful that Madame Lamartine should say, meaning perhaps very much: "Let us go and see the ruins. There is nothing more to be seen here." Thereafter, Lamartine, with an ostrich-like notion of secrecy, takes out of the cart a bag of money, which every one is aware he had brought, and gives it to Janette to buy the conscription of her son, charging her to keep the matter secret from all, especially from Madame Lamartine! As we have seen, Lamartine told anecdotes and reminiscences admirably. Here is one of special interest, as Lacretelle repeats it: "We were walking in one of the little streets now obliterated, leading from the Hôtel-de-Ville to Palais Royale. 'Look down that passage,' said Lamartine; 'I have witnessed an almost incredible scene there. I will tell it to you alone, but after I am dead you may publish it, for it is historical. I would never have spoken of it if Sainte-Beuve had not attached himself to the Empire, and if he did not insult the men of the Revolution every day. Remember this. It was in the first days of March, 1848, when I was drinking in great draughts of popularity, having just escaped the draught of hemlock. I was walking down the square. Everybody recognized me, saluted and followed me. Sainte-Beuve was passing, and, putting himself in front of the procession, took my arm. He was suspected of clericalism then, though, not long after, he went over to atheism. His monkish face displeased the crowd. I do not know whether he heard the murmurs or imagined them. He dragged me along. Night was falling. He pushed me into that passage to hide himself. The people outside were crying 'Vive Lamartine!' and 'Vive la République!' but there were no menaces. Then I had the most lamentable spectacle. Sainte-Beuve, crazy with fear, almost knelt to me, crying: 'Save me! You have made them lay down their arms!' Yes, I have seen that grace of mind, that elegance of style,

that Athenian purist, kneeling on these slimy pavements! Joseph Delorme has kissed my hands!"

Lamartine's spontaneous expressions were epigrams. In answer to a friendly expostulation about his extravagant outlay for advertisements, he exclaimed: "What would you have me do? God himself needs some one to ring the bells for him!" He wrote to his great friend, Dr. Pascal, who was ill, "Come and die at Monceaux!" How could love say more or say less? He characterized the seventeenth century as an "interregnum of God. God spoke at that time only through two men, Rousseau and Voltaire. The devil reigned. Lucifer was Secretary of State."

Of Louis Blanc, Lamartine said: "I have never found a grain of ashes on the hearth of that sympathetic soul. None of my friends have aided me more than he in the abolition of capital punishment. Every word that he uttered was baptized in courage and conviction."

In his talks with Lacretelle we find many of the paradoxical subtilties which account for appreciations of him very different from Lacretelle's. "I admire him and consider him a force in the democracy," said Lamartine of M. Ledru-Rollin, "but my sympathies are not with the radicals. I do not want always to go to the root of the matter and hinder the flowering."

When Lacretelle asked Lamartine how he came to leave literature for politics, when he could not know that he would succeed, and might therefore have lost in both, Lamartine silently led Lacretelle—they were walking—to where the peasants were chopping his beautiful trees from the side of the mountain. Knowing how deeply Lamartine must feel this sight, the peasants pretended to not notice him; but, when he had passed, they drew their pipes from their mouths, and cried, "Vive la République!" "Now," said Lamartine, with a smile—"now you see why I have gone into politics."

Of "Les Girondins" Lacretelle says: "I might almost say I saw Lamartine write it. He was preparing for the work, by visiting the country and the houses he was to depict; collecting about him the survivors of that great epoch, as well as the letters and contemporaneous newspapers. He went to the house of Madame Roland, near Ville-Franche; to that of Charlotte Corday's aunt, in Normandy; to the cellars of Marat, and to Robespierre's apartments in Rue Saint-Honoré, Paris. He conversed with Danton's widow; and an old friend of Fouquier-Tinville—for he had a few—came to give some information in regard to the *procureur* of the guillotine."

And it was of this work that M. Ledru-Rollin exclaimed, "The greatest service that Lamartine has rendered to the public is, that one can now discuss Robespierre without being taken for an anthropophagus!"

Debt was an element from which neither friendship nor money could extricate Lamartine. His notions of financial management kept him in a pitiable snarl of small and great torments. He bought off intruders with magnificent sums. He bought immense quantities of wine on credit, and sold it at a loss for the sake of the ready money, the mere sight of which turned the wine creditors into comfortably vague specters. Yet, when a national subscription was suggested—"I!" he exclaimed, "I hold out my hat for pennies? I would shoot myself first!"

The cession to him, for a period of thirty years, of a quarter of the province beyond Syria, by the Sultan, in token of Turkish gratitude for what he had said and written of Islamism, though it seemed a golden road out of all difficulty, sank, through Lamartine's genius for mismanagement, into a comparative *bagatelle.*

Madame de Lamartine's receptions at Saint-Point, Monceaux, and Paris meant, of course, the gathering of the greatest men and women of the time—especially the receptions in Paris. Thither came Montalembert, Edgar Quinet, and Michelet; loud-voiced Madame Sophie Gay and her beautiful, brilliant daughter, Madame Émile de Girardin; M. Circourt, of whom Lamartine said, "He is an Alexandrine library—I spend my life in studying his shelves and trying to decipher his papyrus"; Émile Deschamps, who shared with Balzac, Béranger, Lamennais, and Dumas, the honor of being shut out of the Academy. The fluctuations in the political moods of the actors in these scenes are as clearly and delicately rendered as the rest. The characterization of Léon Bruys d'Ouilly is very careful, and throws a charming light upon him and upon Lamartine in their singular association. These receptions covered a period of fifteen years. As after the monarchy the republic, so after the nobles the people: patrician, political, artistic, and plebeian Europe thronged these historic rooms. But once the grand receptions over, and the great ones of the social and political world gone, Lamartine, at home again at Saint-Point or Monceaux, became the most simple and companionable of beings, rising early to write his poems, with his birds and dogs around him. His muse had robust nerves: the more noise and clatter, the faster and smoother the verses grew. After breakfast, off with his friends

for a ramble, full of happy talk, of thoughts large, humorous, pithy, gracious; after tea, keeping himself awake by "chasing the dogs through the rooms, searching for cigars in mysterious closets where there were valuable bank-notes, pages of poetry still more valuable, tobacco and Windsor soap, all heaped together in delightful confusion"; and at last, with the letters of Madame de Sévigné or Voltaire, going away to his chamber, "candle in hand and followed by his white hound," the rest soon going to bed also with dripping candles and laughing "Good-nights," "proud in the consciousness that something historical and beautiful was being prepared in the house"—this is the Lamartine which Lacretelle's loving and honorable tribute leaves with us—a memorable guest.

AXEL GUSTAFSON.

Thayer Academy, Braintree, Mass.—Designed to furnish instruction of the highest order in English, Modern Languages, and the Classics; fitting boys for the best colleges, and girls for the Harvard examinations and colleges for women. Address J. B. SEWALL, Head-Master, South Braintree, Mass.

BRAIN AND NERVE FOOD.

VITALIZED PHOSPHATES,

COMPOSED OF THE NERVE-GIVING PRINCIPLES OF THE OX-BRAIN AND WHEAT-GERM.

Physicians have prescribed 193,420 packages with the best results in all forms of impaired vitality, mental exhaustion, or weakened digestion. It is the best preventive of Consumption and all diseases of debility. It gives strength, rest, and sleep, by feeding the brain and nerves. It acts by feeding the brain with its necessary food, not as a medicine. For sale by Druggists.

F. CROSBY, 666 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

UNDER THE FORM OF A JELLY CALLED VASELINE, PETROLEUM IS GIVEN TO MEDICINE AND PHARMACY IN AN ABSOLUTELY PURE, HIGHLY CONCENTRATED, AND UNOBJECTIONABLE SHAPE. ALL ACIDS, ODORS, TASTE, COLOR, AND OTHER IMPURITIES, WHICH HAVE HITHERTO PREVENTED THE USE OF PETROLEUM IN MEDICINE, ARE ENTIRELY ELIMINATED, AND THE VASELINE IS AS HARMLESS AND DELIGHTFUL TO USE AS CREAM.

The most valuable family remedy known for the treatment of wounds, burns, sores, cuts, skin-diseases, rheumatism, chilblains, catarrh, hæmorrhoids, etc. Also for coughs, colds, sore-throat, croup, and diphtheria, etc.

It has received the unanimous endorsement of the Medical Press and Profession, Scientists and Journals of all characters throughout the world, as being the Best Remedy known.

Four Sizes: in Bottles, 15, 25, and 50 cents; in 1 lb. Tins, $1.

As an emollient, Vaseline is superior to any other substance yet discovered. Its marvelous healing and restoring qualities excel everything else, and it is rapidly taking the place on the toilet-table, to the exclusion of the various complexion-powders, pomades, cosmetics, and other compounds. It will keep the skin clearer, softer, and smoother than any cosmetic ever invented, and will preserve the youthful beauty and freshness of the healthy complexion.

POMADE VASELINE.—WILL CURE DANDRUFF AND MAKE THE HAIR GROW WHEN NOTHING ELSE WILL. **25, 50** CENTS, AND **$1.00.**

VASELINE COLD CREAM.—FOR IRRITATIONS OF THE SKIN, CHAFING OF INFANTS, FOR THE COMPLEXION, CHAPPED HANDS, Etc., Etc., Etc. **25** AND **50** CENTS.

VASELINE CAMPHOR ICE.—FOR PIMPLES, BLOTCHES, Etc. **25** CENTS.

VASELINE TOILET SOAP.—EMOLLIENT, BLAND, ANTISEPTIC (EXCELS ALL TOILET SOAPS).

Pamphlets, with Medical Editorials and Recommendations, Post Free.

BEWARE of Imitations and Adulterations trading upon the Popularity of VASELINE.

COLGATE & CO. will supply these articles, if you can not obtain them of your Druggist. None genuine except in original packages.

Grand Medals at Philadelphia and Paris Expositions. Medal of Progress by American Institute.

D. APPLETON & CO.

HAVE JUST PUBLISHED:

I.

Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer.

By PETER H. BURNETT, the First Governor of the State of California. 1 vol., 12mo, 468 pages. Cloth. Price, $1.75.

Mr. Burnett's life has been full of varied experience, and the record takes the reader back prior to the discovery of gold in California, and leads him through many adventures and incidents to the time of the beginning of the late war. The volume is replete with interest.

II.

Fifteen Sermons,

By WILLIAM ROLLINSON WHITTINGHAM, Fourth Bishop of Maryland. 1 vol., 12mo. Cloth. Price, $1.50.

"The late Bishop of Maryland destroyed many of his sermons before his death. It was very difficult to make a selection from those remaining, but, at the urgent, repeated request of his friends, twelve have been chosen, and three already published, but now out of print, added by special desire, to form a single volume. . . . It was thought best to include as many on general topics as possible, and to put in none strictly doctrinal."—*Extract from Preface.*

III.

Sophocles.

By LEWIS CAMPBELL, LL. D., Professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrews. Being No. 4 of "Classical Writers," edited by JOHN RICHARD GREEN. 16mo. Cloth. Price, 60 cents.

Previously published in the series: "MILTON," "EURIPIDES," "VERGIL." Cloth, 60 cents each.

IV.

Memoirs of Madame de Remusat.

Volume Third. 8vo. Paper cover. Price, 50 cents.

The third volume completes these remarkable Memoirs, the interest of which is unflagging to the end. "They afford," says the "Atlantic Monthly," "a perfect mine of information about what we may call the local color of the First Empire."

The three volumes complete. Paper cover, 8vo. Price, $1.50.

V.

Memoirs of Madame de Remusat.

Complete in one volume, 12mo, 740 pages. Cloth. With an Index. Price, $2.00.

"Notwithstanding the enormous library of works relating to Napoleon, we know of none which cover precisely the ground of these Memoirs. Madame de Rémusat was not only lady-in-waiting to Josephine during the eventful years 1802–1808, but was her intimate friend and trusted confidant. Thus we get a view of the daily life of Bonaparte and his wife and the terms on which they lived not elsewhere to be found."—*New York Mail.*

D. APPLETON & CO.'S NEW PUBLICATIONS.—(*Continued.*)

VI.

New Cheap Edition of Geikie's Life of Christ.

The Life and Words of Christ.

By CUNNINGHAM GEIKIE, D. D. A new and cheap edition, printed from the same stereotype plates as the fine illustrated edition. Complete in one volume, octavo, 1,258 pages. Cloth. Price, $1.50.

This is the only cheap edition of Geikie's Life of Christ that contains the copious notes of the author, the marginal references, and an index. In its present form it is a marvel of cheapness.

VII.

Elihu Burritt:

A Memorial Volume, containing a Sketch of his Life and Labors, with Selections from his Writings and Lectures, and Extracts from his Private Journals in Europe and America. Edited by CHARLES NORTHEND, A. M. 12mo. Cloth. Price, $1.75.

VIII.

Rodman the Keeper:

SOUTHERN SKETCHES. By CONSTANCE FENIMORE WOOLSON. 1 vol., 12mo. Cloth. Price, $1.25.

The stories and sketches in the magazines by Constance Fenimore Woolson have long attracted the attention of critical readers as something very unique and remarkable in their way. For several years past Miss Woolson has resided in the Southern States, and the experience there gathered has appeared in a series of character stories, which have commanded wide attention. These stories have been gathered in the present volume, which, in their collected form, will be certain to greatly extend the reputation of their author.

IX.

The Return of the Princess.

From the French of JACQUES VINCENT. "New Handy-Volume Series." Paper, 25 cents.

X.

A Stroke of Diplomacy.

From the French of VICTOR CHERBULIEZ. "New Handy-Volume Series." Paper. Price, 20 cents.

XI.

A Search for Winter Sunbeams

IN THE RIVIERA, CORSICA, ALGIERS, AND SPAIN. By SAMUEL S. COX. With Illustrations. A new cheaper edition. 12mo. Cloth. Price, $1.75.

For sale by all booksellers; or any volume sent by mail, post-paid, on receipt of price.

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers,
1, 3, & 5 BOND STREET, NEW YORK.

"A Journal for the Antiquary and Scholar."

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY,

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, Editor.

OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED HISTORICAL STUDENTS.

From Mr. JAMES PARTON, author of the "Life of Benjamin Franklin," etc.

". . . Your Magazine improves constantly. I am indebted to it every month for pleasure and instruction."

From Mr. FRANCIS PARKMAN, the Historian, Boston, Mass.

". . . There can be but one opinion as to the value of the 'Magazine of American History.' Many of the original papers it contains are of great interest, and in its department of documents it has preserved and made accessible some curious and important papers. Its notices of new publications supply the best means I know for keeping *au courant* of contemporary writings, great and small, on the subject to which it is devoted. Every student of American history has a stake in its success and prosperity."

From Mr. SIDNEY HOWARD GAY, West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y.

"I can say frankly, after a year's reading, that I read your Magazine always with profit and pleasure. To a lover of books, the beauty of its 'get up' is charming; to one who values the inside as well as the outside of books, the choice and treatment of subjects, the scholarly tone, and the real historical knowledge it contains, make it indispensable to every student of American history, of which there is still so much to be learned."

From Mr. B. F. DE COSTA, New York.

". . . I take pleasure in adding my testimony to that of the large number of historical students who have expressed so decided an opinion respecting the importance and value of the work to which the 'Magazine of American History' is devoted."

From Hon. JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT, Providence, R. I.

"The 'Magazine of American History' fills a place in our literature which has long been vacant. Many of its contributions are from scholars known to fame, and are marked for their thoroughness of research. Other good features are its notices of new publications appertaining to American History, to the Aborigines, to Ethnology, Genealogy, etc., all of which are appropriate in a magazine of this kind."

From Hon. JOHN JAY, New York City.

"I regard your 'Magazine of American History' as filling an important place in our literature. It is gathering materials for history that are in danger of being lost, and it keeps up a fresh interest in the memories of the past whose influence was never more essential to the respectability of the American character. The scholarly and judicious tone displayed in its original papers and critical reviews and notices must command respect at home and abroad."

From Mr. JOHN WARD DEAN, of the New England Historic Genealogic Society, Boston, Mass.

"I have been a constant reader of the 'Magazine of American History,' which for nearly two years has been published by you, and have a very high opinion of the work. The Magazine contains papers on topics of interest in the history of our country, which are well written, and embody the results of much patient research. Mr. Stevens, the editor, has shown good taste and judgment in the management of the work; and you as its publishers deserve much credit for its fine typographic appearance. I hope the liberal patronage, which I am told it has received, will be continued and increased."

From J. M. BASSETT, San Francisco, Cal.

"I regard the Magazine as the most valuable of historical publications."

*** Subscription price, $5.00 a year, postage paid. A few bound vols., for 1877, 1878, and 1879, can be had as follows:

Cloth, gilt top, uncut edges	**$6 25**
Half mor. " "	**7 50**

A specimen number will be sent to any address on receipt of 25 cents.

A. S. BARNES & CO., Publishers, New York and Chicago.

Rodman the Keeper:

SOUTHERN SKETCHES.

By CONSTANCE FENIMORE WOOLSON.

12mo. - - - - - - - - - - Cloth, $1.25.

From the New York Evening Post.

"The reader of these sketches can not fail to discover for himself their intensely poetic quality—can not fail to recognize the poet's hand in every touch. Tropical vegetation is not richer or more spontaneous than the author's fancy is. She has spoken face to face with the spirit of the South, and has learned its sad secret. She knows its nameless joy, and its undefinable melancholy. She has felt the opulence of the sunlight there, she has breathed the drowsy breath of the stiflingly fragrant flowers. The characters sketched are strongly dramatic conceptions, and the portraiture is very fine and distinct. Each of the sketches has that breath of life in it which belongs alone to what is called human interest. The pathos of the stories is wonderful, but it is wholesome, natural pathos, not the pathos manufactured by the literary emotion-monger. Miss Woolson's art is superb, and she is lovingly faithful to it."

From the New York Sun.

"An American writer of veritable merit will be made known to the readers of 'Rodman the Keeper.' The author has bestowed a care and finish upon her diction which are extremely rare. It is no light thing to say that she writes the English language with vigor and precision, but in this case we ought to add that the power of satisfying the taste is coupled with no slight command over the feelings, and no inconsiderable faculty of touching, with pathetic strokes, the heart."

From the Hartford Daily Courant.

"The tales have the great merit of being good studies of Southern life. The characteristic of all of them is an accurate realism touched with deep womanly sentiment. These powerful stories will add to the Northern knowledge of Southern society."

From the Boston Gazette.

"These sketches are of the highest order of merit, being vigorous and graphic as pictures of life and character, and exhibiting a fine combination of the imaginative faculty with realistic power of presentation. If the taste of the American people were as much for short stories as it is for long ones, we should expect this book to take rank second to no other American production of the day in public favor."

From the Boston Evening Transcript.

"Miss Woolson is one of the strongest and best American sketch-writers. Her themes are always new, her situations unconventional, and her style brilliant. Those who have not read these stories are to be envied the pleasure they have to come."

From the Philadelphia Press.

"Touched with pathos, the stories are full of literary grace and skill."

From the Providence Evening Press.

"Ten charmingly written sketches."

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, 1, 3, & 5 Bond St., New York.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

I.

THE CRAYFISH.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ZOÖLOGY. By Professor T. H. Huxley, F. R. S. With 82 Illustrations. Forming Volume 28 of "The International Scientific Series." 12mo. Cloth. Price, $1.75.

The object of Professor Huxley's new book is to afford an opportunity to students to commence the study of zoölogy by means of a careful verification of nearly all that is known concerning a single animal, the common crayfish. The book is termed an "Introduction to Zoölogy." "For whoever will follow its pages, crayfish in hand, and will try to verify for himself the statements which it contains, will find himself brought face to face with all the great zoölogical questions which excite so lively an interest at the present day."

II.

CEREMONIAL INSTITUTIONS.

Being Part IV of "The Principles of Sociology." (The first portion of Volume II.) By Herbert Spencer. 12mo. Cloth. Price, $1.25.

III.

ROSCOE'S CHEMISTRY.

A TREATISE ON CHEMISTRY. By H. E. Roscoe, F. R. S., and C. Schorlemmer, F. R. S., Professors of Chemistry in Owens College, Manchester, England. With numerous Illustrations. Volume II, Part II. Metals. 8vo. Cloth. Price, $3.00.

IV.

CLASSICAL WRITERS.

Edited by John Richard Green. VERGIL. By H. Nettleship. Flexible cloth. Price, 60 cents.

Previously published in the series: MILTON, by Stopford A. Brooke; EURIPIDES, by J. P. Mahaffy. Cloth. Price, 60 cents each.

V.

A TREATISE ON ORAL DEFORMITIES

AS A BRANCH OF MECHANICAL SURGERY. By Norman W. Kingsley, M. D. S., D. D. S. With over 350 Illustrations. 8vo. Cloth, $5.00; sheep, $6.00.

VI.

NOTES ON THE PARABLES OF OUR LORD.

By Richard Chenevix Trench, D. D. A new edition. 12mo. Cloth. Price, $1.25.

For sale by all booksellers; or any volume sent by mail, post-paid, on receipt of price.

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers,

1, 3, & 5 Bond Street, New York.

OLIVE TAR

A HIGHLY REFINED EXTRACT OF THE JUICES OF THE OLIVE AND THE PINE.

DR. J. R. STAFFORD'S

This old, reliable preparation has a magical effect in cases of **Consumption, Bronchitis, Catarrh,** and kindred diseases of the throat and chest. It is an indispensable medicine in every household, especially during the winter months. A few drops rubbed on the chest and back will relieve **Croup instantly.** The *inhalation* of the healing *vapor* of the **OLIVE TAR** cures **Bronchitis, Catarrh,** and **Influenza,** as it acts directly on the affected parts, and doing away with the use of nauseating medicines, which disarrange the stomach. As an application to **Burns, Scalds, Chilblains, Sores, Skin Eruptions,** etc., its curative effects are wonderful. In fact, pain can not exist in any part of the body where **OLIVE TAR** is applied. Sold by druggists everywhere. **50 cents per bottle.**

KIDNEY-WORT

The Only Remedy

That Acts at the Same Time on

The Liver, The Bowels and The Kidneys

This combined action gives it wonderful power to cure all diseases.

Why Are We Sick?

Because we allow these great organs to become clogged or torpid, and poisonous humors are therefore forced into the blood that should be expelled naturally.

KIDNEY-WORT WILL CURE

Biliousness, Piles, Constipation, Kidney Complaints and Diseases, Weaknesses and Nervous Disorders.

by causing free action of these organs and restoring their power to throw off disease.

Why Suffer Bilious pains and aches?
Why tormented with Piles, Constipation?
Why frightened over disordered Kidneys?
Why endure nervous or sick headaches?
Why have sleepless nights?

Use **KIDNEY WORT** *and rejoice in health. It is a dry, vegetable compound and* **One package will make six qts of Medicine.**

Get it of your Druggist, he will order it for you. Price, $1.00.

WELLS, RICHARDSON & CO., Proprietors,
(Will send post paid.) **Burlington, Vt.**

MARCHAL & SMITH,

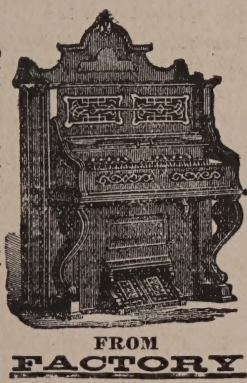
"NEW" UNIVERSITY ORGAN. — SUB-BASS — COUPLER — CELESTE.

Solid Walnut, 5 Octaves, 9 Stops, Two Knee Swells.

STOPS.—(1) Diapason, (2) Dulcet, (3) Dulciana, (4) Echo, (5) Celeste, (6) Clarionet, (7) Sub-Base, (8) Coupler, (9) Vox Humans.

THE ONLY HOUSE IN AMERICA

That offers a 5 octave Organ, 3 sets of Reeds, Sub-Bass, and Coupler for $65. Deposit the money with your bank or any responsible business man to hold till you receive and test the organ. If you are not satisfied with it have your money returned to you when you return the Organ to us. Send certificate of such deposit with your order, and organ will be shipped at once for fifteen days' trial.



If organ is returned, we pay freight both ways. Our organs have been

TRIUMPHANT THE WORLD OVER.

Seventy thousand sold—Not one dissatisfied purchaser.

A MOMENT'S CONSIDERATION will show the certainty of securing a superior instrument from us. Dealers can trust to their own shrewdness, and the want of information of purchasers to conceal the defects in the instruments they sell. We cannot know who will test ours, and must send instruments of a quality so superior that their merits cannot be hidden. Circulars, with thousands of references, sent free.

Grand Power, Infinite Variety, Sweetest Tone.

ORGAN FROM FACTORY TO Purchaser, $65

Sent for examination and trial TO EVERY ONE. Guaranteed for six years.

You take No Responsibility or Expense till you test and approve the Organ.

MARCHAL & SMITH, 8 West Eleventh Street, New York.

THE FAMOUS SELTZER SPRING

OF GERMANY

IN EVERY HOME!!

TARRANT'S SELTZER APERIENT

Is based upon a scientific analysis of the celebrated German Spring whose name it bears, and whose virtues it so eminently contains.

Each Bottle representing from Thirty to Forty Glasses of Sparkling, Foaming Seltzer.

It is Worth Remembering

That TARRANT'S SELTZER APERIENT represents in each bottle thirty to forty glasses of Sparkling Seltzer Water, containing all the virtues of the celebrated German Spring.

It is always Fresh! Always Ready!

One of the advantages that TARRANT'S SELTZER APERIENT—being a dry white powder—has over many natural mineral waters, is the fact that it never becomes vapid or stale. It is, therefore, the most admirable preparation not only for travelers on land and sea, but for all who need a bright, fresh, sparkling alterative and corrective, and it is always ready.

TARRANT'S SELTZER APERIENT thus stands at the very front of all, and is admitted to be the best remedy known for constipation, biliousness, and all disorders of the stomach and bowels.

MANUFACTURED ONLY BY

TARRANT & COMPANY,

NEW YORK.

SOLD BY ALL DRUGGISTS.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS'

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Discussions in History and Theology. By Professor GEORGE P. FISHER, D. D. 1 vol., 8vo. $3.00.

Hand-book of Drawing. By WILLIAM WALKER. With upward of 200 Woodcuts and Diagrams. 1 vol. $1.75.

The Origin and Growth of the Psalms. By Professor T. C. MURRAY. 1 vol., 12mo. $1.50.

Lord Beaconsfield: his Life, Character, and Works. By GEORG BRANDES. Translated by Mrs. GEORGE STURGE. 1 vol., 12mo. $1.50.

The Science of English Verse. By SIDNEY LANIER. 1 vol., crown 8vo. $2.00.

The Theatres of Paris. By J. BRANDER MATTHEWS. *Illustrated.* 1 vol., 16mo. $1.25.

Natural Science and Religion. By Professor ASA GRAY, LL. D. 1 vol., crown 8vo. $1.00.

Faith and Character. By Rev. MARVIN R. VINCENT, D. D. 1 vol., 12mo. $1.50.

Gates into the Psalm Country. By Rev. MARVIN R. VINCENT, D. D. 1 vol., 12mo. $1.50.

Socrates. A Translation of the Apology, Crito, and Parts of the Phaedo of Plato. 1 vol., 16mo. $1.50.

Studies in the New Testament. By Rev. C. S. ROBINSON, D. D. 1 vol., 12mo. $1.50.

The Bible Commentary; New Testament—Volume II. St. John.—By Canon WESTCOTT, D. D. The Acts.—By the Bishop of Chester. 1 vol., 8vo. $5.00.

The Emotions. By JAMES MCCOSH, D. D., LL. D., President of Princeton College. 1 vol., crown 8vo. $2.00.

Communism and Socialism. By THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, D. D., LL. D., lately President of Yale College. 1 vol., 12mo. $1.50.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, Publishers,

743 AND 745 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

DECKER BROTHERS'

PIANOS

Have shown themselves to be so far superior to all others in Excellence of Workmanship, Elasticity of Touch, Beauty of Tone, and great Durability, that they are now earnestly sought for by all persons desiring

THE VERY BEST PIANO.

LOW PRICES. EASY TERMS.

CAUTION.—All genuine Decker Pianos have the following name (precisely as here shown) on the pianos above the keys:

Decker Brothers.
New York.

☞ SEND FOR ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE. ☜

No. 33 Union Square,

NEW YORK.

Published Monthly. Volume 130. Number 6.

SIXTY-FIFTH YEAR.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITED BY ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

June, 1880.

I. Popular Fallacies about Russia.....E. W. Stoughton.

II. Divorces in New England.....Dr. Nathan Allen.

III. McClellan's Last Service to the Republic. Part III. .G. T. Curtis.

IV. Has the Southern Pulpit failed?.....Rev. Dr. F. A. Shoup.

V. Caste at West Point.....Professor P. S. Michie.

VI. Some Interesting Publications.....M. W. Hazeltine.

I. Italy and her Invaders.

II. Romances of the Middle Ages.

III. Chaldean Legends of Genesis.

IV. Explorations in Cambodia.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY.

LONDON: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington.—PARIS: The Galignani Library.—
BERLIN: A. Asher & Co.—GENEVA: J. Cherbuliez.—ROME: Loescher & Co.—
MELBOURNE: W. Robertson.—YOKOHAMA and SHANGHAI: Kelly & Walsh.

TERMS.—Five Dollars a year. Single number, Fifty Cents.

ntered at the Post-Office at New York, and admitted for transmission through the mails as second-class matter.

Volume 130 of the North American Review,

NOW READY, COMPLETE.

CONTENTS.

JANUARY.

The Interoceanic Canal. Count FERDINAND DE LESSEPS.
The Woman Question again. FRANCIS PARKMAN.
Romanism and the Irish Race in the United States. Part II. J. A. FROUDE.
Sainte-Beuve. HENRY JAMES, Jr.
The Metaphysics of Science. Professor ALEXANDER WINCHELL.
The Permanence of Political Forces. Part II. CUTHBERT MILLS.
Recent Poetry. RICHARD HENRY STODDARD.

FEBRUARY.

The Catholic Church and Modern Society. Cardinal MANNING.
The Third Term. T. O. HOWE.
M. de Lesseps and his Canal. Rear-Admiral DANIEL AMMEN.
Now and Then in America. GEORGE AUGUSTUS SALA.
The Emancipation Proclamation. President JAMES C. WELLING.
Recent English Books. MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

MARCH.

The Third Term: Reasons against it. Judge J. S. BLACK.
The Third Term: Reasons for it. E. W. STOUGHTON.
The Communism of a Discriminating Income-Tax. D. A. WELLS.
Civil-Service Reform. Rev. Dr. HENRY W. BELLOWS.
Our Political Dangers. Professor SIMON NEWCOMB.
Mr. Froude's Historical Method. Bishop J. L. SPALDING.
Recent Biography. EUGENE L. DIDIER.

APRIL.

McClellan's Last Service to the Republic. Part I. G. T. CURTIS.
Relations of Canada with the United States. Sir F. HINCKS.
The Failure of the Southern Pulpit. Rev. DAVID SWING.
General Grant and a Third Term. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.
The Irish Land Question. CHARLES STEWART PARNELL.
Recent Works on Trade and Finance. EDWARD CARY.

MAY.

General Grant and Strong Government. Judge J. S. BLACK.
The Religion of All Sensible Men. LESLIE STEPHEN.
McClellan's Last Service to the Republic. Part II. G. T. CURTIS.
Ralph Waldo Emerson. F. H. UNDERWOOD.
The Monroe Doctrine and the Isthmian Canal.
Recent History and Biography. A. GUSTAFSON.

JUNE.

Popular Fallacies about Russia. E. W. STOUGHTON.
Divorces in New England. Dr. NATHAN ALLEN.
McClellan's Last Service to the Republic. Part III. G. T. CURTIS.
Has the Southern Pulpit failed? Rev. Dr. F. A. SHOUP.
Caste at West Point. Professor P. S. MICHIE.
Some Interesting Publications. M. W. HAZELTINE.

Price, unbound, $2.50; bound in cloth, $3.50; in half morocco, $4.00.

Sent by mail on receipt of price.

Address THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, New York.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

JUNE, 1880.

No. 283.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY.
1880.

COPYRIGHT BY
ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.
1880.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

JUNE, 1880.

ART. PAGE

I. POPULAR FALLACIES ABOUT RUSSIA. By E. W. STOUGHTON 523

II. DIVORCES IN NEW ENGLAND. By NATHAN ALLEN, M. D., LL. D. 547

III. MCCLELLAN'S LAST SERVICE TO THE REPUBLIC. Part III. By GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS 565

IV. HAS THE SOUTHERN PULPIT FAILED? By the Rev. F. A. SHOUP, D. D. 585

V. CASTE AT WEST POINT. By Professor PETER S. MICHIE 604

VI. SOME INTERESTING PUBLICATIONS. I. Italy and her Invaders. II. Romances of the Middle Ages. III. Chaldean Legends of Genesis. IV. Explorations in Cambodia. By MAYO W. HAZELTINE . . . 614

THE Editor disclaims responsibility for the opinions of contributors, whether their articles are signed or anonymous.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCLXXXIII.

JUNE, 1880.

POPULAR FALLACIES ABOUT RUSSIA.

The tendency of newspaper correspondence and magazine articles has been to create the impression that the Russian Empire is filled with seeds of disorder threatening insurrection and even revolution, unless immediate changes are made in its government to meet what are called the demands of the people. This literature is in the main of English origin, and is the offspring of that prejudice and hostility against Russia which, with few interruptions, have been active in England for the last hundred years. They originated indeed during the reign of the Empress Catharine II., who with all her faults —and they were few compared with those attributed to her—was the greatest and wisest female ruler who ever lived ; and, singularly enough, this hostility and prejudice arose from her refusal, while we were struggling for independence, to aid Great Britain in her contest with France and Spain ; or to effect for a bribe a European peace, that England, relieved from her Continental antagonists, might hurl upon our forefathers force enough to suppress their rebellion. From thence onward, Russia, her people and governments, have been through good and through evil report friends of this country, not failing to stand forth as such at a time when no other government in Europe would have mourned the dismemberment and consequent destruction of the Great Republic. We should not forget that the Emperor of Russia, who is charged with so oppressing his own people as to justify the murders and outrages

committed and threatened by the Nihilists, is the same humane and Christian monarch who in 1861, at the risk of his life and throne, liberated some forty-two millions of serfs—a grand achievement of liberty so conducted throughout his vast empire that not a drop of blood was shed in its accomplishment. We should remember also that in 1861 when Southern cannon echoed their thunders in Europe, and rulers there willingly believed them signal-notes of a dying nation, he, with an earnest sympathy entitling him to our lasting gratitude, and with a comprehensive appreciation of the value of our perpetual union, instructed his chancellor, Prince Gortchakoff, to declare to us "the deep interest with which the Emperor was observing the development of a crisis which puts in question the prosperity and even the existence of the Union"; that "for more than eighty years that it has existed the American Union owes its independence, its towering rise, and its progress, to the concord of its members, consecrated under the auspices of its illustrious founder by institutions which have been able to reconcile union with liberty. This union has been fruitful; it has exhibited to the world the spectacle of a prosperity without example in the annals of history. It would be deplorable that, after so conclusive an experience, the United States should be hurried into a breach of the solemn compact which, up to this time, has made up their power. . . .

"In spite of the diversity of their constitutions and of their interests, and perhaps even because of this diversity, Providence seems to urge them to draw closer the traditional bond which is the basis and the very condition of their political existence. In any event, the sacrifices which they might impose upon themselves to maintain it are beyond comparison with those which dissolution would bring after it. United they perfect themselves—isolated they are paralyzed. . . .

"This union is not simply in our eyes an element essential to the universal political equilibrium. It constitutes, besides, a nation, to which our august master and all Russia have pledged the most friendly interest; for the two countries, placed at the extremities of the two worlds, both in the ascending period of their development, appear called to a natural community of interests and of sympathies, of which they have already given mutual proofs to each other."

And this communication, so full of sympathy, so suggestive of aid, closes with the assurance that, "in every event, the American

nation may count upon the most cordial sympathy, on the part of the Emperor, during the important crisis which it is passing through at present."

A ruler who could, in the face of monarchical Europe, praise republican institutions in terms so exalted, and who so plainly saw their value in developing the resources, wealth, and happiness of a nation, can not be indifferent to the welfare of his own people, nor disposed to refuse them such political advantages and liberal institutions as they are able to appreciate and enjoy. It is, therefore, but just toward him and his Government to assume that, so soon as the Russian people—the mass of whom were so lately serfs—are capable of exercising that political liberty which a representative government involves, they will be permitted to enjoy it. Indeed, I have the highest authority for saying that such is the purpose of the Imperial Government, and that, for some time past, it has been earnestly considering a plan by which, in anticipation of a more general basis of representation, a partial one may be adopted by which the great interests of all portions of the empire can be represented at St. Petersburg. It is not surprising that even the highest and most humane intelligence should doubt the wisdom of conferring upon serfs so lately liberated the right to choose representatives to assist in the government of a great empire. Nor do they desire it. The assassins who have lately signalized their unfitness for liberty, or even to live except among savages and outlaws, do not belong to the liberated class, or indeed to any one of the industrial classes of Russia. They are few in number, having no organization except for purposes of outrage and murder; no plan to change or reform the Government; no theory except to destroy, and to live without labor upon the plunder of others. Nihilism is a doctrine at which even the Kearneys, the Socialists, the Communists shudder. It proposes the destruction of all that holds even the vilest society together. Its first mission is declared by its founder to be to destroy the "lie," and "the first lie is God. When we are rid of this," says the loathsome missionary, "and are convinced that our existence and that of the surrounding world is due to the conglomeration of atoms in accordance with the laws of gravity, then and then only shall we have accomplished the first step toward liberty, and will experience less difficulty in ridding the mind of the second lie, which is *right*, invented by *might*, which makes and unmakes laws." And he declares that "when our minds are freed from the fear of a God, and from that childish respect for the fiction of *right*, all the

remaining chains which bind us, and which are called science, civilization, property, marriage, morality, and justice, will snap asunder like threads."

Such is the doctrine of the wretches who have attracted so much attention by their murders and attempts at murder, and who among the ignorant and the perverted have even secured sympathy, upon the notion that they were oppressed, and were engaged in some work of political reform.

A little reflection should convince persons of ordinary intelligence that they intend no reform. I have stated their purpose to destroy, to extirpate all religious belief, all law and its administration, the institution of marriage, and everything which the most enlightened of our race have been taught to respect and to love. When this is accomplished what will Nihilism give instead? what does it promise? Nothing, absolutely nothing but this: that when all of belief, all of law, of order, of institutions which we have inherited from the past shall be destroyed, blotted out so that every human being shall be upon an equality, but without protection of law or magistrate, and therefore the weak at the mercy of the strong and brutal, that *might* which the hideous throng of those who would create this pandemonium may see fit to exercise is to be employed by the majority in number, to establish such a government as shall repudiate God and marriage, the right of property, and of all else except the privilege of living at the mercy of the loathsome crew who are then to assume control.

I need not say to those who know anything of the character of the Russian peasant, of his respect for law, his veneration for his church, his devotion to God, that he abhors the Nihilists, their doctrines and purposes; and, among those who have been arrested and tried, he has rarely been found. Nor have outrages been instigated or committed by the laboring or industrial classes, but usually by half-educated, excitable students, who, although educated at slight expense except that borne by the Government, become impatient of religious teaching, and of all wholesome control; and by a few desperate characters who skulk from the police, poison the minds of those capable of being captivated by pernicious doctrines, and finally lead them to attempt the most terrible crimes. These wretches are sometimes aided by women paraded as belonging to respectable families and even to the nobility, but who are usually of a class to whom the doors of decent houses are never opened. It is difficult to understand how such persons can be regarded as reformers.

They do not in Russia represent the property, intelligence, or the industry of its people, and those who have studied their career must have observed that they have never proposed definite reforms, nor indeed any changes which did not strike at the very foundations of society and government. Nevertheless, it has been assumed by portions of the English press, and sometimes by our own, and is now believed by many in this country, that the efforts of the Nihilists to murder and destroy are to obtain relief from an oppressive government, and that a large part of the population of Russia is subjected, by the tyranny and exactions of a despotic, cruel, and irresponsible authority, to great and almost unendurable hardship and suffering. Persons thus believing assign to the Nihilists and to their assassinations a national and even patriotic purpose, and are inclined for that reason to justify the most atrocious means for the end supposed to be sought. It is the purpose of the Nihilists to create this impression, and, by the aid of a portion of the English press not unwilling to circulate statements calculated to injure the Russian Government and nation in the esteem of the world, this end has been to some extent attained—a result which would be of less consequence if the impression had not penetrated the minds of our own citizens—greatly to the injustice of a Government whose rule at home and influence abroad have long been marked by wise and honorable statesmanship, and generally by an enlarged benevolence, especially toward the oppressed Christian populations of Europe.

It is not perhaps remarkable that England should regard Russia with distrust and dislike. She believes it has long been the imperial purpose to occupy India. Wise and liberal English statesmen do not, I think, share this apprehension, nor do those who have means of learning the real purposes of the Russian Emperor. He would fail to find in India that source of revenue which, under the most grinding and oppressive taxation ever adopted, except perhaps in Egypt, enables the British Government to draw annually from a starving population some sixty-five millions sterling, more than eighteen millions of which is expended in England for the administration there of the Indian Government, and in paying pensions, annuities, interest, etc. This vast revenue has been obtained, among other sources, by a tax of between six and seven millions sterling—some thirty-three million dollars—upon salt, an article of prime necessity for both poor and rich in a hot climate, and by a tax upon such incomes as amount to seventy-five cents per week. The Government which rules this people of one hun-

dred and eighty or ninety millions by a viceroy and his council, without the least native representation, has found it necessary to employ an army at an annual expense to the ruled of from seventeen to more than twenty-five millions sterling—a sum in excess of the cost of the entire military establishment of Russia. The numerous colonies and dependencies of the British Empire, India excepted, are governed at an aggregate cost somewhat exceeding the revenues received; but the unhappy and famine-stricken populations of that country contribute by taxation largely to the national and individual incomes of the English people, who, by superior strength and military resources, maintain in poverty and wretchedness that vast inheritance of human beings which Warren Hastings and others conquered for England by an infamy of cruelties which the eloquence of Burke has made immortal. This inheritance Russia does not covet, nor would she hold it by a taxation which bares and bleaches the very bones of a people taught by their religion to bow submissively to a fate which makes their journey from the cradle to the grave a pilgrimage of hopeless toil, suffering, and starvation. Not only does the tax-gatherer seize all except what he deems barely enough to sustain life, but the Government is constantly increasing the burdens of its victims by enlarging the debt of India, which from 1869 to 1878 was increased more than fifty millions sterling. How the load of taxation is to be borne necessary to meet increasing interest charged upon this doomed race surpassed even the ingenuity of the late Ministry, for it was admitted, by the pliant instruments which obeyed the nod and worked the will of Lord Beaconsfield in India, that every resource of the ghastly and swarming millions of that ancient land which greed and avarice could discover had already been levied upon to support a government in comparison with which that of their dethroned princes was humane and merciful. Hence the two or three millions sterling contributed by Indian taxation and pledged as a famine fund were seized by the fallen Ministry to pay the expenses of a war waged to establish a "scientific frontier"—a wickedness which, without accomplishing its purpose, has dethroned a rightful ruler and destroyed thousands of his people.

What I have said of the oppressive taxation of India is founded upon the statements of English officials and English writers, some of whom have denounced the rule of Great Britain as more intolerable than that which prevailed before the atrocities of Hastings planted a Christian flag upon pagan soil. The constant fear

that Russia intends to seize India leads England to imagine that every march of Russian troops to a Russian outpost in Asia is a threat to invade India. It is an idle fear, and yet it is this and the equally groundless apprehension that Russia designs to occupy Constantinople which have led to the bolstering of Turkey by Great Britain; have made the massacre of tens of thousands of Bulgarian and Greek Christians by the Turks possible; and, finally, made it necessary for Russia, in the interests of humanity, single-handed, at the sacrifice of many thousands of lives and millions of treasure, to substantially destroy a power which for generations had been the scourge and the curse of Europe. It is a mistake to suppose that this war was waged for purposes of conquest. It was forced upon the Emperor by the religious sentiment of his people, long outraged by atrocities committed upon their Christian neighbors the Bulgarians too horrible to describe; and, when war was finally declared, it was but the cry of the Russian nation for vengeance upon great offenders against the human race. And so impressed were the English people by these horrors, that their Government was compelled to stand with folded arms and witness the chastisement of its ancient ally, while the rest of Europe looked on with approval. I know the reluctance with which the Emperor engaged in this contest, and have high authority for saying that it was long postponed, in the hope that such joint action of the great powers would be taken as would force the Turk to stay his indiscriminate butchery of women, children, and unarmed men. England refused to unite for this purpose; the Czar declared war, and then moved upon the enemies of the Christian race. They were finally conquered, and the flag of the victors, after many battles, waved at the gates of Constantinople. These might have been entered without firing a shot or the loss of a man, but the Emperor, conscious that the power of the Turk in Europe was annihilated, stayed the march of his columns at San Stefano, and there dictated terms of peace. These were embodied in the treaty bearing that name, and this was submitted to the Congress of Berlin, where it underwent many changes, the purpose of Lord Beaconsfield being to reduce within as narrow territorial limits as possible that freedom which Europe was to guarantee to the Bulgarians; and it was the boast of this representative of a Christian power, when the labors of that Congress ended, that the area of civil and religious freedom prescribed by Russia in the Treaty of San Stefano had by that of Berlin been vastly circumscribed. The chief tenderness

displayed by Lord Beaconsfield in the Congress was for the Jews, while his greatest solicitude was for the Turk, who was to guard the gates of the East against the march of Russia.

I have never doubted that the foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield would be condemned by the British people, but I had not supposed he would give them the opportunity to do so until Parliament should approve of all he had done, for I deemed him too astute to exchange a certainty for an uncertainty, and not at all confident that dramatic displays upon the vast theatre he occupied would be accepted at the polls for wise statesmanship. He did not disappoint expectation, but held his Parliament firmly in hand until it had entered its seventh and last year of constitutional life ; and, as it was about expiring, he so dissolved it as to maintain his well-earned reputation for startling surprises, for his purpose was concealed, not only from his political antagonists, but from some of his inferior followers. If his object was to rout his adversaries, by a sudden manœuvre, before they could unite their forces for the fray, he has been disappointed ; for, under great, eloquent, and skillful leaders, they were so marshaled as to pronounce, by an overwhelming majority, a condemnation of his Ministry as decisive and withering as any ever before recorded by the deliberate judgment of the British people.

This policy has imposed heavy burdens upon the English nation. A legacy of troubles, involving the wisest statesmanship to compose, has been devolved upon the new Ministry, and a load of taxation, which no budget can evade or conceal, must be proposed, to meet obligations which the Government is pledged to perform. It will greatly embarrass Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues to deal with some of the problems they must solve. Treaties made by their predecessors they must observe, and these, if faithfully executed, demand great sacrifices. Thus, the Treaty of Berlin and the secret treaty conveying Cyprus, in some of their provisions, are not only hostile to the views of the new Ministry, but highly detrimental to the solid and permanent interests of Great Britain ; and yet these provisions must be executed so long as the treaties are substantially observed by the Porte. Mr. Gladstone, for instance, is an earnest Christian statesman, who appreciates the stupendous mistake committed by his predecessors in forcing at Berlin the yoke of the Turk upon the Bulgarian Christians after Russia had removed it in the field, and by treaty at San Stefano. He knows, too, the grave mistake committed in not conciliating that people instead of making

them feel that the Russians, not the English, were their friends, for it is probably their mission to possess and hold Constantinople and the straits as the trustee of nations—a position no first-rate power would be willing to occupy.

The gratitude the Greeks owe to Russia is of much the same character, for they, too, owe their national independence substantially to her assistance. British statesmen, at Berlin, might have secured the gratitude of both Greeks and Bulgarians by a simple recognition of their well-founded claims; but Lord Beaconsfield, unable to realize that the Turk was doomed, by the forces of a civilization he could not resist, to speedy decay in Europe, sought to preserve the outer shell of a rotten empire. He failed to see that this supposed bulwark against the imaginary march of Russia eastward would be worse than useless if the bulwark itself must be propped and sustained by the power of England. It remains for Mr. Gladstone and the liberal-minded statesmen he has called about him to coöperate with the powers represented at Berlin in doing justice to both Greeks and Bulgarians, by yielding, to the former, geographical limitations prescribed in the Treaty of Berlin, and, to the latter, that liberty from Turkish oppressions—south as well as north of the Balkans—which it was the glory of the representatives of Christian England to curtail. It was, on the contrary, the glory of Prince Gortchakoff that he in the Congress endeavored to give the Bulgarians a territory comprehending their entire nationality, and to the Greeks their enlarged boundaries; and before his departure for the Congress, when the question was suggested whether the Greeks could be properly represented there he said, if not represented, they could surely be heard, to press their claims; and in that connection he more than once declared with emphasis, "I will be the advocate of the Greeks in the Congress."

When telegrams were received announcing that this aged and venerated statesman was sick unto death, I had faith that he would live to rejoice with the Christian world over the victory of the Liberals in Great Britain; and it would not much surprise me should he survive long enough to agree with their Ministry upon an Eastern policy of such breadth and wisdom as to remove the fears which continually haunt the English mind that Russia designs to invade India, or at least to occupy Constantinople. This accomplished, and harmonious relations would soon exist between the peoples of both nations. England is strong enough to hold her empire against all but the explosion of internal forces, and she would better display

this strength by a calm and unruffled front than by a constant nervous agitation—the usual expression of weakness and fear.

I have at greater length than I had intended presented facts to show the deep interest which in our day Russia has taken in the welfare of the suffering Christians of the Turkish Empire, and how much she has sacrificed to promote this welfare. It may be said that the motive of the Emperor in so doing was to weaken and finally to destroy his ancient enemy, and not to benefit the oppressed. This is a cheap if not cowardly criticism, and is generally urged by those destitute of the virtues of generosity and benevolence, who would excuse their absence by denouncing them as ambition and avarice when exercised by others.

It is remarkable that the sympathy heretofore extended by Russia to the Greek nation existed in 1778 in the mind of the Empress Catharine. The English Minister then at her court was Mr. Harris, afterward Earl of Malmesbury, whose grandson edited his diaries and correspondence, to which I shall refer. He was sent to Russia during our Revolutionary war, for the purpose of negotiating an alliance offensive and defensive between that power and Great Britain—one object being to secure aid against France, that England might turn a sufficient force upon her American colonies to crush their rebellion. He struggled long and earnestly to accomplish this ; and finally, when these efforts failed, he attempted, by means of a bribe offered to the Empress by authority of his Government, to induce her, while acting as mediatrix, to promote peace between the contending parties—a position demanding the utmost impartiality—so to conclude it as to make the withdrawal of the French fleets and armies from the American colonies a condition, that Great Britain, thus relieved from her Continental antagonists France and Spain, might the more easily reduce her colonies to subjection.

Mr. Harris was not fortunate in his attempt to accomplish this alliance, and in June, 1779, he writes to his Government in a despondent tone :

> I am fully satisfied, as well from what I hear as from my own experience, that we have nothing to expect from this court in the common course of negotiation. The leading men here are too rich for corruption, too headstrong to be persuaded, and too ignorant to listen to plain truth and conviction. . . . The present reigning idea—and it carries away all others—is the establishing a new empire in the East, at Athens or Constantinople. The Empress discoursed a long while with me the other day on the ancient Greeks;

of their alacrity and the superiority of their genius, and the same character being still extant in the modern ones, and of the possibility of their again becoming the first people if properly assisted and seconded. She told me she talked this language to me, as she knew my father was an admirer of the Greeks, and that she hoped I inherited his predilection. I mention this, my lord, not for the sake of repeating with ostentation the marks of distinction with which she honors me, but with a view of hinting to your lordship that, if his Majesty (the King of Great Britain) should stand in indispensable need of assistance from this quarter, the only means of obtaining it is by encouraging this romantic idea. She is so warmly bent on it that such a conduct dexterously managed would give us the firmest hold of this court: *and as its execution, whenever seriously planned, would instantly appear impracticable*, we need not be apprehensive of having engaged ourselves too far in an unpleasant transaction. Having suggested thus much, your lordship will improve on it as in your better judgment you should think proper. I must only entreat your lordship to consider it as written in the greatest confidence, and submitted as a proof of my zeal, not to be employed uselessly.

It is not difficult to understand why an intelligent man, giving utterance to sentiments so base, should have been anxious to conceal them from all but the person to whom they were addressed. The leading men were too rich to be bribed, and too obstinate to be persuaded by the arguments of Mr. Harris; but he discovered that the Empress was filled with the noble desire to relieve the suffering Greeks from the cruelties they had for generations suffered under the rule of the Turk—believing that, if properly assisted and seconded, they would resume their old rank among the nations of the earth. He therefore suggested that, should aid from Russia become indispensable, it might be obtained, and France and Spain be defied and the colonists humbled, by humoring this grand scheme of Greek emancipation and independence, and pretending to unite with the Empress for its accomplishment; and this method of securing assistance, he suggested, would be cheap, for it would only be necessary, when she should demand the promised aid for the Greeks, to refuse it upon the ground that her purpose was not only romantic but impracticable. It is to be regretted that such insincerity has too frequently marked the conduct of Great Britain toward the Greeks from that time to the present; and, although it is quite generally assumed that Greek independence is largely due to her efforts, this is a grave mistake, for the Greeks owe this mainly to the friendship, services, and sacrifices of Russia. This can be established by a few brief statements. In 1827, when Canning was Prime Minister, a treaty was concluded between Russia, Great Brit-

ain, and France, by which they undertook to relieve the Greeks by force, if necessary, from the shocking misgovernment of the Turk, and especially to prevent a continuance of outrages which the helpless Greeks of all ages and both sexes had for generations suffered. It had been the policy of the English Government to uphold the Turk and resist all efforts to dismember his empire, or reduce his power; but Canning was not only a statesman of a high order, but full of love for his race and anxious to relieve it from tyranny in all forms. He therefore cordially united in the treaty I have mentioned, warmly sympathizing with that oppressed people. Unfortunately for them, Canning died shortly after the treaty was signed, and was very soon succeeded as Prime Minister by the Duke of Wellington, who almost immediately cast about, as his published letters show, for some pretext on which to evade or abandon it, insisting, with as uspicion which has become hereditary in the English mind, that the purpose of the Russian ruler was, not to help the Greeks, but to aggrandize his empire. In October, 1827, and during Lord Goderich's brief administration which immediately preceded that of the Duke, the battle of Navarino was fought, in which the entire fleet of Turkey and Egypt was destroyed by the combined fleets of Russia, France, and England. This victory, which has been commonly attributed to the English, was the result of an engagement brought on by accident rather than design—the purpose of the three admirals commanding the combined fleet being to induce the Turkish commander, Ibrahim Pasha, to discontinue the war of extermination he had long conducted against the Greeks, and which, by treaty, the three powers had engaged to terminate—it being supposed the Porte would, without contest, yield to the superior force thus united for that purpose. It was understood, however, that actual force was not to be employed until absolutely necessary to accomplish the purpose of the treaty and of the secret article appended thereto. When, therefore, the combined fleets entered the Greek waters, and arrayed themselves in front of the Turkish and Egyptian ships without intending an attack, shots were discharged by the latter, which soon brought on a general engagement, resulting in the utter destruction of their entire fleet. On the 29th of January, 1828, Parliament assembled, and the King's speech, alluding to this, stated: "His Majesty deeply laments that this conflict should have occurred with the naval force of an ancient ally; but he still entertains the hope that this untoward event will not be followed by further hostilities," etc. The use of this lan-

guage gave rise to a most violent debate on the motion to adopt the address from the throne, in the course of which the ablest men on both sides participated. It was denied that the Turk had been the ancient ally of England; and the language employed by Mr. Burke was quoted by Lord Holland to show that the Turkish Empire was unworthy a place in the European system.

"I have never before heard it held forth," said Burke, "that the Turkish Empire has ever been considered as any part of the balance of power in Europe. They despise and contemn all Christian princes as infidels, and only wish to subdue and exterminate them and their people. What have these worse than savages to do with the powers of Europe, but to spread war, destruction, and pestilence among them? The ministers and the policy which shall give these people any weight in Europe will deserve all the bans and curses of posterity. All that is holy in religion, all that is moral and humane, demands an abhorrence of everything which tends to extend the power of that cruel and wasteful empire. Any Christian power is to be preferred to these destructive savages."

In the House of Commons, Mr. Brougham said that "he wished at once to record his dissent from that paragraph of the speech which designated the affair of Navarino as an occurrence to be lamented, but which he would term a glorious, brilliant, decisive, and immortal achievement. It has been reserved," he said, "for some of the men of these times to triumph and to be afraid—to conquer and to repine—to fight as heroes did the contest of freedom, and still to tremble like slaves—to act gloriously and repine bitterly—to win by brave men the battle of liberty in the East, and, in the West, to pluck from the valiant brow the laurels which it had so nobly earned, and plant the cypress in their stead because the conqueror had fought for religion and liberty."

The Duke of Wellington, who soon after became Prime Minister, maintained that the epithets in the royal speech which had excited such disapprobation and comment were in both instances fairly and truly applicable; that the Ottoman Empire had long been an ally of his country; that the Ottoman power was an essential part of the balance of power in Europe; and that its preservation had been for a considerable number of years an object not only to this country, but to the whole of Europe.

These views he stubbornly maintained after he became Prime Minister, and, as his published correspondence shows, resolved not to

execute the treaty entered into between the three powers for the protection of the oppressed Greeks—declaring that the purpose of the Russian Emperor in so doing was not to benefit that down-trodden race, but in some manner to aggrandize and benefit himself—how or in what respect he did not explain; nor was it possible that either power could, in executing that treaty, which did not stipulate for Greek independence, acquire territory or the least selfish advantage, its sole object being to compel the Turks to cease their massacres of a defenseless people.

That of which the Empress Catharine talked and dreamed, but was unable to achieve, her grandson Nicholas accomplished, by extorting from the unwilling but conquered Porte recognition of Greek independence by the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829. After exhausting all peaceful means, he in April, 1828, declared war against the Turks, and after many hard-fought battles their armies were defeated, and Adrianople was occupied by Russian troops; when the Sultan, fearing his powerful enemy would march upon Constantinople, sued for peace, which was granted upon condition that he should acknowledge the independence of Greece; and thus, after the lapse of many centuries, the Greeks, by the aid of Russia, again assumed a place among the nations of the earth. For this inestimable service the Emperor required of them no compensation—no advantages. The event was hailed with approval by all nations and governments except that of Great Britain, which frowned upon the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. It was fortunate for the Greeks that Great Britain was not permitted to interfere in the formation of this treaty, for they would not have been more fairly treated by Wellington in 1829 than they were a half-century later by Lord Beaconsfield, who discouraged them from uniting with Russia in her late war upon the Turks by the promise that, if they remained neutral, their interests should be better served than they could be by joining the Russian armies. Greece believed this, and has since had abundant cause to repent her confidence, for, at the Congress of Berlin, Lord Beaconsfield strongly objected even to recommending Turkey to grant any definite extension of Greek boundaries; and, when against his opposition these were fixed, he has ever since declined, upon different pretexts, to unite with the powers of Europe in demanding of the Sultan performance of this condition.

I now recur to the just and generous conduct displayed toward us by the Empress Catharine during our Revolutionary struggle—

a conduct repeated by her imperial descendant, now upon the throne, during the dark hours of our civil contest.

To resist France, Great Britain had been compelled to employ most of her naval and military power, instead of turning it upon and crushing the colonists. The war between these powers seriously disturbed the peace and prosperity of Europe, and greatly interfered with its commerce, toward which the armed ships of Great Britain adopted an oppressive and unjust policy, stopping, searching, and seizing vessels, and claiming the right to consider as contraband of war some of the most important products of northern Europe. This led the Empress to project, about the close of the year 1778, the treaty of the armed neutrality, designed by the states joining it to resist the maritime outrages to which their commerce was thus subjected. The personal character of the Empress was such as gave her great influence over the northern courts, and also that of Vienna; and, the attitude of France being such as to make the Government of Great Britain extremely anxious to form an offensive and defensive alliance with Russia, Mr. Harris, in January, 1778, was, as before stated, especially instructed to obtain such a treaty, if possible. He had been told early in April, 1778, soon after his arrival in St. Petersburg, that the French Court had agreed to acknowledge the independence of the Americans, which, he says, filled him with indignation, and he declared, in a letter written in May of that year, that "the conduct of the Court of Versailles from the first period of our American contest has been fraught with duplicity, baseness, and low cunning"; and he added: "I have endeavored to make them see it in that light here, but have only succeeded in drawing from the Empress a civil answer and lukewarm expressions of friendship. I wish I could promise myself any hopes of succeeding in making her fulfill even these lukewarm expressions; but I find her character so different from what I was told it was, and her good-will toward us so changed, that it will require, I believe, my greatest efforts to prevent her doing harm instead of prevailing on her to do us good."

And in a previous letter, written in April, he says, "If they" (the Empress and her ministers) "should desert us in the hour of trial, I flatter myself no imputation of neglect will be laid to my charge."

It was indeed an hour of trial for Great Britain. While endeavoring to conquer to absolute subjection her American colonies, France had appeared as their champion, and England was thus con-

fronted by one of the most powerful nations of Europe. To subjugate her colonies was no easy task, but to do this, and carry on a European war of magnitude, would require the straining of every nerve unless powerful aid could be secured; and, to get this, Great Britain was ready to humble herself in the person of her representative before the Empress, who was implored to enter into the proposed alliance. That accomplished, France would be checkmated, and to crush the rebellious Americans would then be, it was supposed, comparatively easy.

About the middle of May Mr. Harris writes, "There is no disposition here to agree to our alliance even on any terms"; and he in the same month again writes, "The friendship of this country partakes of its climate—a clear, brilliant sky, with a cold, freezing atmosphere."

In November, 1778, he was still endeavoring to form this alliance, and declared it to be his purpose to obtain a personal interview with the Empress on the subject, as he doubted if his views reached her through her ministers. This audience he did not, however, obtain until September, 1779, when he urged her to make a strong and spirited declaration to the Courts of Versailles and Madrid—Spain having at that time united with France in the contest—and to support that declaration by an immediate considerable naval armament. She declined this proposal, and hinted, says Mr. Harris, "*at our being able to restore peace by renouncing our struggle with the colonies.*"

This interview seems to have discouraged him in his efforts to secure the coveted alliance, and his failure with her and with those who were, as he had said, "too rich to be bribed and too obstinate to be convinced," seems to have worked a change in his estimate of their characters and purposes. In June, 1779, he had praised the Empress as a great adept in English gardening, and added that, from conversing on this subject, "we got to Blackstone, where she soon led me out of my depth, as I believe she would many a circuiter, being most perfectly mistress of our laws and constitution."

Writing in January, 1778, he says: "Prepared even as I was for the magnificence and parade of this court, yet it exceeds in everything my ideas; to this is joined the most perfect order and decorum. The Empress herself unites in the most wonderful manner the talent of putting those she honors with her confidence at their ease, and of keeping up her own dignity. Her character extends throughout her whole administration, and, although she is rigidly

obeyed, yet she has introduced a lenity in the mode of government to which, till her reign, this country was a stranger."

This estimate, formed with sufficient deliberation, he afterward exchanged for one very discreditable to them all, when he discovered that his mission was profitless and his efforts to secure aid from the Empress hopeless. His Government was greatly alarmed at the project of the armed neutrality, and through him proposed to the Empress that, if she would abandon it, secret instructions should be given to all British men-of-war not to stop or search Russian vessels; but she, with the same romantic ideas as to fairness and justice which had surprised Mr. Harris when she spoke of the Greeks, was so impressed with a sense of duty toward sister nations who had trusted her as their ally, that she declined a proposal which was to benefit her commerce at their expense. She might, indeed, have largely increased her own by accepting the bait, for her flag would have safely covered all cargoes carried under it, at a period when that of Great Britain was the scourge of the seas.

Finally, the efforts of Mr. Harris having utterly failed to induce the Empress to join an alliance which would have involved her in war with France and Spain, she, at the request of those powers and of Great Britain, consented to act as mediatrix with the Emperor of Austria, for the purpose of composing Europe by establishing a peace between the contending powers. She was, of course, bound to act toward the three Powers with entire justice and impartiality, and yet, when it was understood that she would accept the position, another and most extraordinary (not to say disgraceful) effort was made by the Government of Great Britain, through Mr. Harris, to induce her to violate the duty she was to perform, the circumstances of which I shall briefly state.

In the course of conversation between Prince Potemkin, one of the Ministers of the Empress, and Mr. Harris, it was suggested that, if she could effect a peace to the satisfaction of his Government, it might be induced to cede to her, in consideration of the service, the Island of Minorca, the transaction to be kept a profound secret from France until peace should be secured, as possession by Russia of that island would place enmity between the two nations; and, of course, with a knowledge by France of the bribe, she would decline to accept the Empress as mediatrix. Considerable correspondence upon this subject transpired between Mr. Harris and his Government, when, finally, Lord Stormont, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the 20th of January, 1781, during a very dark pe-

riod of our Revolutionary war, wrote to his Minister that "his Majesty, after taking the opinion of his confidential servants, has empowered me to authorize you to mention the conditions upon which alone so great and important a cession can be made:

"The Empress of Russia shall effectuate the restoration of peace between Great Britain, France, and Spain upon the following terms, viz.: The Treaty of Paris, in 1762, shall be the basis of the treaty to be made. It shall be renewed with such alterations only respecting the possessions of the contracting parties as the events of the war have made. . . . It shall be an express condition that the French immediately evacuate Rhode Island, and every other part of his Majesty's colonies in North America. No stipulation or agreement whatever shall be made with respect to his Majesty's rebellious subjects, *who can never be suffered to treat* through the medium of a *foreign power*. If the Empress of Russia will effect such a peace as is here described, the King will in that case cede to her Imperial Majesty, and to the imperial crown of Russia, the Island of Minorca; this cession to take place as soon as possible after the preliminaries of the above-described peace are signed.

"Though the cession must be conditional, and can not be made till after the service is performed, yet the effectual engagement may be entered into immediately, but must for many reasons be kept absolutely secret for the present."

The Empress was extremely anxious to secure possession of an island in the Mediterranean where her fleets could have been moored and her naval power increased, and Minorca she would have regarded as of inestimable value. The service she was to perform in return was almost as easy as lying, for she was only to violate her duty by securing a peace which her great influence and supposed impartiality could, it was believed, accomplish—being careful to conceal that she was so doing for a bribe, which would put lasting enmity between her empire and that of France, the power trusting in her impartiality and justice. And this service was proposed through a minister who stated, in a communication to his Government, that he had declared to one of the advisers of the Empress that, should the King of Prussia be joined in the mediation, "we could no longer consider it as an impartial one," although it was not suggested that the Great Frederick had been bribed, or was likely to be, by the French King.

I need not suggest, what is quite apparent, that the answer of the Empress to this proposal might have been the turning-point in

our Revolutionary war; for, with peace between France, Spain, and England, and the French fleets and armies withdrawn from us, and our forefathers interdicted from communicating with Great Britain through any foreign power, they would have been isolated, unsupported, and, if not crushed, would have been forced to sacrifice many more of their precious lives, with a postponement of their independence for a generation.

The Empress declined this proposition—declared that she "would not be led into temptation," and answered it by the following communication, written in her own hand:

"Her Imperial Majesty is extremely sensible of the friendly offer the Court of London has made her: she has already said, and, again repeats, that she shall be most happy to contribute for Great Britain a just and honorable peace; that she will work strenuously with her colleague to effect this end; and, if she should be fortunate enough to succeed, she then with the greatest pleasure will enter into the closest connection with England, and cement this connection by any means the most likely to render it useful, sincere, and lasting. As long, however, as she is employed as mediatrix, his Britannic Majesty must be sensible she can not, with any propriety, enter even into an eventual convention with him; since, as the object of this convention must sooner or later transpire, it will appear on some future day as if she had, during the mediation, been influenced by one of the belligerent powers, and her impartiality and justice might be called in question."

This answer, polite as became the great monarch who wrote it, conveyed a reproach which should have been felt even by the King and his ministers to whom it was communicated. It seems to have been the last attempt of Mr. Harris to influence the Empress by negotiation or bribery; and when Mr. Fox, for whom she entertained a great admiration, became Prime Minister, and the hostile policy of Lord North toward the American colonies was succeeded by one friendly and conciliatory, Mr. Harris found that he was treated with greater kindness than formerly by the Empress, whose sympathies were with the Americans, and with the new administration which favored their independence. It was soon after his failures in these not very creditable efforts in diplomacy that Mr. Harris requested to be recalled, and in this connection his grandson with great simplicity records in the diary:

"The evident hopelessness of obtaining an effective alliance with Russia, and the corrupt transactions in which Sir James Harris

was unavoidably involved at this court, where honesty, truth, and decency were openly disregarded, had completely disgusted him with his office."

It would seem that honesty, truth, and decency were there too highly regarded to suit the purposes of this Minister or his Government; and these qualities, notwithstanding the misrepresentations of British diplomatists and historians, and the slanders of the English press, have been substantially exemplified in the relations of Russia with other nations from that period until the present. I shall here, perhaps, be met with the vulgar cry of the partition of Poland, which occurred about a century ago, and has, with an industry and mendacity unparalleled in history, been so generally attributed to Russian intrigue and wickedness that, with few exceptions, the English-speaking race believe that Russia is alone responsible for what has been denounced as the most atrocious robbery of national life recorded in the annals of mankind. This has been taught in the common schools of our country, declaimed in lecture-rooms, elaborated by the novelist in many dramatic forms, and solemnly taught in churches, until the very mention of Poland suggests a once grand republic, peopled by a noble, liberty-loving, patriotic race, blotted out of the firmament of nations by the cruelty, ambition, and greed of a Russian despot. No picture of the past more false and unreal than this was ever presented.

The partition was first projected by the King of Prussia, who had long wished to acquire Polish or western Prussia, which lay between his German dominions and eastern Prussia, and hence at the will of the Poles cut off all communication between these portions of his kingdom. In 1769, while Poland was torn by civil commotions and desolated by the plague, under pretense of forming lines to prevent its spread, he occupied the whole of Polish Prussia with his troops. He knew that to hold this territory he must have the consent of Russia and Austria, and this led him to plan the partition of Poland among the three powers. He in 1769 or 1770 secured the ready concurrence of Austria, but found the Empress Catharine indisposed to agree to it. She was then engaged in a war with the Turks, and to secure her acquiescence the King sent his brother to St. Petersburg, who informed the Empress that Austria was forming an alliance with the Porte, which, should it take place, would create a most formidable combination against her, but that the friendship of the Emperor could be secured by assenting to the partition, upon which condition he would renounce his con-

nection with the Turk, and suffer the Russians to prosecute the war against him without interruption. Catharine, dreading the interference of the Emperor, and perceiving from the close relations existing between the Courts of Austria and Berlin that it would not be in her power to prevent the intended partition, assented to it, and the treaty for that purpose was executed by the three powers in February, 1772.

I have taken this account of the circumstances under which the partition was projected and planned, and the threat under which the assent of Catharine was obtained, from authentic English sources, which in the same connection assert that the British Government remonstrated against it. This is utterly untrue. When the representatives of the three powers informed that Government of the purpose to dismember Poland, the answer of the Earl of Suffolk, in the name of the King of Great Britain, was :

"The King may well suppose that the three powers are convinced of the justice of their respective pretensions, though his Majesty is not informed of the motives of their conduct."

This answer conveyed acquiescence, not remonstrance or protest ; and, indeed, as will be presently shown from reliable sources, the nature of the case demanded neither, for, of all the accursed governments that ever existed on earth, that of Poland, from 1572 to 1772, was the worst, the most intolerable and oppressive : and this was so well known at the latter period throughout Europe that every just and humane ruler felt that any change of government must be a relief, to the wretched slaves who constituted the bulk of the Polish population, from the cruel and irresponsible rule of the nobles. I have space for but a few facts in justification of this statement, and these I shall take from impartial and reliable sources.

At the death, in 1572, of Sigismund Augustus, the last of the race of hereditary Polish kings, the nobles—between one hundred and fifty and two hundred thousand in number—formed a constitution, exclusively for their own benefit, which did not even notice the existence of the great mass of the miserable people who were slaves, in which it was provided that the nobles should pay no taxes, should have power of life and death over their vassals, should hold all offices—civil, military, and ecclesiastical—and in choosing their King should lay him under any restrictions they pleased. His election by this vast mass of electors was in the open field where they assembled armed, and here for two hundred years—from 1572 until the partition—they met ready to sell themselves to the high-

est bidder at the Court of Austria, France, Saxony, Sweden, or Brandenburg, and, as may be supposed, during that entire period one universal scene of corruption, faction, and confusion reigned—so that, as was said by a celebrated historian, "A Polish royal election was nothing more than a double auction of the throne." Almost every election was the signal for a civil war, usually lasting during the greater portion of the next reign, so that for the entire period of two hundred years, from the first election to the partition, Poland was the "constant scene of anarchy, and its attendant miseries—fire, bloodshed, and famine." And, as has been said by an able and eloquent English writer, Mr. Cobden: "There is nothing in the history of the world comparable for confusion, suffering, and wickedness, to the condition of this unhappy kingdom during these two centuries. . . . It was a despotism one hundred thousand times worse than that of Turkey, because it gave to one hundred thousand tyrants absolute power over the lives of the rest of the community. The annals of republican Poland, previously to its dismemberment, are nothing but a history of anarchy."

The historian who recounts the miseries showered upon the millions of slaves during this career of sacrilege and rapine—for religious fanaticism armed itself with torture and the sword—exclaims, "Oh that some strong despot would come and in mercy rescue these people from themselves!"

The wise reform, says an able historian, Herren, "that gave to Russia, at the hands of Peter the Great, the seeds of a power which has since grown to such greatness, and which, if adopted by Poland, would have, in all probability, conducted her to a similar state of prosperity, were absolutely rejected by the profligate nobles, because they must necessarily have involved some amelioration of the fate of the people."

What the partition has accomplished for that portion of Poland which came under the rule of Russia may be stated in the language of Mr. Cobden, an eminent liberal, who will certainly not be accused of an undue partiality toward a despotic government:

"Slavery," says he, "no more exists in Poland; the peasant that tills the soil no longer ranks on a level with the oxen that draw his plow; he can neither be murdered nor maimed at the caprice of an insolent owner, but is as safe in life and limb under the present laws of Poland as are the laborers of Sussex or Kent. The modern husbandman is not restricted to mere personal freedom; he enjoys the right to possess property of all kinds—not even ex-

cepting land—against which the nobles of ancient *republican* Poland opposed insuperable prohibitions. In a word, the peasantry of Poland now possess the control over their own persons and fortunes, and are at liberty to pursue happiness according to their own free will and pleasure."

Referring to the "Cabinet Cyclopædia—History of Poland"—a faithful compendium, we find that after the partition Russian Poland "had continued to improve beyond all precedent; at no former period of her history was the public wealth so great or so generally diffused: bridges and public roads constructed at an enormous expense—frequently at the cost of the Czar's treasury; the multitude of new habitations remarkable for a neatness and a regard to domestic comfort never before observed; the embellishments introduced into the buildings not merely of the rich but of the tradesmen and mechanics; the encouragement afforded and eagerly afforded by the Government to every useful branch of industry; the progress made by agriculture, in particular the foundation of Polish prosperity; the accumulation on all sides of national and individual wealth; and, above all, the happy countenances of the inferior classes of society—exhibited a wonderful contrast to what had lately been. The most immense of markets, Russia—a market all but closed to the rest of Europe—afforded constant activity to the manufacturer. To prove this astonishing progress from deplorable, hopeless poverty to successful enterprise, let one fact suffice. In 1815 there were scarcely one hundred looms for coarse woolen cloths; at the commencement of the insurrection of 1830 there were six thousand."

That insurrection, instigated by the nobles for the purpose of regaining control over the nation they had so long oppressed, was put down by Russia, and in the order issued to the troops to quell it they were required, under severe penalties, to respect the houses and property of the Polish peasants.

I have shown upon the best authority that the partition of Poland was not conceived or planned by Russia; that she was induced to engage in it under the threat and belief that, if she did not, Austria would join her ancient foe, Turkey, in making war upon her people; that, at the time of the transaction, Great Britain officially declared to the world that it might well be supposed the three partitioning powers were convinced of the justice of their respective pretensions; and it also appears that the people of that portion of Poland transferred to Russia have been vastly benefited by her rule. In view

of this, is it not time that the virtuous indignation hurled against Russia by the ignorant, the prejudiced, and the malicious, for her participation in that transaction, should cease? Should any one call in question the facts I have stated in her justification, they will be sustained by authorities which the ignorant and the prejudiced rarely consult, but which even the malicious will hardly venture to deny.

At a subsequent time I may take occasion to present somewhat in detail the actual condition of the Russian people since the emancipation of the serfs, together with some account of their institutions and laws. It is hardly necessary to say, however, that a government which has shown so deep and so abiding an interest in the Christian populations of other lands would not fail to manifest the utmost solicitude for the welfare of its own people; nor need I suggest that a sovereign, under whose direction a representative government was established upon the borders of his empire, in Bulgaria, before his troops ceased to occupy that country, is quite certain not only to be favorable to such an institution at home, but to adopt it so soon as his people are fit to choose their representatives. He is kind, wise, brave, and humane; beloved by his people, who are contented with a rule which has given them freedom, the ownership of the land they but a short time since cultivated as serfs, with the solid promise of a future marked by constantly increasing education and national prosperity.

I venture to close with the suggestion that, if we thoroughly study the history of the Russian Empire for the last hundred years, and compare it with that of any other European power, we shall find that its Government has surpassed all others in the sacrifices it has made in men and treasure to aid oppressed Christian nationalities in freeing themselves from tyranny and bondage; and, if we consider the conduct of the great Empress in our struggle for independence, and the sympathy shown us by her imperial descendant in our late struggle to hold the heritage received from our fathers, we must conclude that Russian sympathy is earnest and heart-felt, and not the mere offspring of Russian interests.

E. W. Stoughton.

DIVORCES IN NEW ENGLAND.

AGAINST divorce Romulus enacted severe laws which for a long time were rigidly observed. Spurius Camilius Ruga was the first person who obtained a formal divorce at Rome. This he did in the five hundred and twentieth year of the city. It is reported that, "such was the popular indignation attending the event, all Rome followed the divorcer till the end of his days." But this moral "indignation" did not always continue. Such were the extravagant modes of living, so corrupting were certain habits in society, and so prevalent the more secret vices in domestic life, that divorces became common. By means of these and other evils, the family as an institution declined, and then the Roman Empire, hoary with disease rather than age, tottered and fell.

It is only two hundred and sixty years since the settlement of New England, and some of the evils that caused the downfall of Rome are here too prevalent, and are assuming, to say the least, a threatening aspect. Among these evils is that of divorce, which has within a short period alarmingly increased. Prior to 1840 very few divorces were either sought or obtained, and these were confined almost wholly to one cause, viz., adultery. So few were the cases, and so scattered are the reports of them, that it is impossible to present anything like accurate statistics on the subject. Soon after 1840 the divorce laws were remodeled in several States, and the causes for divorce were increased from time to time, so that they could more easily be procured.

For obtaining statistics on divorces, no reliance can be placed upon the census, taken once in five or ten years. The census reports simply the number of divorced persons, male and female, found in a place at the time, without including the divorced persons who had died, moved away, or married again between these years. Parties who have been divorced, and their friends, fre-

quently take special pains to conceal the fact. Besides, it has been the practice of the courts to try these cases in private, and no public announcement is made of the results. It would seem, moreover, that, for many years, in providing reports of various changes or events in social life, as well as in publishing the proceedings of the courts, this matter of divorce was regarded either of little consequence, or was intended to be kept private. Divorce cases were tried in small numbers, at different times and places, and before different judges, so that the reports of them are widely scattered in court records.

The most appropriate place for such statistics is the Registration Bureaus, which collect the number of births, marriages, and deaths in the several States. But, unfortunately, neither Maine nor New Hampshire has ever established such a bureau. The only report of births, marriages, and deaths in these States is made to the authorities of towns and cities in which they occurred, for purposes of local interest and reference. Unless these important facts can be collected and tabulated on a large scale, the public can derive very little benefit from them for purposes of health, sanitary improvement, and social reform.

It is about forty years since the subject of establishing Registration Bureaus of births, marriages, and deaths began to be agitated in this country. The first report in Massachusetts was made in 1843 ; the first in Connecticut in 1849 ; in Rhode Island in 1853 ; and in Vermont in 1857. In reporting the number of births from year to year, it was quite natural to notice the number of deaths and their causes, showing what became of human life ; but, in reporting the marriages, it did not seem to occur to legislators or statisticians that these could terminate in any other way than by the death of the parties.

For many years no provision was made by law for a report on divorces. Possibly the number of divorces was so small at the time that the need of reporting them was not felt by the projectors or compilers of registration ; but it was not long before it was found necessary in some of the States to take cognizance of the number and causes of divorce. However, in the oldest and the most complete registration reports—those of Massachusetts—no mention whatever is made of divorces. The saddest fact in vital statistics is entirely ignored in these thirty-seven reports. The marriages since 1860—amounting to over two hundred and fifty thousand—are fully reported. But the statistics on divorce we are

able to present from another source ; * and, as divorces were not very numerous in any of the States prior to 1860, we commence our tables with that year :

Massachusetts.

YEARS.	Divorces.	Marriages.	Ratio of D. to M.	YEARS.	Divorces.	Marriages.	Ratio of D. to M.
1860	243	12,404	1 to 51·0	1870	379	14,721	1 to 38·8
1861	234	10,972	1 " 46·8	1871	325	15,746	1 " 48·4
1862	196	11,014	1 " 56·2	1872	343	16,142	1 " 47·1
1863	207	10,873	1 " 52·5	1873	449	16,437	1 " 36·6
1864	270	12,513	1 " 46·5	1874	647	15,064	1 " 24·1
1865	333	13,051	1 " 39·2	1875	577	13,663	1 " 23·6
1866	392	14,428	1 " 36·8	1876	525	12,749	1 " 24·2
1867	282	14,451	1 " 51·2	1877	553	12,758	1 " 23·1
1868	339	13,853	1 " 40·8	1878	600	12,893	1 " 21·4
1869	339	14,826	1 " 43·7		7,233	2585,50	

Vermont.

YEARS.	Divorces.	Marriages.	Ratio of D. to M.	YEARS.	Divorces.	Marriages.	Ratio of D. to M.
1860	95	2,179	1 to 22·9	1870	164	2,928	1 to 18·4
1861	66	2,188	1 " 33·1	1871	203	2,742	1 " 13·5
1862	94	1,962	1 " 20·8	1872	146	2,749	1 " 18·8
1863	102	2,007	1 " 18·6	1873	175	2,714	1 " 15·4
1864	98	1,804	1 " 18·4	1874	170	2,724	1 " 15·9
1865	122	2,569	1 " 21·0	1875	171	2,709	1 " 15·8
1866	155	3,001	1 " 19·3	1876	168	2,642	1 " 15·7
1867	159	2,857	1 " 17·9	1877	175	2,615	1 " 15·0
1868	167	2,961	1 " 17·7	1878	197	2,766	1 " 14·0
1869	148	2,621	1 " 17·7		2,775	48,858	

Connecticut.

YEARS.	Divorces.	Marriages.	Ratio of D. to M.	YEARS.	Divorces.	Marriages.	Ratio of D. to M.
1860	282	3,978	1 to 14·1	1870	408	4,871	1 to 11·6
1861	275	3,757	1 " 13·6	1871	409	4,882	1 " 11·9
1862	257	3,701	1 " 14·4	1872	464	5,023	1 " 10·8
1863	291	3,467	1 " 11·9	1873	457	4,841	1 " 10·5
1864	426	4,107	1 " 9·6	1874	492	4,694	1 " 9·5
1865	404	4,460	1 " 11·1	1875	476	4,385	1 " 9·2
1866	488	4,798	1 " 9·8	1876	396	4,320	1 " 10·9
1867	459	4,779	1 " 10·4	1877	427	4,319	1 " 10·1
1868	478	4,734	1 " 9·9	1878	401	4,285	1 " 10·6
1869	491	4,754	1 " 9·6		7,781	84,153	

* In 1879 Hon. Carroll D. Wright, who has charge of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor for Massachusetts, caused the records of the Supreme Court to be carefully examined with reference to divorces, and, as a result, a valuable paper on the subject is presented in his last report (1880), giving the number of divorces, together with their causes, in Massachusetts, from 1860 to 1878.

Rhode Island.

YEARS.	Divorces.	Marriages.	Ratio of D. to M.	YEARS.	Divorces.	Marriages.	Ratio of D. to M.
1869	162	2,289	1 to 14·1	1874	242	2,541	1 to 10·5
1870	200	2,362	1 " 11·8	1875	158	2,485	1 " 15·7
1871	161	2,336	1 " 14·5	1876	196	2,253	1 " 11·5
1872	200	2,537	1 " 12·7	1877	178	2,282	1 " 12·8
1873	173	2,630	1 " 15·2	1878	196	2,324	1 " 11·8

There was no law in Rhode Island requiring a report of divorces to the registration office until 1869, so that the table here presented covers only ten years. The figures in each of these tables are believed to be correct, having been collected from official documents. No statistics can well be presented from Maine or New Hampshire. In both these States the marriages are recorded only in the records of the cities and towns where they occur, and the divorces only in the district records of the Supreme Court. It is well known that the laws on divorce there are liberal—the causes allowed numerous, and divorces are of frequent occurrence, probably as much so as in the other New England States. Estimates of the number of divorces in each of those States, based upon population, may be made with a good degree of accuracy. A careful inspection of the above tables suggests points of special interest. The reports here presented, instead of being exaggerated, come short of the truth. It is a well-known fact that many persons go from New England to the West to obtain divorces, because the laws in most of the Western States are more favorable to their designs. On the other hand, few come from other States into New England for this purpose; though it is reported that there are persons removing from one New England State into another, where divorces may be more easily obtained. It is claimed that this has somewhat increased divorces in Connecticut and Rhode Island.

In examining these tables, it should be kept in mind that the figures do not show how many apply for divorce without obtaining it. The records of the courts, in some of the States, show that full one quarter of the persons applying for divorce fail for various reasons. Also, we have no account of the large number who consult attorneys for this purpose, without having their cases taken up at all, or, if commenced, the cases fail to reach a trial. Also, it is well known that there are, in almost every community, separations of husband and wife, who seldom if ever come together again.

In an examination of the above tables two things are obvious.

First, the steady increase of divorces in each State since 1860; and, second, the remarkable uniformity of this increase. If five years are taken at the commencement and close of each table, it makes a fairer comparison than one year. In Vermont, the first five years average 1 to 22·7; the last five, 1 to 15·2; in Connecticut, the first five, 1 to 13; the last five, 1 to 10·1; in Massachusetts, the first five, 1 to 50·6; the last five, 1 to 23·2; and in Rhode Island, the first five, 1 to 13·6; the last five, 1 to 12·5.* Thus, in Vermont and Connecticut, the increase has been nearly one third; in Massachusetts, the increase has more than doubled; while in Rhode Island the increase has been less than in either of the States.

Another point in the tables is obvious—the number of divorces varies much in different years. This is accounted for in part by a change in the laws. By the adoption of a new law, making divorce more easy, the increase is at once seen; and so the reverse, where a more stringent law is passed. It is said, moreover, that applications sometimes accumulate in the courts, so that when a judge has more time to attend to them or is more liberal in granting divorces, the cases are pushed for a trial, and thus a much larger number of decisions are obtained at one time than at another. The judges hold no special courts for trying divorce cases, but attend to them generally between sessions or at the close of court, as may be most convenient, so that the results will vary in different years.

The ratio of divorce to marriage would seem to be a more proper test, for discussing its merits and influence, than its relation to family or population. The term family is used sometimes in a general or vague sense. In taking the census or reporting the number of families residing in a place, it may mean a household or a few persons living together, constituting in either case a family. The individuals forming a family may be married or may be single.

The term population applies to people of all ages. In some communities, the proportion of aged persons may be very large, and in others that of children. In comparing the number of marriages in different communities or places, the proportion of young persons of a marriageable age in each should correspond; otherwise the comparison is not fair. But, even when this proportion exists,

* These figures do not represent correctly the ratio of divorces in these States, as will be seen by explanations upon another page. The Catholic marriages should be first deducted in each State. The true ratio of divorces to marriages stands thus (omitting fractions): In Massachusetts, one to fifteen; in Rhode Island, one to nine; in Connecticut, one to eight; and in Vermont, one to thirteen.

the comparison sometimes fails. If we take two communities, composed of an equal number of young people of a marriageable age, there may not be the same disposition to marry, arising from different tastes, standards of living, views of life, or some other cause. Thus in a Canadian-French, an Irish, or German population of young people, we find relatively a far greater number of marriages than among the same class of native New-Englanders. It is well known too that the state of business—that is, the times whether prosperous or hard—affects, among all classes, more or less, the number of marriages.

A brief notice of the progress and changes of legislation bearing on divorce seems here pertinent. Prior to 1840 the laws on this subject in the New England States were few and simple, and these remained comparatively a dead letter on the statute-book for more than half a century. Occasionally divorces were granted upon the ground of adultery and desertion, which were almost the only causes allowed. In 1843 legislation in Connecticut was changed, adding two causes, "habitual intemperance" and "intolerable cruelty." In 1849 the following causes for divorce were allowed in the same State: "imprisonment for life, or infamous crime," and any "such misconduct as permanently destroys the happiness of the petitioner and defeats the purposes of the marriage relation."

The changes in legislation in Vermont did not commence so early, and, as a whole, have not been so favorable to divorces. The principal causes allowed are adultery, desertion, cruelty, and refusal to support, while intemperance and misconduct, upon which a large number of divorces in Connecticut have been granted, are not recognized.

In Massachusetts changes in legislation favoring divorce were later still. The most important commenced in 1860 and 1867, and 1873 and 1874. The law allows eight distinct causes, and the number of divorces granted occur in the following order: desertion, adultery, intoxication, cruelty, abusive treatment, neglect to support, imprisonment, and impotency.

The changes in legislation, and causes allowed for divorce, in Rhode Island, are similar to those in Massachusetts.

The whole course of legislation in these States for thirty or forty years has been to open the door wider and wider for divorces, by multiplying the causes and removing restrictions. In only two instances has legislation attempted to check divorces. It being found in Connecticut that the clause in the bill passed in 1849,

specifying any "misconduct" interfering seriously with the marital relation, was used as a most effective agency for procuring divorce, this clause was repealed in 1878. In Vermont, it was found that parties obtaining a divorce married again immediately. This seemed to be a primary object; parties also moved into Vermont from other States to obtain a divorce. The Legislature in 1878 enacted a law that no outside parties could thus obtain a divorce, and that the party divorced—against whom the charges were proved—should not marry under three years, but the libellant—the innocent party—might marry at any time.

Though there is much similarity in the specified causes for divorce, in all the States, there is a difference in the conditions attached to these causes: for illustration, whether the desertion has been three, five, or seven years, and whether the intemperance existed before or commenced after marriage. It is well understood, also, that the causes alleged are not always the *real* causes. Married parties finding incompatibilities or disagreements of any kind to exist, or thinking a union with some other party would be productive of more pleasure, soon look about to see what provisions the law makes, whereby a separation may be effected. Of course, they select those provisions in the law which apply most conveniently to their own case, and can be used to the best advantage. In the applications for divorce, several causes are frequently alleged. The parties do not expect to prove all of them, but, by representing them to the court, they serve to strengthen the case, and show the infelicities of the petitioner in that the purposes of marriage are defeated. Whenever one party is determined on separation, and understands the law in such cases, it is not difficult to originate causes, and is certainly easy to aggravate them. Supposing both parties are intent upon separation, they are quite willing to use the means. Perhaps one will force or tempt the other to commit some crime or misdeed—the proof of which is not denied or objected to. Thus the object sought is readily obtained. It is well understood that such cases are not infrequent.

While the alleged causes for divorce in the several States are similar, there is a difference in the extent to which they prevail. In Massachusetts, of 7,233 divorces, between the years 1860 and 1878, the following report is given as the causes: Desertion, 3,013; adultery, 2,949; intoxication, 452; extreme cruelty, 375; abusive treatment, 223; neglect to support, 154; imprisonment, 50; and impotence, 17. Here the proportion of cases of adultery is larger

than in the other States, and that of intemperance and cruelty less. It is found that adultery generally prevails to a larger extent in cities than in the country. In Vermont the cases of adultery range less than one quarter, and those of cruelty more than a quarter. In Connecticut and Rhode Island adultery constitutes about one third of the cases.

The following report is given of 2,200 cases in Vermont: Adultery, 518; desertion, 382; cruelty, 592; neglect to support, 110; willful desertion, 348; crime, 10; insanity, 5; and bigamy, 4. The two last-named causes we do not find reported in any other State. Desertion in the two forms makes more than one third of all the cases in Vermont.

The number and causes of divorce vary greatly in different localities, especially between a city and country population. It is found that adultery and desertion as causes prevail far more extensively in cities than in rural districts, and also that the number of divorces in proportion to marriages is much larger in cities. As illustrations, take Boston and Providence: the ratio of divorce is twice as large as in many of the country towns in those States. If the Catholic marriages, which compose nearly one half in those cities, should be deducted, the ratio of divorces to marriages would be, to say the least, startling.

Who petitions, or brings the charges; is it the wife or husband? From an examination of the reports, it is found that the husband is the complainant in about one third of the cases, and the wife in two thirds; and the proportion in which she is the petitioner has been steadily increasing. It is not difficult to account in part for this disparity. The man can move away more readily or emigrate, but the woman is more confined and dependent. In the matter of desertion, cruel treatment, intoxication, adultery, and neglect to support, the man in a majority of cases is the guilty party. This fact is strikingly illustrated in the summary of causes for divorce in Massachusetts. In 7,233 divorces in this State, the report states that for adultery the husband obtained it against the wife in 1,295 instances, and the wife against the husband in 1,654 instances; for desertion, the husband in 1,063, and the wife in 1,950; for intoxication, the husband in 35, and the wife in 417; for extreme cruelty, the wife in 375; for abusive and cruel treatment, the wife in 223; for neglect to support, 154; for imprisonment, the husband in one instance, and the wife in 49; for impotency, the husband in 6 instances, and the wife in 11. It appears that under three heads

—cruelty, abusive treatment, and neglect to support—there was not a single case reported where the husband obtained a divorce on these charges.

How long do the divorced parties, on an average, live together? It is the testimony of attorneys managing such cases that complaints are frequently made soon after marriage, though it may require years before they are brought into court. In some instances, married parties have been grossly deceived in respect to each other's circumstances or characters, which do not always require a long time for exposure. From extended inquiries on the subject, we believe more than one half the divorces are obtained within eight or ten years after marriage. When parties have lived together fifteen or twenty years, divorces are not so common, and occur only occasionally after a longer period. In the great majority of cases there are no children or only one or two in the family.

The modes of trying divorces are similar in all the States. The Judges of the Supreme Court are constituted a tribunal for this purpose. The cases are usually tried in private, and generally the side of the petitioner only is heard. The law requires that notice should be sent to the defendant, who seldom if ever attends, so that there are no witnesses or cross-examination. Occasionally, when there is property, and alimony is demanded, or where there are children to which the parties are attached, such cases are contested, frequently with great interest and ability. As no provision is made for the court to sit expressly for hearing divorce cases, the petitioners are obliged to catch the opportunity between sessions or at their close. Nearly unlimited power is committed to the judges; more so than in almost any other suits. Not only the best interests of the contending parties are involved in the issue, but the highest welfare of the community and the State.

From what classes in society do divorces come? Do they come from the lower classes, or from all classes of the community? Once they were thought to be confined principally to the more vicious, and it was seldom that a case occurred in the higher walks of life. Formerly, too, there existed in the public mind a strong sentiment of indignation against divorces, and all the better classes were not slow to express a marked disapprobation of them. But the sentiments of the people have changed; divorces have become more common, and no class in society is exempt from them. They are certainly not confined to the ignorant or vicious, to the high or low, to the rich or poor. If any portion in the commu-

nity is more exempt than another, it is that class connected with Christian churches who regard marriage and the family as divine institutions, and endeavor to perform the duties growing out of them in a faithful and conscientious manner.

This leads us to notice a very large religious denomination which regards marriage as a "*sacrament*," and claims that its whole conduct should be regulated by the Church.

From the tables reporting the number of marriages in the several States, a large deduction must be made, in order to get the true ratio of marriages to divorces. It is well known that the Catholic denomination denies the validity of all divorces obtained by process of the courts, and it is quite certain that, in the divorces reported in these tables, not one can be counted as coming from the marriages performed by the Catholic priests. Marriage is considered by them as a *sacrament*, and its bonds can be severed only by order of the Church.

It is a rule of this body that all marriages performed by the priests must be reported to the bishops of the diocese in which they occur. In this way a full and correct record of all such marriages is preserved for reference. We have been kindly favored with a report of the number of these marriages for a series of years from official sources.* In the Registration Reports of all the States, the Catholic marriages are returned the same as others, and the ratio of divorce presented in these tables is based upon all alike. But this is not fair or correct. These marriages should, in every case, be exempt. This will make quite a difference in the result.

In Massachusetts the Catholic marriages amount every year to about one third of the whole; in Rhode Island, more than one fourth; in Connecticut, one fourth; and in Vermont, one eighth. This deduction will increase, in the same proportion in each State, the ratio of divorce to marriage.

We present this ratio from two points of view: first, for one year, 1878; and, second, for the last five years reported in these tables: The Catholic marriages in Massachusetts, for 1878, were 3,978; in Connecticut, the same year, 1,019; in Rhode Island, 646; and in Vermont, 325. After deducting these marriages, the ratio of divorce stands thus: 1878, in Massachusetts, 1 to 14·8; in Rhode

* For these returns we would express our obligations to Archbishop Williams, of Boston; Bishop O'Reilly, of Springfield; Bishop Hendrickson, Providence; Bishop McMahon, Hartford; and Bishop L. De Goesbriand, Burlington, Vermont.

Island, 1 to 8·5 ; in Connecticut, 1 to 8·1 ; and in Vermont, 1 to 12·4. The average ratio for the years 1874–'78 is as follows : In Massachusetts, 1 to 15·5 ; in Rhode Island, 1 to 9 ; in Connecticut, 1 to 7·6 ; and in Vermont, 1 to 13·7.

The ratio of divorces to marriages for a series of years in those States may be safely stated (omitting fractions) as follows : In Massachusetts, 1 to 15 ; in Rhode Island, 1 to 9 ; in Connecticut, 1 to 8 ; and in Vermont, 1 to 13. Statistics show that divorces in cities are more numerous than in the country. The census shows that cities also contain relatively a much larger foreign population. It is found that the Catholic marriages in many cities range from one third to one half of the whole, which, in order to obtain correctly the ratio of divorce, must be deducted.

The report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor for Massachusetts, in 1878, gives the ratio of divorce in the whole State as 1 to 21·4, but in Boston 1 to 19·6. If we deduct the Catholic marriages in Boston, the ratio of divorce must be about 1 to 12. In Rhode Island, the ratio of divorce is 1 to 9 for the whole State, but for Providence it must be about 1 to 8. The same remark may apply to New Haven, as well as to all cities containing a large foreign population. In all cases, whether in the city or country, in order to obtain correctly this ratio of divorce, the Catholic marriages must first be deducted.

The changes in the laws, which have resulted in so many divorces, have all been made within thirty or forty years, and most of them within half that time. They have been made at several different times in each State, thus supplying new causes or conditions whereby divorces could be more easily obtained. This new legislation was undoubtedly intended, in each instance, to meet a particular class of cases, and the agents in securing this change of the law were generally parties seeking a divorce, or their friends or attorneys.

All persons who have had any experience in such matters, and know the peculiar arts or means employed to influence legislators, understand at once how easy it is to effect a change in the laws, especially on subjects where the particular points and the effects of such changes are not understood or well considered. Thus, in extending and liberalizing the divorce laws, the designs of individuals and the effect of such changes upon society have not always been taken into account. This legislation applies also to exceptional cases, where an individual here and there may be relieved. But

large numbers avail themselves of the provisions of the law for purely selfish purposes.

Whenever a person is governed by selfish motives, he is not scrupulous as to the means employed for the accomplishment of his purposes. In such a line of conduct naturally follow "desertion," "acts of cruelty," "neglect to support," etc., etc.; and a course of "misconduct" may be easily assumed, which will make the life of a partner miserable, and thus defeat the objects of matrimony.

Now, what is the effect of such legislation on marriage generally, and upon the family? Does it not tend to strip the former of its sanctity, and impair the permanence of the latter? Does it not, in fact, furnish inducements or a reward for misconduct and wrongdoing? With a knowledge of such legal provisions for divorce, how are persons affected in contemplating the marriage relation? Is it not calculated directly to lower the character of this relation, and endanger the perpetuity of the union?

What also is the effect of separation upon the divorced parties themselves? Does it always improve their habits or reform their character? The grossest charges may be proved against the husband or wife, showing an utter unfitness for such a relation, but either of them, as far as the law is concerned, can in a short time enter this same relation again. The law forbids bigamy and polygamy, but tolerates a succession of partners.

For the first two hundred years few divorces were sought or obtained in New England, and those mostly on the ground of adultery. Far greater sanctity was then attached to marriage. The moral and religious element entered largely into it, and the family institution was very generally regarded as of divine appointment. As changes in the laws occurred, and more liberal provisions were made for divorce, marriage has been regarded more as simply a civil contract. It is a kind of partnership, intended only for the convenience and interests of the parties concerned.

There are apparent reasons to believe that its sanctity and divine appointment have at the present day altogether too little influence. We think also that too low views prevail in reference to the character and permanence of the family. In the estimation of many this institution has no foundation in divine revelation, and there are no penalties attached to the laws growing out of the family ordinance.

In this state of things it may be well to inquire what are the

primary objects of marriage; what are the first principles or great laws upon which it is based? Two sources of information are open to us—one in the revealed will of God as found in the sacred Scriptures, and the other in those laws which are written upon man's physical organization. The latter, as we might suppose, form a complete counterpart of the former. The natural laws always harmonize perfectly with the revealed will of God, when both are correctly interpreted. This harmony affords the strongest possible evidence of their truth.

As marriage is the outward rite or sacred vestibule to the family, it is very important that correct views be entertained concerning it. If false or low sentiments govern parties here, corresponding views will prevail with reference to the character and permanence of the family relation. Marriage has two aspects, a *divine* and a *civil*, from both of which arise grave duties and responsibilities. In entering into this relation, therefore, these duties should be kept constantly in mind, otherwise the primary objects intended, or that should grow out of this relation in life, will entirely fail. That marriage and the family have their origin and foundation in revelation, require no argument. Hence there are a sacredness, a moral obligation, a divine appointment connected with this relation, which can not be trifled with or ignored with impunity. This higher view of marriage appeals to and has its groundwork in the moral and religious nature of man: unless motives emanating from this moral source have a leading and controlling influence, the relation itself is endangered. Those higher and more disinterested faculties of man can be fully and properly developed only as they are exercised in reference to the Creator of all things, as well as the moral Governor in human affairs. That marriage may secure its great primary objects, it is indispensable that those propensities or faculties which lie at the foundation of the family, such as the sexual relation, mutual attachment, love of offspring, etc., should be governed by the purest and noblest principles.

If these lower faculties are not controlled by the moral sentiments, they come directly under the influence of man's selfish nature. Hence the results of marriage depend very much upon the leading influences at its formation, and all the domestic relations of the family will be more or less affected from the same source. When individuals enter upon the marriage relation under a low range of motives and influences, they soon develop separate interests that grow wider and wider apart, resulting in an intense *individualism*,

which is nothing more nor less than supreme selfishness, and nothing short of a permanent separation will then satisfy them.

Let us refer to the history of the divorces already described, and the causes that led to them. How can we account for such changes in the marital relation, and for such strange developments of human conduct, unless there was something wrong in the motives or influences operating at the start? Passing by the most flagrant cause—adultery—how could "intolerable cruelty," "willful desertion," and "abusive treatment," occur in such a multitude of instances between married persons? How can we account for such dislike, such bitterness, and even hatred, between parties once apparently so tenderly and happily united? Such conduct is surely the farthest possible from anything of a moral and religious character. What a strange spectacle does it present in social life, that, within twenty years, more than twenty thousand divorces should have been granted in four New England States—that in this period the marital relations should be severed between forty thousand persons! In 1860 the number of divorces, in these same States, did not average seven hundred, but now it averages every year almost twice that number. If we include the divorces granted in Maine and New Hampshire with those in the other four States, it makes two thousand families broken up every year, and four thousand persons at the same time divorced. And it should be remembered that this destruction of the family does not apply to the foreign population, but is confined to the strictly native New-Englanders.

The value and permanence of the family as an institution can not be too highly estimated. It is indispensable to all organized society. It is the nursery of the Church, and no state or nation can prosper long without it. Wherever a people have attained the greatest prosperity, or advanced to the highest civilization, there the interests of the family have been most sacredly guarded. The experience of six thousand years, through changes numerous and varied, has demonstrated the superlative importance of the family institution. And the stronger the safeguards surrounding it, furnished by law and custom, the more permanent and successful will it be, and the greater the prosperity of any nation. Among no Christian or civilized people at the present day do we find divorces sought and obtained to such an extent as now in New England; and in only three instances in the history of nations can we find such a breaking up of the family by this means. The first indications of decline in Greece and Rome were disturbances in the family. When

the interests of this institution began to suffer in various ways, divorces multiplied, which with other evils brought on the downfall of those nations once so renowned.

In 1790, when the floodgates of the French Revolution were opened, the frequency of divorces became alarming. Within a year and a half more than twenty thousand divorces were granted; but even these, in proportion to the whole population of France at that time, are not equal to the ratio of divorces to marriages as now found in Rhode Island and Connecticut.

If there had been no accessions to our population from a foreign source, and the increase or changes had been confined exclusively to the native stock, we should probably witness an exhibition of facts very different from what exists at the present day. Could this foreign element be at once eliminated entirely, domestic life would present in New England a very different appearance. The real state of the family and its relations to the public might then be better understood. Without entering upon any detailed discussion of this subject, two or three points only will be noticed.

An inspection of the tables in the early part of this paper shows that the difference in the number of marriages in the four States, between 1860 and 1878, was quite small. In Massachusetts the increase of marriages of 1878 over those of 1860 (the whole number being over 12,000) was only 489, while the increase of population between these years amounted to 420,846. From the Registration Reports it appears that this addition of population is made up largely of the foreign element. It is evident, too, that this increase has gained more rapidly of late years than formerly. From the same reports it appears that the birth-rate of the foreign class is more than twice as large as the American, and the marriage-rate of the foreign is also considerably larger. It also appears that the birth-rate and the marriage-rate of the strictly American have, for a long time, been decreasing—so much so that the increase of numbers in this class is very small, and in some places even doubtful. From the same reports these two facts are gleaned: 1. In a much larger number of cases than formerly marriage is postponed to a later period in life; and, 2. A greater disparity of ages between the parties is found to exist than formerly. It may be that these general facts sustain a more intimate relation to the increased number of divorces than at first would be supposed.

What can be done to eradicate, or arrest the progress of evils which so direfully threaten the vital interests of society? May

there not be something wrong in the notions and views of marriage, as entertained at the present day? Has there not been a departure, in the teaching and practice, from what once prevailed in New England as to the objects of marriage? Have not the vital interests of the family, in too many cases, been undervalued or misunderstood? What, then, are the teachings of experience? What are the instructions on the subject as given by the oldest and largest Christian denominations in Europe?

The primary objects of marriage as indicated in works on the subject, in formulas of marriage service, in liturgies, and prayer-books, may be summed up under these three heads: 1. *The production of children;* 2. *The preservation of chastity;* and, 3. *Mutual company and help.* These propositions not only derive their support from the Scriptures, but are confirmed by all experience. They have also their counterpart in the laws of human organization. Independently of all evidence derived from the Scriptures, or even from experience, in favor of the family, we believe the necessity of such an institution, in order to promote the highest welfare of man, can be proved from physiology alone.

The primary objects of marriage as stated in these propositions can be secured only by a proper observance of the laws of this science. Moreover, the failure to comply with either one of these propositions goes so far toward weakening and breaking down the marriage relation. While the observance of the commands of Revelation on this subject is indispensable, the laws of physical organization are equally important. The teachings and instructions derived from the former source would have a far more powerful effect were their connection with the laws which govern the body to be more clearly and forcibly set forth. It would be seen that the penalties attached to the violation of physical laws are as sure and terrible as those attached to the violation of spiritual. In many cases the retributions are even more severe, and come much sooner. Besides, not only the violators of these laws, but their descendants, frequently suffer the penalties.

The science of physiology is comparatively in its infancy, as far as a practical application of its principles to the domestic relations of life is concerned. It might be shown that the propositions stated above as to the objects of marriage sustain a most intimate and important relation to this science. It might also be shown that its principles, practically applied, will shed light upon other dark spots or evils in domestic life, and afford a better ex-

planation of some of the causes which have led to so many divorces.

What can be done to check divorces, and place the domestic relations upon a more permanent foundation? The primary objects of marriage and the importance of the family institution must be better understood and appreciated. The public, and especially the young, need instruction upon this subject. Parents have here a sacred duty to perform to their children. The pulpit and the press should give more attention to it. By this, and other means, considerations of a high moral and religious character should be brought to bear upon it with all the appropriateness and power that is possible. The value of the family and the need of securing its health and permanence can not be too thoroughly impressed upon all classes.

As long as the interests of the family were made paramount, as long as a "home and the blessing of children were the end and essence of life" to the Roman citizen, Rome flourished. But when "marriage on both sides became a matter of mercantile speculation," and there was a "general unwillingness to rear families," arising from "an extravagantly high standard of comfort"—when infidelity in the domestic relations became a matter of frequent occurrence, and divorces multiplied—the Roman Empire perished.*

When an institution has such a forming and governing influence upon society and the state as the family, too great safeguards can not be thrown around it, both by law and custom. We should have wiser and more stringent legislation upon divorces. There is need of higher intelligence and greater watchfulness on the part of those who direct public opinion and make our laws. In addition to a more general diffusion of knowledge and improved legislation, those physical laws which lie at the foundation of all others must be recognized and obeyed. If false views prevail in the community as to the objects of marriage, and habits are indulged which violate physical laws, these views and habits must be corrected. Also, if changes are going on in the physical organization of our people which interfere seriously with the duties and responsibilities

* "Rome is a most interesting study for us Americans, because her vices, greed for gold, prodigality, a coarse material civilization, corruption in the family as manifested by connubial unfaithfulness, and divorces, are increasing among us. Whether we are to be a thoroughly Christian nation, or are destined to decay and loss of our present political forms, depends upon our ability to keep family life pure and simple." ("Essay on Divorce," p. 49, by T. D. Woolsey, D. D., LL. D.)

of domestic life, they should be thoroughly understood. If such an intense nervous temperament, with a lack of muscular power, is being developed as to beget both an indisposition and an inability to comply normally with the propositions laid down above as to marriage, it is wise to pause and consider. How can a people truly prosper and increase in numbers, while constantly violating great fundamental laws?

NATHAN ALLEN.

McCLELLAN'S LAST SERVICE TO THE REPUBLIC.

PART III.

THERE remains for us but one subject for discussion in connection with the historical events over which we have passed in the preceding papers. This relates to one of those popular errors which sometimes become so fixed as matters of belief that they seem to have passed into history as if they were not to be controverted. It has long been assumed by many persons that General McClellan's Harrison's Landing letter to Mr. Lincoln was intended as a political manifesto of his own. The popular shrewdness in making such imputations is always well satisfied with its own wisdom, however little of intellectual or moral penetration may be exercised in making them. And therefore, to present a plain view of a virtuous man, acting from motives in which self has no concern, often seems to be a useless appeal against that which has been popularly pronounced to be unquestionable. But the power to appreciate sincerity and elevation of character, the capacity to do justice upon facts, the disposition to believe in the existence of pure and disinterested aims, have not wholly fled even from the present age. It was, therefore, with entire confidence that we should not want an audience, and a very large one, that we undertook to give an account of some of the circumstances attending General McClellan's relations to the Administration of President Lincoln, and especially of the strange occurrence of his removal from command after the battle of Antietam. The approbation which we have received from many of the wise and good has fully justified and rewarded our labors.

The breaking out of our civil war found General McClellan in private life, and in a lucrative employment which he could not surrender without great sacrifices. It is no disparagement of the patriotism of any others of the distinguished soldiers of whatever

rank, on either side of that contest, to say that McClellan was actuated by a pure sense of duty, and not by political ambition, when he tendered his sword to the Government of the United States. He had been educated in its military service; and he had so learned of its political institutions that every conviction of his intellect and every feeling of his heart bound him to the preservation of the Union. He had had, at a very early age, great opportunities for acquiring military knowledge in the war with Mexico. He had been afterward sent, at the expense of the Government, while in the flower of his youth, to increase that knowledge by personal observation of one of the most gigantic wars of modern Europe. The facilities which he there enjoyed, along with colleagues who were much his seniors in age and military rank, had enabled him to accumulate a fund of professional information which was even more extensive than it could have been if he had held a command in either of the contending armies. In Mexico, under our own great captain, Scott, he had seen the teachings of his education confirmed—that war is a science. In the Crimea he had seen that science applied on the grandest scale, and in the most exact methods, by the armies of three nations. He had afterward been engaged in employments that gave him an uncommon familiarity with the geographical features, the resources, and the peculiarities of vast regions of our own country. So that, when our national conflict was culminating to a territorial civil war and a struggle for the supremacy of our national Constitution, he did not feel himself at liberty to withhold from the service of his country any part of that wealth of experience and knowledge which his country had enabled him to have. It was a simple case of paying back a debt; and, from the time when he undertook to discharge it to the moment when he was summarily retired into complete inactivity and intended disgrace, he never did an act, nor uttered a word, nor wrote a line that was not inspired by a sense of patriotic duty, or that any man can justly impute to a selfish motive.

Probably in all military history there is no sudden and unexplained removal of a commander, who was on the eve of a well-planned movement against the enemy, which furnishes a parallel to this case of General McClellan. Certainly there is none for which it is so difficult to assign a respectable motive. On the 7th of November, when McClellan is about to divide Lee's army, an order suddenly reaches him, requiring him to turn over the command to a general whom neither the army nor the public had rea-

son to regard, and who did not regard himself, as competent to the position, and to go into a disgraced retirement. So extraordinary an act demands investigation. It is one of the unsolved points in the history of the late war, on which the inquirer must enter with the expectation of finding either an adequate or an inadequate reason for the act.

We have for many years been seeking and digesting information on this subject, but, when we began to write upon it, the first thing that occurred to us was the necessity for knowing whether the subject of General McClellan's removal was laid by Mr. Lincoln before his Cabinet, at any time previous to the issuing of the order, and whether any and what determination was then announced by the President. In order to ascertain this we recently addressed a note to the only surviving member of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, and received from him the following reply :

WASHINGTON, *January* 21, 1880.

MY DEAR SIR: I have yours of the 19th, asking if the removal of McClellan from command was discussed in the Cabinet before the order was given, and in reply I have to inform you that it was. The meeting was attended by Halleck, and it was stated by him that the excuses given by McClellan for not moving were untrue. I recollect particularly that in reference to a supply, I think, of shoes, which General McClellan had written were indispensable and had not been received, Halleck undertook to show, by official statements of shipments made, that McClellan had not stated the truth.

I opposed the removal violently, upon the ground that Hooker, who was the person spoken of for the succession, was entirely incompetent for the position. Burnside's name was not mentioned, and I was utterly amazed when I saw it announced. I had to accept as true the statement that McClellan had been making unnecessary delay, although, as it turned out afterward, the charge was wholly unfounded. Governor Curtin was in McClellan's camp at the time, and afterward stated that it was true that McClellan had not the shoes required for his men to move.

Mr. Lincoln did not decide at that time to remove McClellan, but I saw that he was coming to that conclusion, and I went out to Silver Spring for my father to go that night to the Soldiers' Home, where Mr. Lincoln was then staying, to endeavor to prevent the removal. He accordingly went that night to see Mr. Lincoln, and spent a long time in arguing against the proposal, telling Lincoln that it would be both a military and political blunder for him to take that step; that the opposition to McClellan came from Chase and Stanton, who were hostile to him (Lincoln), and that the man whom they wanted to supersede McClellan with would be also adverse to him if he succeeded; and, if he failed, he (Lincoln), would have to bear the reproach of it.

Lincoln listened with attention to all my father had to say, but was not communicative himself. But at the end of the conference he rose up and stretched his long arms almost to the ceiling above him, saying: "I said I would remove him if he let Lee's army get away from him, and I must do so. He has got the 'slows,' Mr. Blair!"

It was manifest to me that there was something more than I knew of, of which McClellan's opponents were availing themselves against him. I had stood by McClellan as I did by Grant against the attempts made by Stanton and Chase, and other politicians, in their efforts to overslaugh them, without being in the confidence of either of these generals. I did not know till McClellan visited me, while attending the Porter trial the winter afterward, and read me his Harrison's Landing letter, what it was that made Lincoln so deaf to my own and my father's efforts. But, when McClellan read that letter, I told him at once that it was that letter which had enabled Stanton and Chase to remove him. It had been used to make Lincoln look upon him as a rival, and he had judged him from that point of view; and while I believed Lincoln to be as unselfish as any man, he was yet a man, and no man could be told day by day that another was making use of the place he gave him to supersede him in his own place, without being afterward against him and ready to believe that he was both unfriendly and unfit for his position.

Yours truly,

MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

GEORGE T. CURTIS, Esq., New York.

The Cabinet council to which Mr. Blair alludes was held on the 5th of November. The order requiring General McClellan to turn over the command to General Burnside was dated on the same day. No reason for it was ever assigned by the President to General McClellan or to the country. In the absence, therefore, of any avowed reason, coming from Mr. Lincoln himself, we are remitted to the inquiry, what relation the Harrison's Landing letter may have borne to the determination of the President to recall McClellan after the battle of Antietam, and to reduce him to a condition of entire inactivity. We must ask the reader to turn back to the letter, in our first article, and to note that it proposed to Mr. Lincoln a certain policy in the prosecution of the war, to be adopted and followed out by *him*, and from which, if any credit or benefit of a political nature was to accrue to any one, it would accrue to Mr. Lincoln. For it is not to be forgotten that this was a private letter. Its existence was not publicly known; and, if Mr. Lincoln had shown it to any persons in Washington, they had kept the secret well among themselves. This remained the condition of things, as to the letter, until long after McClellan's removal from the command. Our readers have seen that one very striking feature of the

policy which General McClellan suggested to Mr. Lincoln consisted in a mode in which the emancipation of slaves could be properly made to result from military measures and operations. It was not the same plan that Mr. Lincoln suddenly adopted nearly three months after he received General McClellan's letter, and five days after General McClellan had gained the battle of Antietam. General McClellan's plan proposed that the Government should permanently appropriate slave-property to its own use, recognizing the right of the owner to compensation—a principle which he suggested "might be extended, upon grounds of military necessity and security, to all the slaves in a particular State, thus working manumission in such State." Mr. Lincoln's subsequent plan attempted to abolish slavery by an executive decree, without recognizing any right to compensation. It is not necessary to consider here which of these two plans was the wisest, or the most practical. We are not dealing with the merits of either of them; but we are dealing with the historical fact that, in the month of July, 1862, General McClellan, in a private letter to Mr. Lincoln, proposed for his adoption a comprehensive policy in the prosecution of the war, one important part of which embraced a mode of effecting the extinguishment of slavery as a legitimate measure of war. While General McClellan remained at Harrison's Landing, and afterward, while he had as yet gained no striking successes excepting that he had saved the Army of the Potomac from destruction, after which he had been put into a kind of disgrace, his Harrison's Landing letter, still an entirely private document in the hands of Mr. Lincoln, could not have been regarded as a matter for any political anxiety. But when he had saved Washington from capture, and had defeated Lee at the battle of Antietam, if his letter, written three months previously, was suddenly recalled to the recollection of Mr. Lincoln and those of his Cabinet who had seen it, they must have especially remembered his suggestion of a plan for the manumission of slaves, as a measure of military operations and necessities.

We now come, therefore, to a theory which has been suggested to account for the removal of General McClellan from command after the battle of Antietam. This theory, when fully stated, is as follows: That, with this letter from General McClellan in his possession, Mr. Lincoln was persuaded to believe that, if the writer should succeed in destroying Lee's army, he would become a formidable rival for the next Presidency; that this letter would be McClellan's "platform"; that his platform must therefore be anti-

cipated by an Executive proclamation that slavery was to be exterminated by an Executive decree; that circumstances had compelled Mr. Lincoln, after Pope's defeat, to restore McClellan to command, and to permit him to free Maryland from the presence of the enemy; but that, when this had been done, it was politically necessary to prevent McClellan from becoming, by further successes, a competitor in the next Presidential election, and a competitor who would be able to show a prior claim to the policy of emancipation.

This theory derives some color from the fact that Mr. Lincoln suddenly changed his mind on the subject of emancipation. On the 13th of September he told a deputation of clergymen from Chicago that an emancipation proclamation would be no more effective than "the Pope's bull against the comet"; but on the 22d of September, after McClellan had gained the battle of Antietam, Mr. Lincoln issued a proclamation announcing that on the first of the succeeding January he should issue another abolishing slavery in every State that adhered to the rebellion. The theory or explanation of General McClellan's removal from the command of the army, at a moment when he was on the very eve of a great success, is that the Harrison's Landing letter was the moving cause. But, if this is a true explanation of General McClellan's removal, Mr. Lincoln made an enormous mistake in regard to the character and purpose of the Harrison's Landing letter, and the character and purpose of the writer. Through every line of that letter there breathes a manifest intention to present to Mr. Lincoln's mind a comprehensive policy in the prosecution of the war, which Mr. Lincoln was, if he should adopt it, to appropriate to himself; which was to redound to Mr. Lincoln's benefit, so far as it could redound to the personal benefit of any one. There is not a word in the letter which can justify any one in believing that the writer was seeking to lay up political treasure for himself, in the archives of the Government, or in Mr. Lincoln's private repositories. Among gentlemen, it is usually considered an act of meanness to claim afterward the authorship of a paper which one has given to another who is in a high position of public trust, for adoption as a measure of public policy; and no man, who ever knew General McClellan well, can believe that he deliberately planned to commit such an act of meanness. His letter was the letter of one gentleman to another. The writer, it is true, was a general in the service of the Government; the recipient was the head of that Government. But the letter nevertheless was not an official letter; it was a private letter, suggesting to Mr.

Lincoln's "private consideration" a certain line of policy for his adoption. Mr. Lincoln desired, when in June he assented to General McClellan's proposal to submit to him his views respecting the whole conduct of the war, that care should be taken to preserve secrecy. Such care was taken. General McClellan wrote the letter with his own hand in his tent at Harrison's Landing, and placed it himself in the hands of Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln need not have shown it to a human being. He might have propounded to his Cabinet the policy which it described, without saying that General McClellan had recommended it. Public men in such positions have often received the most important suggestions from some one else, and have not deemed themselves bound to disclose their authorship. If Mr. Lincoln had proposed this policy for the consideration of his Cabinet, without saying that it had been suggested by General McClellan, there can be no doubt that it would have had a fair consideration, and possibly it might have been adopted. If it had been, there can be as little doubt that the world never would have known from General McClellan that the suggestion came from him; while he would have been able to say that he concurred in what the President had determined on, and would do everything in his power as a general to carry it out.

General McClellan may well have been astonished, therefore, as we believe he was, when he heard it said, long after his removal from the command, that his private letter to Mr. Lincoln had caused the latter to regard him as having sought by means of it to set his sails for the popular breeze, and that out of his sails the wind had been taken by Mr. Lincoln's proclamation. If ever a man was intent upon anything that was unselfish, and devoid of any purpose but to serve his official superior, it was General McClellan when he sketched that great policy for Mr. Lincoln's private consideration. All that happened in the political world, two years afterward, when General McClellan, by no procurement of his own, was nominated as the Democratic candidate in the summer of 1864, has of course no relevancy to the cause or causes which operated upon Mr. Lincoln's mind in November, 1862, to make him recall General McClellan from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and to bid him report at Trenton, in the State of New Jersey.

Among the members of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet in the summer and autumn of 1862, there were two persons who were as unfriendly to Mr. Lincoln as they were to General McClellan. Mr. Chase had reasons of his own for representing to Mr. Lincoln that the Demo-

crats then had General McClellan in training as their future candidate for the Presidency, although it would have been difficult for him to show in what the training consisted. Any one who remembers the condition of Democratic sentiment on the subject of slavery and the proper objects of the war, at the time when General McClellan wrote his letter to Mr. Lincoln, and even down to a much later period, can easily see that the letter never was designed by the writer as a means of recommending himself to that party as their candidate for the Presidency. But Mr. Chase—to borrow an old parliamentary phrase—"took nothing" by his efforts to undermine Mr. Lincoln's confidence in McClellan. He may be dismissed to the innumerable company of those who "filed their minds" and gained nothing by it for themselves. The one redeeming part of Mr. Chase's conduct toward McClellan is, that he never pretended to be anything but an enemy. But, in all that scene of infidelity to the military interests of the republic, there stands forth one central figure, prominent in double-dealing, celebrated for duplicity, the arch-hypocrite Stanton. The world does not now learn his amazing insincerity for the first time, or from us. Our proof of it is only cumulative. The character to which that proof relates is one that no man can explain, one that no party and no faction can bear to defend. This man began at an early period to fawn upon McClellan. It is not improbable that the young General, in the frankness of his own nature, and in his readiness to accept all proffered aid in the great public duties which devolved upon him after he became general-in-chief by the advice of General Scott, may have believed in the personal devotion and attachment which this eminent Pennsylvania lawyer professed to himself, to his relatives, and to his friends in the army. But, there was at first a jarring string in these strains of flattery. The part was overacted, although the actor did not, until he was warned, perceive wherein he "o'erstepped the modesty of nature." He thought to recommend himself to McClellan by the grossest ridicule and abuse of Lincoln. He found that McClellan's sense of propriety did not approve this coarse disparagement of his official superior. But, as Mr. Stanton was known to be a man of high ability and distinction in his profession, and as Mr. Lincoln was disposed to believe that he would be a valuable Secretary of War, both because of his energy and because of his avowed friendship for McClellan, the latter, when consulted, gave his influence with the President for the introduction of Mr. Stanton into the Cabinet.

There is a saying—"something musty"—about the displacement of ladders after an elevation has been reached. As time went on, as Mr. Stanton's ambition grew, and "his infant fortune came to age" with the increase of his power, he came to know how necessary McClellan was to Mr. Lincoln, and how important to the country it was that the best relations should exist between them. Knowing this, he determined that McClellan should be ruined. For Lincoln he had so much contempt that he thought he could be trusted to ruin himself. Yet to the last hour of his intercourse with McClellan, and down to the final consummation of his purpose, Mr. Stanton professed to McClellan and his friends an unalterable fidelity, and an unchangeable conviction of his importance to the public interests: while, at the very same time, the occasional ebullitions of his hostility, bursting forth from his arrogant temper, in the presence of others, and his official acts, betrayed the object to which his hatred was carrying him, long before it was finally attained. The army saw it, if the people of the Union did not. McClellan was to be destroyed by making Lincoln distrust him. The scheme succeeded—the deed was done. But what of the chief conspirator?

Dante, as he walks through the infernal realms, protected by the great Mantuan Spirit "whose fame still lasts in the world, and will last as long as time," tells us of the common herd, undistinguishable from one another, who are grouped in eternal suffering according to the nature of their besetting sin. These are they who are damned by classification. We do not learn their names or nations. We only see them, in crowds, in a situation of dreadful appropriateness to their peculiar transgression. But, when the poet encounters one of those historical personages on whom, because of the consequences which his acts have entailed upon his country or mankind, there should be fastened all the infamy that is his due, we have the individual and his history touched by the master's stroke, and the sufferer stands for ever alone in the awful characterization of his fate. One of these ghastly objects of retribution is that Bertran de Born who "gave the evil counsels" which separated those who should have been united. The spectacle of this false counselor to a prince, which the poet describes, is too horrible to be transferred in detail to these pages. But, if any one is disposed to wonder that this image has risen up before us as we write of a passage in our national annals, let him count, if he can, the soldiers' graves, the widows' and the orphans' tears, the treasure

needlessly squandered, the war needlessly prolonged, the whole vast sum of misery and sorrow which must be charged to the malice that one man bore to another. And, when he sickens in the contemplation of these accumulated woes, let him turn to the so-called historical literature of the country, and note how, from the same source, it has been poisoned with lies. We must thread this dreary maze of Stanton's treachery and Lincoln's weakness, until we have reached conclusions on which it is fit that a final judgment should rest.*

* An illustration of Mr. Stanton's character comes to us while we write. On the 3d of April, 1862, General Franklin received an order to embark his division for the Peninsula, to be under the command of General McClellan in the advance upon Richmond. Calling at the War Department on that evening, General Franklin met General McDowell. The following account is taken from the "Philadelphia Times" of April 28, 1877, in the words of General Franklin: "General McDowell informed me that the Secretary of War had told him about an hour before that General McClellan intended to work by strategy and not by fighting, and that he should not have another man from his Department; that all of the enemies of the Administration centered around him; and the Secretary accused him of having political ambition. Also, that he had not left the number of troops to defend Washington that the President required; in other words, that he had disobeyed the President's orders. General McDowell remonstrated against the step which was about to be taken, arguing that, if General McClellan had political aspirations, they would be forwarded by the very course which the Administration was taking in this case. He used all the arguments which he could bring to bear, to convince the Secretary that he was making a mistake in ordering the detachment of his corps. The result was, General McDowell's corps was detached from the Army of the Potomac, and was marched to Catlett's Station on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, where it could do no possible good. General McClellan's plan of turning Yorktown, by the movement of McDowell's corps on the north bank of the York River, was utterly destroyed. The Army of the Potomac was forced to stay a whole month on the Peninsula uselessly, and the capture of Richmond, which in all human probability would have been made in the month of May, had General McClellan's plan been carried out, was deferred for three years."

General Franklin now writes to us as follows, inclosing a copy of his paper in the "Philadelphia Times": "On the evening of the arrival of General McDowell's corps at Catlett's Station (about April 8th or 9th), my division, which then formed part of the corps, was ordered to join General McClellan by way of Alexandria. While it was marching to Alexandria I went to the Peninsula, saw and conferred with the General [McClellan], and returned to Alexandria to embark the division on the transports. When I was ready to start, I was informed that the President and Secretary of War wished to see me. I first saw Mr. Stanton. He was very cordial, was glad I was going to the Peninsula, would at once determine a question of my rank which was before him. He desired me to give his love to McClellan, and to say to him that he had his best wishes for his success, and that any help to him which he required that his Department could furnish would be most cheerfully accorded. In fact, nothing could have been more satisfactory to any friend of McClellan than this interview would have been to me, had not the recollection of McDowell's interview with Stanton

It seems to us most remarkable, in all this concatenation of conspiracies against the usefulness and success of a military man who was serving the country with singleness of purpose and with no ambition but to do his military duty, that Mr. Lincoln, with his imputed shrewdness, did not see to the very bottom of the hearts of men who wished to put enmity between him and this faithful soldier. Mr. Lincoln should have had the wisdom to remember that the Harrison's Landing letter, instead of affording even a political reason for depriving the country of General McClellan's military services, was entirely under his (Mr. Lincoln's) own control; for General McClellan had not divulged its contents, and as a man of honor he could never have divulged them for any purpose but to shield himself from an unjust imputation. After it had been imputed to him that he wrote the letter for a selfish political purpose, he included a copy of it in his report, that the whole world might judge of its character. A portion of his countrymen, knowing little of the facts, and paying but little heed to the character of the letter, have permitted an unjust impression to remain in their minds. It is time for them to correct their impressions, and to observe that, if Mr. Lincoln had looked into the letter, when McClellan's ene-

of April 3d been fresh in my mind. I never saw Stanton after this interview. The interview with the President amounted to nothing."

We do not know where, in the history of any country, there is anything so grotesque as the fact that the destinies of a great war were to a large extent in the hands of a mere lawyer who, apart from his propensity to resort to duplicity when there was no need for it whatever, was completely destitute of all military knowledge or judgment. Such administrative faculty as Mr. Stanton had was due to the energy of an imperious will. President Buchanan, who gauged Mr. Stanton accurately when he was his Attorney-General, has left the following brief description of him, which now lies before us in Mr. Buchanan's handwriting:

"Mr. Stanton was an able, astute, and somewhat overbearing, dogmatic lawyer. He had been eminently and deservedly successful at the bar. His personal integrity has never been doubted. He was, however, deficient in the knowledge of a statesman; but he performed his duties as Attorney-General in a respectable and satisfactory manner. He had not the calmness and sober judgment that would have fitted him for an important administrative office. He was rash and impetuous. It was his nature to act from the impulse of the moment, and he did not stop to inquire into the remote consequences of his decision." This was evidently written before Mr. Stanton became Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of War. What it says of his personal integrity relates to all matters of money. In that respect Mr. Stanton's character was without a stain. His personal duplicity, toward those who trusted him and whom he professed to serve, is an enigma which those who knew him best never could understand. He was as false to Buchanan as he was to others, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Buchanan died without knowing that he was so.

mies were perpetually trying to awaken his jealousy, he must have seen that, whatever else it was, it was no "platform" for a Democratic politician to put himself upon in the summer of 1862. But, according to the theory on which we are commenting, Mr. Lincoln, although he had it entirely in his power, in the autumn of 1862, to recognize the true character of that letter as a private suggestion of a policy to be adopted by him and made his own if he should think well of it, could not, nevertheless, resist the representations of McClellan's enemies that it was designed for a very different purpose. No man can read that letter now, whether he knows General McClellan or not, and find in it any trace of the design that was imputed to him. No man who knows General McClellan, and knows the political history of the time when the letter was written, can believe that he ever had such a design.*

On the night of the same day on which the removal of General McClellan was considered in the Cabinet, the elder Mr. Blair, as the reader has seen, visited Mr. Lincoln, and patriotically endeavored to dissuade him from that step. At the meeting of the Cabinet on the 5th Mr. Lincoln made no allusion to the Harrison's Landing letter, for some of the gentlemen present did not know of its existence. The discussion in the Cabinet turned wholly on General McClellan's activity as a commander, and his alleged misrepresentation of the actual condition of his army in respect to the supplies, after the battle of Antietam. When Mr. Blair saw the President on that evening, the latter remarked that he had said he would remove McClellan if he allowed Lee's army to get away from him, and that he must remove him. When Mr. Blair saw Mr. Lincoln

* It must be remembered that the letter was written in July, 1862. One copy of it remained in manuscript in General McClellan's possession. In August, 1863, General McClellan drew up and transmitted to the War Department his report on the military operations in which he had been engaged. The report remained in the Adjutant-General's office until it was sent into Congress at its next session, which commenced in December, 1863. It contained a correct copy of the Harrison's Landing letter. Soon after the report began to be printed by the printer of public documents, the newspaper press began to comment upon and to copy from it. An imperfect copy of the letter appeared in a New York paper in January, 1864; but how it was obtained is not known. An edition of General McClellan's report was published by Sheldon & Co., at New York, in the spring of 1864; and from that edition the public obtained the first authentic copy of the Harrison's Landing letter that was ever authorized by General McClellan. He was removed from command and sent into retirement in November, 1862. In the early part of November, 1864, he resigned from the army.

on the next day, Mr. Lincoln said, "Mr. Blair, I was obliged to play *shut pan* to you last night." The order for the change in the command had then come out, and Mr. Lincoln felt obliged to account to Mr. Blair for not having told him on the previous evening that the matter had been decided. The question arises, therefore, To whom had the President said that he would remove McClellan if he allowed Lee's army to get away from him? Certainly he never said so to General McClellan himself. On the field of Antietam, twelve days after Lee's army had recrossed the Potomac, Mr. Lincoln told General McClellan that he did not intend to displace him, and that he was not to move on the enemy until he felt that he was entirely ready. On the 6th of October the President ordered him to pursue Lee; but on the 21st the President knew that it was at least doubtful whether he was in a condition to do so, and a little later the President learned that he certainly was not. If we go forward to the 5th of November, after McClellan, properly supplied, had placed his army in the best possible positions for dividing Lee's forces and beating them in detail, we find the Cabinet council sitting at the White House debating the question of his removal from command. At that meeting the old story of unnecessary delay after the battle of Antietam was again trumped up, and, notwithstanding the information that had been obtained by Colonel Scott and communicated to the President, the Secretary of War, and General Halleck, which made it certain that the delay had been wholly due to the want of indispensable supplies, at least one member of the Cabinet, who had been a steadfast supporter of General McClellan upon public grounds, was made to admit, on General Halleck's "statements," that there had been unnecessary delay after the battle of Antietam. We do not know how to characterize that scene at the President's council-table. We were about to use a word which we withhold. We can only point to the fact that, at the very moment of that discussion on the proposal to remove General McClellan from command, his headquarters were at Rectortown; his army, in admirable discipline and spirit, was disposed in position for successive attacks upon Lee's divided troops; and it was yet an undecided question whether Lee was to escape, while the chances were entirely against him. For General Lee, however, that question was decided by the change in the Federal command—a change that was made upon a pretext which more than one person around that council-board knew to be false.

Involved as Mr. Lincoln was in the toils laid for him by Chase, Stanton, and Halleck, we do not believe that he had it in his power to assign publicly a reason for removing McClellan. The subject of McClellan's allowing Lee's army to escape was not discussed in the Cabinet. On the evening of the day on which that discussion took place, Mr. Lincoln had to say something to the elder Mr. Blair, and he went back to an old promise which he had given to somebody, that he would remove McClellan if he allowed Lee's army to get away from him. But at that moment McClellan was about to attack Longstreet, and the result, which had not occurred, could not have been the reason why Mr. Lincoln had already allowed the order to be issued. At the Cabinet meeting, the reason urged was a delay that had occurred on the field of Antietam during the three weeks that ended on the last days of October. After the Cabinet council broke up, there must have been a private conference between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Chase and Mr. Stanton, during which Mr. Lincoln consented that the order should be issued, and that the name of General Burnside should be inserted in it as the successor of McClellan. But, if Mr. Lincoln had ever been asked thereafter to assign the reason why he allowed that order to be issued, we are entirely unable to see what he could have said. But, valuing McClellan highly, as we believe he did, and knowing as he did that McClellan was at that moment pursuing Lee's army by his orders, Mr. Lincoln was so entrapped by McClellan's enemies that he could not extricate himself without sacrificing McClellan; for he knew that Halleck's "statements," produced and listened to at the Council-board, could be produced elsewhere, and would be given to the public if he allowed McClellan to remain at the head of the army. This would have produced a public issue respecting the mode in which affairs had been managed by the War Department, in meeting or failing to meet General McClellan's requisitions during the month of October.

There is another theory, less common than the one which we have thus far considered, by which some persons think that General McClellan's removal from command is to be accounted for. This theory is entertained by officers of the army, who, while abstaining habitually from all party or political relations, were deeply interested in observing the course of the Administration in the prosecution of the war. It is this: That in the summer and autumn of 1862, after the defeat of Pope, followed by McClellan's expulsion of the Confederate troops from Maryland, the President's advisers,

who were represented by Mr. Chase and Mr. Stanton, did not desire further military successes in the war until they should have made it a war for the extermination of slavery. In support of this theory those who entertain it point to the following facts: That if McClellan had captured Richmond in November or December, 1862, the proclamation would have remained, as what Mr. Lincoln described it, a "bull against the comet"; because, if the rebellion had been crushed then and there, the Constitution, notwithstanding the proclamation, must have remained what it always had been; that, after McClellan, came Burnside and Hooker, who were not more effectually sustained and supported by the Administration than McClellan had been; and that when it was determined to remove McClellan, so that Richmond might not fall prematurely, it was a sort of hap-hazard choice that at the last moment of deliberation made Burnside his immediate successor. This is not a theory which has been the result of an afterthought. There were intelligent and observing officers of that army who knew that McClellan, on the one hand, was straining every nerve to overtake and defeat the Confederate forces at the moment when he was displaced, and who, on the other hand, believed, at that time, that he was not permitted to succeed because the Administration did not then desire success. It is impossible, of course, to penetrate into the secret counsels of those who then controlled the course of the war. What we can see, however, is that the removal of General McClellan entailed the frightful slaughter at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, and the Confederate invasion of Pennsylvania. In our last paper we presented to our readers an accurate sketch, from which they could learn with what excellent strategy McClellan was operating, to insure the fall of Richmond with the least expenditure of precious lives. We doubt if one reader out of every hundred has ever before understood how the severance of the communications between the two parts of Lee's army, and the forcing of Longstreet back upon Gordonsville—results that were within McClellan's grasp on the 7th of November, 1862—would have opened to him an almost unopposed march upon Richmond. Yet this commander, thus arrested by his own Government when he was about to achieve a great success—arrested from a motive of statecraft, or from a motive of personal jealousy, or from a combination of both—is the man whose reputation has been slurred because he did not sacrifice his men by hecatombs, from which nothing could be gained, but sought to attain his object by occupying positions

that would make a battle and a victory worth what they might cost.*

In reference to the political motives by which Mr. Lincoln is supposed to have been influenced, we have considered all the theories that have ever been suggested. Whatever theory of political motive is the one that ought to be adopted, the deplorable fact remains that the country lost the services of General McClellan, and that great disasters ensued. At Fredericksburg, in December, 1862, under Burnside, the Federal losses, in killed, wounded, and missing, were 12,321. At Chancellorsville, under Hooker, in May, 1863, the killed and wounded were 11,033. These losses were entirely uncompensated by any advantage or prestige. In June the Confederates invaded Pennsylvania, and were barely checked at Gettysburg. Remembering these consequences, we are forced also to remember that, if anything in war can be pronounced to have been so highly probable as to amount to a moral certainty, it is that, if

* At Warrenton, after the soldiers had learned that McClellan was to leave them, and as he rode through the ranks that lined the road for miles, the men called out to him repeatedly, "Come back, Little Mac!" McClellan turned to an officer who rode by his side, and, with tears gathering in his eyes, asked, "What do you think of all this?" "It is hard upon you, but best for us." "Why?" "Because you are not permitted to succeed, and, as the people in Washington do not intend that we shall fight at present, we shall be saved defeat and mortification. You will come back when you are wanted." Laying his hand on the officer's shoulder, the General asked, "How did you learn so much?" Our informant adds that he did not think at the time how soon he was to witness Fredericksburg.

A very fair writer on the "Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac" (Swinton, New York, 1866) was at a loss to understand why Burnside abandoned at Warrenton all of McClellan's plans, and, turning his back on Lee's army, marched his own army to Fredericksburg. He says that this project, although not approved at Washington, *was assented to;* that is to say, the Administration abandoned the pursuit of Lee's army, and allowed their own army to be transferred to Fredericksburg, without one effort to carry out McClellan's plan of operations. This could have been done only for the purpose of obtaining a new base, where the Army of the Potomac could remain inactive until the spring. But the swift pursuit of Lee, whose whole forces arrived on the south bank of the Rappahannock, for the relief of Fredericksburg, within a week after Burnside's army had reached the river, disconcerted the whole project of "winter quarters" at Fredericksburg, and ended in conflicts which produced what Mr. Swinton justly calls "a slaughter the most bloody and the most useless of the war." While General Burnside must be considered to have been excessively rash in attempting to carry Lee's positions by assault, it should be remembered that he was at Fredericksburg at all by the assent of the Government. The motive which led to that assent is believed, by many officers of high intelligence, to have been a secret determination to let the war in Virginia stand still until the effect of the emancipation proclamation had been fully developed.

McClellan had been allowed to fight Lee again, there would have been another victory, which would have insured the capture of Richmond before the end of the year 1862. The blood with which the Wilderness was afterward watered would have been saved.

We shall now close our review of this part of General McClellan's military career with a summary, which may assist our readers in forming an opinion of the justice of a criticism which has long been used to excuse the conduct of the Administration. The criticism has most commonly been put in this form: that while General McClellan had great accomplishments as an organizer of armies and as an engineer, yet as a general at the head of troops he lacked decision, promptness, and vigor, from a constitutional infirmity which made him reluctant to strike a blow until he had accumulated every possible advantage for delivering it. The soundness of this criticism—supposing it to be honestly made—may be tested by the history of the period over which we have passed in these papers. We have followed General McClellan for the space of a little less than five months, from the 26th of June to the 7th of November, 1862. The week extending from the 26th of June to the 4th of July, in which there was more severe fighting than any one of our armies in an equal period ever encountered, ended in the rescue of the Army of the Potomac from an extraordinary peril, into which it was brought by the blundering folly of its own Government. No competent critic will deny that the tactics, the force of will, the indomitable perseverance, and the admirable judgment displayed by McClellan during the seven days' march to the James, evinced the highest attributes of a military commander; for no such critic will question that to rescue an army, on such a march, from the clutches of a superior force, is as great an achievement as to fight and win a pitched battle with equal or nearly equal numbers on the two sides. From the 4th of July to the 5th of August, a period of comparative inactivity on the James necessarily followed, in consequence of the indecision of the Government as to what was to be done. From the 5th of August to the 16th, McClellan could do nothing but execute the orders of his superiors to remove his army to the front of Washington. From the 16th of August to the 27th, he was engaged in transferring the different bodies of his army to the command of General Pope. From the 27th of August until the morning of the 2d of September, he was without the command of more than a hundred men.

Into the next two weeks, when called upon to save the capital,

he crowded an amount of energy, skill, promptness, and vigor, which should alone have made a great reputation, if he had never done anything else. If we break up those two weeks into their important subdivisions, we have, first, the five days which followed his resumption of command, when he took a defeated and demoralized army that was swarming toward the capital in the night, immediately restored its discipline, posted it within the defenses of the city, reconstructed some of its organizations, and then threw it forward on a march to intercept an enemy flushed with his recent victory and preparing to come down upon the Maryland side of the Potomac. During the week that intervened between the 7th and the 13th of September, McClellan was moving his columns on five parallel routes, so that he might encounter Lee before the latter could descend upon Washington by an unoccupied and unguarded road, either next to or away from the river. In one week this march was accomplished, notwithstanding the cautions with which it had to be made. On the 13th, Lee's plans were revealed; and it affords abundant proof of the sound judgment with which McClellan had conducted his march, and of the spirit and efficiency which he had restored to the troops, that the very first blow which he struck sent the whole Confederate army into retreat. The blow that was given at South Mountain was dealt on the twelfth day after McClellan resumed the command, and on the next day after that on which Lee's position became known; and on the same day General Franklin, one of McClellan's most energetic lieutenants, attacked and carried the pass called Crampton's Gap, on the left, while the main body of McClellan's troops attacked the Confederates at South Mountain. In three days after South Mountain, the Confederate army was overtaken on the field of Antietam, and on the night of the fourth day their shattered forces were withdrawn into Virginia, after a desperately fought battle which lasted for fourteen hours.

Carping criticism, imputations of "slowness," charges of hesitation and want of vigor, vanish into the realm of nonsense, in the face of such achievements. When we look back upon what was accomplished in the two weeks that followed McClellan's restoration to command, with an army which he took off the hands of a general under whom it had been shockingly beaten, and when we remember that McClellan, as he marched out of Washington, left behind him in high authority many officials who wished him anything but success, we can only wonder at the easy credulity of that

portion of the contemporary public who supposed him to be either slow or inefficient as a commander. The false impressions which one age derives from its own prejudices, that have been industriously cultivated for the transient policies of political or personal hostility, are a poor guide to the estimation in which a man is to be held in history. Beyond the range of their influence, even to-day, the military reputation of General McClellan among the best European judges is so high that it has often been said that he would have terminated the war in November or December, 1862, if he had been kept in the field and been supported and supplied as other generals subsequently were. We have heard, from a source that left us no reason to doubt the authenticity of the anecdote, that General von Moltke once expressed this opinion to an American who in conversation gave him to understand that "some of us in America do not estimate McClellan so highly as we do some others of our generals." "It may be so," said the great Prussian commander, "but let me tell you that, if your Government had supported General McClellan in the field as they should have done, your war would have been ended two years sooner than it was."

But it is not necessary to look abroad in order to measure what we lost by the removal of McClellan from the public service. The history of the war in Virginia, after Antietam and after the removal of McClellan from command, is a history of the endeavor of our Government to reëstablish the Union armies in the position before Richmond which they had occupied in June, 1862, when the Government withdrew from McClellan its promised support, and left him to save his army by the flank movement to the James. That subsequent history embraces the battles of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, the Wilderness, and other fierce fights along the bloody overland route from Washington to Richmond. With these before him, the reader is compelled to ask himself whether, after Antietam, there was any battle fought between those two cities in which the Confederates were beaten and driven from the field; and why the patriotic North was called upon for a lavish expenditure of treasure and of men to supply the places of the countless dead who fell in the effort to regain that old position before the capital of Virginia. The enemy fell back before the overwhelming forces of the inexhaustible Union. In 1865 they were utterly crushed and subdued, on the same ground from which, in 1862, the Army of the Potomac was withdrawn, in disregard of the earnest appeals of its com-

mander, who did not cease to reiterate the memorable words of his dispatch to General Halleck, of August 4, 1862: "Here is the true defense of Washington; it is here, on the banks of the James, that the fate of the Union is to be decided."

Yet it was not for the glory snatched from McClellan that we have ever grieved. All talent, power, accomplishment, knowledge, experience, skill, and valor of the soldier form, when rightly regarded, a trust for his country; and we are sure that General McClellan never has regretted and never can regret that he so regarded and used the gifts which it pleased Heaven to bestow upon him. Among all the distinguished military men of this or any other age, of whom the world knows so much as it knows of McClellan, there has been no man whose ambition was so perfectly unalloyed by the base element of self-seeking at the expense of others, and no man who has suffered so much injustice from official superiors. Yet that injustice has not caused him to challenge his detractors upon the issues that were made against him. Not at the time when that injustice was committed, not in the long period of eighteen years that has since elapsed, has he broken the reticence which is a part of his nature when his own public conduct or that of others is in question. That he will at some time break this silence, so far as to relate facts which he alone can tell, at least for those who are to come after us, his contemporaries should, as we believe they do, earnestly desire.

GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS.

HAS THE SOUTHERN PULPIT FAILED?

WHO has been practicing upon the credulity of the Rev. David Swing? or how in the name of common honesty has he become possessed with the idea that the Southern pulpit has failed? He does not produce a scrap of evidence to lay a foundation in fact for his strange hallucination. His paper would not have been more astounding in its audacity, if it had been an effort to account for the failure of the Southern soil, or to explain the failure of the Southern sun to longer quicken and mature the cotton-plant!

He is content with no middle flight—he would be profound and philosophical; and so he summons at once the *manes* of Francis Bacon. How strange it is that men may admire and extol the "Novum Organum," and yet fail to understand, or wholly misapply, the simplest doctrines of the inductive philosophy! It would have been reasonable to suppose that one so enamored of the scientific method would have begun with particulars, and thus ascended to the enunciation of a proposition so astounding—one, so far as we know, never before sprung upon the world; but, instead of this, he has given us a brilliant example of the dogmatic method of the schoolmen which he so much abhors. If the story were not somewhat stale, we should like to recite for his benefit the artifice which, it is said, a certain monarch practiced upon his *savants* when he called upon them to explain why it was that a vessel of water does not weigh more with a live fish in it than it does without the fish! Sure it is, that he assumes for granted a proposition singularly at variance from fact, and then coolly sets himself to work to explain the absurdity.

This is itself such a remarkable phenomenon that we are impelled to look for some explanation of it; and where better can we look than in that authority which he so heartily commends and so strangely offends? In the "Novum Organum" we read: "The human understanding resembles not a *dry light*, but admits a tinc-

ture of the will and passions, which generate their own system accordingly ; for man always believes more readily that which he prefers." And, by way of corollary, we find in the "De Augmentis": "Another error is an impatience of doubt and haste to assertion without due and mature suspension of judgment. For the two ways of contemplation are not unlike the two ways of action commonly spoken of by the ancients—the one plain and smooth in the beginning and in the end impassable ; the other rough and troublesome in the entrance, but after a while fair and even : so it is in contemplation ; if a man will begin with certainties, he will end in doubt ; but, if he will be content to begin with doubt, he shall end in certainties."

The dogmatic stride of the distinguished author of the paper under review is not a little marred by the limp in his logic. At one moment he pathetically exclaims, "How are the mighty fallen!" and the next he is tempted to abandon the inquiry with the reflection, "It never was well." But, whichever way he will have it, since we are quite ready to exonerate him from any malicious intention to misrepresent the Southern clergy, we must conclude that his information is very limited. The earnestness and power of the Southern pulpit have always been an admitted fact, as well in the North as in the South. Its representative men have always enjoyed the generous and hearty applause of their brethren in the North. There must be many people in New York who remember a remarkable scene at the old Tabernacle in that city in 1844. Dr. Bascom was to preach at night. Long before the time, the immense building was thronged so that not another soul could find room. The preacher began, and at once carried the vast concourse up to the highest pitch of tension. At three several times the proprieties of the place were quite forgotten, and the whole congregation burst forth in long and loud applause! Henry Clay declared him to be the "greatest natural orator in America." Marvelous things are told of his preaching. Entire congregations would rise unconsciously, and press toward the pulpit in uncontrollable excitement. On one occasion he produced such a frenzy of excitement by a morning sermon at a camp-meeting that nobody could be heard all the day through.

On another occasion in Kentucky Mr. Clay was in the congregation. He listened for some time to the daring sweep of thought, the electric and impetuous declamation, the searching appeals to conscience, until at last he was carried beyond all bounds of propriety, and gave vent to his excitement by exclaiming : "Well done,

Bascom—give it to them, give it to them!" When Dr. Bascom was chaplain in Congress, General Jackson was carried away in a similar manner by the vividness of a picture he was painting, and exclaimed aloud, "My God, he is lost!"

The South has always been full of men noted for their pulpit eloquence. How could it be otherwise among a people of open and generous impulses—in the land of all others in the world given to the freest and most open interchange of opinions in public assemblies? The South is the home of natural oratory, and from the days of Patrick Henry every hamlet has had fluent and forcible speakers.

Nor has the style of pulpit-speaking been at all confined to the rugged and exciting type of oratory. The South has produced, and still has, men of smoothest periods and most polished diction. Who that ever heard the great Dr. Hawks can forget his polished accents and his irresistible logic? How all who were present at his trial in New York delight to describe the matchless power by which he held that vast assembly in a thrill of excitement for days together! The people of New York will not soon forget this great master of eloquence and logic. Few men could have maintained the position he did through the stormy scenes of the war, when he refused either to withdraw or bend before the torrent of excitement.

And, again, in all the catalogue of eminent clergymen, what name is there which to this day will call up a deeper sense of reverence than that of Bishop Elliott, of Georgia? Dignity and culture, piety and power, were so wondrously blended in him that, with all the gentleness of a woman, he possessed the strength of a giant. His carriage and manner were inimitable. He was one of the committee appointed by the House of Bishops to adjust the unfortunate and vexatious Onderdonk difficulty. He presented and read the paper containing the concessions of Bishop Onderdonk. After it had been accepted and the case dismissed, Bishop Meade, of Virginia, who was not a little incensed at the action, approached the Bishop of Georgia, and said: "Elliott, that was all your doing. Your sympathetic tone and soft accents in reading that paper carried the House out of their senses. They never would have accepted it if anybody else had read it." Truly, the fame of this great Bishop is in all the churches. When shall we look upon his like again?

And then, again, that other Georgian whose life ran parallel with that of Bishop Elliott's through so many years—Dr. Lovick Pierce, so late fallen asleep. When great preachers are mentioned,

his name can not fail to rise to the lips of all who knew him, and who did not? The celebrated Dr. Olin bore testimony to his wondrous powers in the strong emotion, even to tears, which he is known to have shown under the effect of his preaching, as well as in the deliberate declaration that, "if left to choose among all the preachers in America the one under whose ministrations he should sit for years, Dr. Pierce would be the man of his choice."

And then there was Dr. William Capers, of South Carolina. In what enthusiastic terms the English bore testimony to the simplicity, and purity, and fervor of his preaching when he visited England in 1828, as the representative of the Methodist Church in America! When asked how he had acquired his pure Saxon style and simple earnestness, he replied that he did not know, unless it was in preaching to the simple-minded blacks upon the rice-plantations of Carolina.

In the memorable debate in the General Conference in New York in 1844, upon the case of Bishop Andrew, and which led to the unfortunate separation of the Methodist Church into North and South, the speaking of the Southern men was of the most brilliant type, as any one who remembers will bear witness, and the accounts given at the time will fully show. Dr. Winans, of the Mississippi Conference, opened the debate on the Southern side—"an impetuous speaker, after the Greek model. His massive strength, put in motion by a glowing spirit, furnished a mighty momentum which struck like the swell of the sea when stormy winds rule the waters." Remarkable speeches were made by Dr. William A. Smith, of Virginia; the Pierces, father and son; and Dr. Longstreet, of Georgia, Mr. Stringfellow, of North Carolina, and Dr. Green, of Tennessee. Dr. Capers spoke last. His bearing was marked by the highest refinement of manner. Though speaking at the close of a prolonged and exciting debate, his perfect command of voice, his easy flow of words, and his clear and vigorous thought held that weary body with a freshness and power which belonged rather to an opening effort. We speak of these things because they are historical, and because there must be many who can bear witness to their faithfulness.

The Presbyterians have had their full share of eminent preachers. There was the celebrated Dr. Thornwell, so powerful in controversy, so thorough in scholarship, so eloquent in manner. Where can we look for greater purity of character, sounder learning, or greater pulpit powers? The venerable Dr. Plummer, too, still with his

harness on, ranks with the foremost preachers in any land. With these men comes up the memory of the world-distinguished Dr. Bachman, of the Lutheran Church in Charleston, the associate and collaborator of Audubon. The stalwart blows he dealt the materialists, as the modern tide of infidelity came in, must be fresh in the memory of all who know anything of such matters. His reputation was not confined to this continent; he was a corresponding member of nearly all the learned societies of Europe. The Andrews, of Virginia, so intimately associated with Princeton, are too widely known to require more than a mere mention. Dr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, was a man of Herculean mold.

Of the many eminent men among the Baptists we barely mention Jesse Mercer, of Georgia, who has given his name to Mercer University; Richard Furman, after whom Furman University is called; Andrew Broadus, a peerless pulpit orator, sometimes called "the Robert Hall of America"; Richard Fuller, of South Carolina, pastor for more than a quarter of a century in Baltimore; and Jeremiah B. Jeter, a writer and speaker of transcendent powers. The list could be prolonged indefinitely.

Some mention has already been made of the Episcopal clergy, but we can not forbear a reference to Bishop Ravenscroft, of North Carolina; Bishops Meade and Johns, of Virginia; Whittingham, of Maryland; Otey, of Tennessee; Cobbs, of Alabama, and Wilmer, of Louisiana.

The Roman Catholics have also had men of eminent parts in the South, such as Archbishop Kenrick, of Baltimore; Bishops England, of Charleston, and McGill, of Richmond. Surely, the past of the pulpit in the South teems with men of gigantic stature.

If we do not speak much of the present, it is not because there is not much to be said. If there has been any decadence in the pulpit, nobody in the South has yet discovered it. Where are there finer pulpit orators than Drs. Palmer, of New Orleans; Hoge, of Richmond; Dagg, of Georgia; and Robinson, of Kentucky? Bishop Beckwith has an immense reputation, as well in the North as in the South. Bishop Wilmer, of Alabama; Quintard, of Tennessee; Garret and Elliott, of Texas, are all superior preachers. The number of distinguished men who come to mind is so great that it is an embarrassment to decide whom to name.

But to return to Mr. Swing's paper. If his proposition were not "the baseless fabric of a vision," but a substantial reality, he would still be singularly unhappy in every point he advances as an ex-

planation. He says, first, "All will at once affirm that the institution of slavery laid low this organized eloquence . . . . under a political and social philosophy which stole labor, all intellectual pursuits declined on account of the well-known principle that mind is brought out by action, just as the luster of the diamond is brought into existence by the polishing process of the lapidary."

It is certainly neither generous nor honest to charge the South with having *stolen* labor. We have no mind to go over the old question, which we had hoped had gone to rest, as to who was originally responsible for American slavery. Mr. Swing knows, everybody knows, that the British Government imposed slaves upon every one of the original colonies, and that, when the American Government was formed, slavery existed in every one of the original States. He knows that not one of those States declared slavery a sin against God, or a violation of sound morals; and that no State ever passed an act liberating her slaves, *ipso facto*, that they were mere acts of limitation, interfering with no vested rights; that, with small exception, the slaves were sold into the States farther south, and the money duly paid to Northern men, who were far from suspecting that they were committing a crime in receiving it. He must know further that the South never was engaged to any considerable extent in prosecuting the slave-trade; that the most serious objections to that traffic came from the South, and that Northern interests maintained it. We ask, then, is it generous, is it honest, to say of the South, "while she stole labor, Nature in dreadful equity was stealing away her intellect and sentiment"?

But laying apart the ethical complexion of this fearful charge, is it true that Nature was "stealing away her intellect and sentiment"? Whatever intellect and sentiment the South ever had, was reared under the slavery *régime*, and has she never shown "intellect and sentiment"? Shall we have to go over the long list of her statesmen, her soldiers, and her men of letters? Shall we begin with the "Father of his Country" and go down the list of Presidents; go through the cabinets and look for the leading names in both branches of Congress! Are Patrick Henry, and Thomas Jefferson, Chief Justice Marshall, and William Wirt, Clay, Calhoun, and Pinckney, and all the rest forgotten?

Is no account to be taken of such men as Winfield Scott and Zachary Taylor, Washington Allston, and Commodore Maury? Are the people of the North prepared to go back upon the memory of the gallant men who have helped to shed luster upon their

arms—men like Farragut and Thomas? And can any man forget that pure, grand soldier and Christian gentleman—who, when his columns had been hurled back, shattered and bleeding, at Gettysburg, could say to his sobbing general, "Never mind, it was all my fault"—Robert E. Lee?

Lack of space forbids us to go even hastily over the list of Southern names distinguished in literature and science, poetry and the arts; but a candid public will admit that she has not been wanting, even in science and the humanities.

But what an idea Mr. Swing must have of Southern life as it was, or as it is! He seems to think it a sort of *dolce-far-niente* existence—a dreamy state of inanition, only varied now and then by a whack at poor Sambo! Why, laziness was never any more admired, and little more practiced, at the South than at the North. Manliness and energy of character were always demanded, and as a rule expectation in this regard was not disappointed. When was it that enterprise and courage were required in her sons that they were found wanting? And, besides, only a small part of the people were slaveholders, and in point of fact there was really less dawdling or femininity among the sons of planters than is found among the sons of wealthy men in other parts of the world. They lived on horseback, engaged in field-sports, and all manner of outdoor exercises. Their surroundings were highly favorable to both intellectual and physical development. Without claiming that there were not serious faults in the general type of Southern character, there never was a land in which true manliness was better understood or more commonly found.

But, as a second reason to explain his gratuitous assumption, Mr. Swing tells us: "To the intellectual sluggishness which the prevalence of substitutional labor entailed upon all the forms of mental activity in common, slavery added a special shape of misfortune to the lot of the Southern clergyman. It divided society into three castes, and made him the pastor of only one division. In a slightly modified form, caste holds, or held the South as firmly as it held India before it was subject to British rule. Three shapes of humanity lay before the parson of the cotton States—the slaveholders, the poor whites, and the slaves. Immense merit attached to the first class; the last class lay far over toward the animal world, and salvation followed this law of decrease, and was offered with some zeal to the first families, was often suggested to the poor whites as being desirable, and died away wholly before it reached

the ears of those whose complexion was of a dark or mixed character. Prevented thus by political interests and prejudices from dealing with those who most needed the teachings and pity of Heaven, compelled to harden his heart against the cries of those in bonds, and often in torments under the lash, the herald of Jesus Christ slowly became a dealer in intellectual abstractions, or an apologist for a shameful institution and its attendant personal vices. Without doubt the situation was peculiar; the slave was too contemptible to merit any salvation, the master was too great to need any.'

We do not think Mr. Swing can be at all conscious of the dreadful misrepresentations contained in this amazing paragraph. He betrays at every point the most stupendous ignorance of the South; but surely he ought not to have brought such an indictment without careful consideration. We are utterly at a loss to understand how even his knowledge of human nature failed to tell him that in "the eternal fitness of things" this could not be true in a land where—somehow he has learned—"the people are so warm-hearted." He must surely have read "Uncle Tom's Cabin"—which, it is to be presumed, we may quote as canonical—and he must remember the sterling piety which Uncle Tom learned in the Shelby family—a family intended to represent a large part of the South, and all that must have come somehow from the pulpit. There were many thousand Bibles as curiously marked as Uncle Tom's, and his religion was not an isolated case. We have the witness of the trader Haley for that: "I know there's differences in religion. Some kinds is mis'rable: there's your meetin' pious; there's your singin' roarin' pious: them ain't no account, in black or white; these rayly is; and I've seen it in niggers as often as any, your rail softly, stiddy, honest pious, that the hull world couldn't tempt 'em to do nothing that they thinks is wrong."

But let us go a little further back in these wild assertions of Mr. Swing; let us look at his theory of Southern caste. No doubt it seems very plausible, to one who knows nothing about the South, that in the days of slavery there should have been the threefold stratification which he so dogmatically assumes; but, incomprehensible as it may seem to him, the history of modern society may be searched in vain to find any land in which there was such an entire absence of caste as in the old slave States. We can confidently appeal to all who have ever lived in the South in support of this fact. Nor is the explanation difficult. It was due to the presence of that very institution which he so sadly misreads. The

fact that there was a broad line of race and color which no man could fail to recognize, went far toward keeping down all mere artificial lines of man's devising. It gave the white man, however humble his lot, a prerogative which he nowhere else enjoyed on the face of the earth. There was no menial class among the whites, but every man held himself to be the peer of every other. Let any man, who knows the facts, say if it was ever the custom in the South to send the poor man by the back way to find scraps in kitchens when they had need of food. White men, just because they were white, entered at front doors and were received in parlors with a politeness and hospitality which were a constant source of surprise to people of other lands accustomed to what are called social distinctions. The table and the drawing-room knew no such distinctions as are found everywhere in societies founded upon the pitiless conflict between labor and capital.

And here, again, it should seem that Dr. Swing might have caught some glimpse of this extraordinary fact in that (take it altogether) faithful delineation of Southern life, "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The book opens with the scene of "two gentlemen sitting alone over their wine." Mrs. Stowe uses the right word *gentlemen*, according to Southern parlance, though she at once goes on to explain that one of them was not a gentleman at all, but a coarse, illiterate, despicable slave-trader—a character thoroughly despised throughout the South. Grotesque as it all was, every white man called himself, and it was at his peril if anybody failed to call him, a gentleman. It is changing now, more's the pity, and class distinctions are rapidly showing these hideous outlines.

In a community organized upon this broad plane of social equality, how improbable on the face of it is the satire that "[salvation] was often suggested to the poor whites as being desirable"! Why, in simple truth, it was from the non-slaveholding class that the communicants of the Church were chiefly drawn. It was too often the case that the larger planters were content to encourage others to be religious, but stood somewhat aloof themselves. Thus, there never was anything more out of joint than the charge that the non-slaveholding class was neglected or contemned in the ministrations of the clergy of the South.

And now with regard to the slaves. It would be the gravest error to suppose that this equality among the whites was at their expense. The white man, protected as he was by the difference in race, had no room to fear that his respectability would in the least

suffer by any proper contact with the slaves; and, accordingly, the colored people were admitted to the freest intercourse whenever their presence was proper.

Now, we have no mind to deny or minimize the great evils attendant upon slavery. There were brutes and madmen in the South, as there are in all quarters of the world, and wherever they have power they are sure to be guilty of atrocities. Mrs. Stowe's human monster, Legree, did, no doubt, exist now and then; and the frightful scene she paints was possible at rare intervals; but the bond of master and slave was not the cause of such outrages—it was the result of the diabolism of certain human hearts, and slavery offered but one out of many relationships in this world for its manifestation. Nobody can seriously deny that like horrors are often witnessed from the hold men have upon their wives, and parents have upon their children. The difference is this—and we concede it freely—the bond of master and slave was not a necessary one, and could be dissolved; while that of the others is of nature, and therefore can not; or, rather, we should say, in view of the present state of the divorce question, ought not to be.

We are glad, the whole South is glad, that the bond of slavery is forever severed. But let there be fair dealing. Slavery was not all bad; indeed, there were beautiful features in it. Mrs. Stowe could see this with perfect distinctness. She says, speaking of Kentucky: "Whoever visits some estates there, and witnesses the good-humored indulgence of some masters and mistresses, and the affectionate loyalty of some slaves, might be tempted to dream the oft-fabled poetic legend of a patriarchal institution, and all that"; and it is not a little remarkable that the *but* she interposes is not founded upon personal abuses, but upon the abstract principle that the *law* regarded the slaves as *things*. But, while this was true by the theory of the law, a very different rule obtained in fact. The personal relationship was rarely forgotten, and that higher law which binds soul to soul found constant expression.

We venture to give an incident which will serve to illustrate this, in the case of a representative man—Leonidas Polk, Bishop of Louisiana. He had caused a negro man to be punished for stealing. A few days after, he discovered that he had been misled by false information, and that the man was really innocent. He could not undo the punishment, but there was something that he could do. He called the man a little apart in the woods and made him sit by him on a fallen tree. He told him that he had become convinced

that he had done him a great wrong, and that he had brought him there to tell him so, as his fellow man and brother before God. After he had explained how he had been misled, he said, "And now I want to tell you how sorry I am, and to beg your forgiveness"; and the strong, proud man bowed himself before the lowly son of toil, while with hand clasped in hand the slave and master wept together.

There was, indeed, a genuine affection and respect subsisting between the whites and blacks, almost universally, supported by that surest of all guarantees, mutual interests; and there was, therefore, the freest intercourse one with another. It was this phase, so hard for people who have never lived in the South to understand, which constantly presented itself, and caused true men—tender-hearted men—to conclude that, upon the whole, the best thing was to let it alone. And even now, glad as we are that, by the inscrutable hand of Providence, the whole business has been cleared away, if we held the mere *happiness* theory of life, we should seriously doubt if the negro as a class has been the gainer by the change. His life was so free from care, his wants so fully met, his affectionate nature so stimulated and sustained by his patriarchal surroundings, that, notwithstanding the abuses to which he was sometimes exposed, there is room to fear that freedom is proving a dear boon to him. There was, perhaps, no class of laborers in the world whose life exhibited more light-heartedness, or was more enlivened by merriment and jollity. Now, the cares which have come upon him, the constant strain to provide what before gave him no concern, the absence of the sure if not affectionate hands in sickness, are telling seriously upon him; and we may look almost in vain for the old songs and dances, the hearty laugh and ready jest.

But we do *not* hold that mere temporal happiness is the true end of man; and, therefore, we cheerfully concede that it is better that the negro should be called upon to try the higher and rougher path of personal responsibility. Many of the race have already reached a higher plane, and we trust, in God's name, that the whole race will rise to better things. But, if Mrs. Stowe were to draw a true picture of Southern life in the altered condition of affairs, she would be compelled to leave out much of the grotesque fun which made it possible for people to read the pathetic but frightful scenes she portrayed in her wonderful book; while, on the other hand, she would find room to add much in the way of individual enterprise and true manliness in the Southern freedman.

If we have succeeded in any manner in putting the true condition of the slaves before the reader, it will be perceived at once that the Southern clergyman could never, in the nature of things, have been indifferent to the religious education of the blacks. As a matter of fact, there was scarce any clergyman in the South whose work was not largely among the slaves. Not only was provision made for them in the churches where the white people worshiped, but they everywhere had churches of their own. By all odds, the largest churches in Richmond and New Orleans were for the negroes exclusively, and they everywhere had commodious buildings. They were served by white clergy, assisted by men of their own color.

In Tuscaloosa, for example, of which we happen to have some knowledge, the distinguished Dr. Summers had a large negro society belonging to his pastoral charge. This was in 1844, when it was still the capital of Alabama. He spent much time in training colored preachers, exhorters, and leaders among them. He had an immense Sunday-school, and among the teachers were Chief Justice Collier, afterward Governor of the State, Senators, and other distinguished citizens, assisted by accomplished ladies. All through the South there was work of a corresponding character.

The negro membership in the church was often equal, sometimes much beyond, the whites in numbers. As an example, in Charleston District, in the Methodist Church, as reported in 1828, there were three thousand four hundred and ninety-two whites, and five thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven colored.

Nor were the efforts to reach the black population confined to towns and cities. Regularly organized missions were established upon the plantations. The planters themselves applied for missionaries, and promoted their work. The honor, perhaps, of the first systematic work in this way is due to Dr. Capers, of South Carolina. In 1829 he established missions to the colored people exclusively on the Ashley and Santee Rivers. These rapidly spread until, before the war, plantation missions were coextensive with the South. Catechisms and other necessary books were printed and distributed by the hundreds of thousands. At the breaking out of the war the Methodist Church alone had more than two hundred thousand colored communicants, besides many thousands of catechumens and hearers.

The work of the Baptists was not at all behind that of the Methodists. Their missionaries were in every direction, and they num-

bered their followers by hundreds of thousands. All other Christian bodies were heartily engaged in this great work—the glory, we may say, of the South.

As an example of the sentiment and feeling on this subject in the Episcopal Church, we give an extract from a memoir of Bishop Elliott, published shortly after his death in 1866 : "He was earnestly devoted to the duty of preaching the gospel to the negroes of his diocese. He summoned his whole people to the work, as the great mission to which they were called, the special field of Christian labor to which they were dedicated. Some of his most eloquent and impassioned addresses were devoted to this theme. He spoke often and plainly, earnestly and solemnly, on this subject. He held his people to a strict responsibility for the spiritual and eternal, as well as the physical and temporal, welfare of those over whom they ruled. He sent missionaries and established missions wherever he could. He led the way by his personal labors. He founded St. Stephen's Church for colored people in the city of Savannah. He placed its secular affairs under the charge of a colored vestry. They looked upon him as their firmest, wisest, and noblest friend. At his burial they gave a touching and beautiful evidence of the love and reverence they bore him. The colored vestry of St. Stephen's asked to have the honor of carrying him to the grave ; and it was granted to them. It did honor to them and to their Bishop. Considering the peculiar and momentous issues of the time, we think it was the grandest and most instructive spectacle, amid all the solemn, mournful, and agitating ceremonies of that day, on which the city of Savannah was hushed to listen to the footfalls of those who thus bore their Bishop to the tomb."

The colored people of the South are not unmindful of the work done for them by the clergy in the days of slavery and since. From a remarkable speech made by the Rev. William D. Johnson, one of the fraternal delegates from the African Methodist Episcopal Church to the General Conference at Atlanta, in 1878, we make the following extract: "In the name of the African Methodist Episcopal Church—and I declare the true sentiments of thousands—I say that, for your Church and your race, we cherish the kindliest feelings that ever found lodgment in the human breast. Of this you need not be told. Let speak your former missionaries among us, who now hold seats upon this floor, and whose hearts have so often burned within them as they have seen the Word sown by them in such humble soil burst forth into abundant harvest. . . . It was as

one of the nations included in our Lord's inheritance that we were sent to you over two hundred years ago for instruction in the government of the Prince of Peace, that the little leaven might be hidden within the true and trusty hearts of the chosen representatives of a mighty race; and right well have you performed your duty. . . . Mr. Chairman, we can never forget the magnanimity of your organization to us in the dark days succeeding the close of the war—how your ministers recognized our divine commission, in many cases turning over to us the property as well as the people, with prayers and benedictions. We remember, also, how helpful have been the kind words you have spoken to us both in our pastorates and annual sessions; how, also, you have so cordially thrown open the doors of your metropolitan churches to our bishops and preachers, thus declaring in the midst of doubts and fears, no whit behind the chiefest, that character and ability, and not the mere accidents of color and clime, entitle mankind to respect. And to-day you have set the seal upon it."

We think it must be admitted that Mr. Swing is in error when he says that "the slave was too contemptible to merit any salvation"; and it may well be gathered, from what has been already said, that he is equally in error when he says, "The master was too great to need any."

See to what pitch his preconceived ideas of Southern society carried him: "Nero was so illustrious as emperor that he might carry on any form of revel or crime, and might put out of the way his own mother if she gave signs of living too long, or was too full of personal thought and opinion. The planter was some such a piece of human absolutism, and did not need much rebuke for sins, nor much instruction in the line of common morals, inasmuch as his position in society made him a natural heir of the good things of the two worlds."

Now, whatever fault the Southern pulpit had before the war, it was not cowardly and skulking. Earnestness and directness have always been its special characteristics. The duties and responsibilities of masters necessarily occupied the fore-front as a theme. Can any man in his senses dream that the work which we have seen among the slaves could have been accomplished without the active coöperation of the planters? The pulpit did not let them forget that their people had souls, and that they would have to answer in their own souls for the results of their action toward them. As an example, take this from a series of letters, published in a New Or-

leans paper, by Bishop Andrew, in 1856. Speaking of the master's responsibilities with regard to the religious instruction of his slaves, he says: "I will suppose you feed them well and clothe them well, and lodge them comfortably; and all that is very well. But this is not enough. Do you not bestow the same care upon your mules? Believe me, though you may ignore this, God will remember it; and, if you neglect your duty in the premises, your remembrance of it in coming time will be bitter. You can not—no, you can not neglect your duty on this subject, and escape. God has a thousand ways even here to bring home the curse of disobedience to you, in your soul and body, in your habitation, in your children; and this curse has very often fallen upon the transgressor in this world. The chain of connection, it may be, has not been noticed; but the woe, the bitter curse, the ruin, has been patent to everybody. But even supposing no such curse to manifest itself here, the day that cometh shall reveal it. The careless master and the neglected slave shall meet and confront each other face to face, and the recollections of that day shall bring out your mutual delinquencies, with the motives, ends, and aims which have actuated you in every instance. Thoughtless, prayerless, godless master, you will, you must meet this responsibility!"

Let any one glance over a little book on the "Duties of Christian Masters," originally written for a prize offered by the Baptist Convention of Alabama, by Dr. (now Bishop) McTyeire, and he will certainly see that there was no effort to spare or shield the slaveholder. Public sentiment everywhere expected and supported the most direct and personal appeals in this matter. A cowardly, fawning parson could not be tolerated in a region where bluntness and plain speaking was the rule.

The clergy insisted that the planters should provide proper church accommodations for their people, and that they should not be compelled to use the barn, the cotton-shed, or the sugar-house for religious purposes. It was urged that these had too many work-day associations, and that servants should not be led to look upon the minister as a part of the plantation police. We remember an incident which shows that the clergy were not easily put off with "anything that would do" in this regard. A Bishop of one of the Gulf dioceses had brought a rich planter to build a church for his people. When the Bishop came to see it he was much displeased at the shabby way in which it had been put up. The planter asked him how he liked it. "I don't like it at all," was the reply; "it is

more like a stable than a church." "Oh," said the planter, "it is good enough for niggers!" The Bishop turned upon him with a look that pierced him through, and replied, "We do not build churches for 'niggers,' we build them for the glory of God!" After the planter had recovered his breath, he ventured to ask, in a humble voice, "Well, Bishop, what shall we name the church?" The indignation of the Bishop was too great to be appeased in a moment, and he said: "Name it? I don't know, unless we call it the Church of the Holy *Manger*."

The census of 1850 shows that out of the whole Church accommodations in the United States, of Methodists, nearly one half were in the slave States; of Baptists, about four sevenths; Presbyterians, about one third; Roman Catholic, one fourth; and Episcopal, about two fifths. Of these accommodations fully one half were for the colored people.

We hazard little in saying that in no part of the country is what is technically called "the cloth" more respected than in the South. The roughest and most godless, as well as the most refined and cultured, have always shown the clergyman the profoundest deference, because he was a clergyman. It was a part of the old social code, and many instances might be related to show it in men of the highest distinction—men like Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson. We venture to give an example from the rougher side of humanity in that rugged, rousing character, Sam Houston. He was, at the time, President of the Republic of Texas, and was traveling on a steamboat, talking and swearing vehemently. One of the company saw Dr. Summers, who was then a missionary in Texas, standing within ear-shot. He called the Texan President's attention to the fact. Old Sam turned at once, and, walking up to the missionary with ceremonious bow, said: "I beg your pardon, Mr. Summers, I beg your pardon, sir; I was very much excited, and my language was very unbecoming." "Yes, sir," replied the other, "very unbecoming so distinguished a man." The next Sunday Mr. Summers preached, and General Houston and other dignitaries of the republic were present. His sermon was on public vices; and he treated the subject in no mincing way. After it was over, one of the General's suite, in view of the occurrence of the previous day, began to assure him that the preacher could not have meant anything personal to his Excellency. The reply was: "He did just right—just right, sir; it is the business of the pulpit to be outspoken, whoever it may hit."

Of the third and last charge which Mr. Swing brings to support his unwarrantable hypothesis, namely, that the Southern pulpit has always been too (what is called) "orthodox," it will not be necessary to say much. The South has ever had a *whole* Bible, and has too well understood the doctrine of the Incarnation—the indissoluble union of our humanity with the Divinity in the person of the "Man of Sorrows"—ever to forget that the temporal and eternal must go together. If her pulpit has, therefore, ever pointed to heaven, it has never forgotten that "that was not first which is spiritual but that which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual." Her clergy have faithfully preached the two tables of the law and of the gospel—the love of God and the love of man. They have not known—we are happy to think they do not yet know—a better gospel. That in accordance with this they have not failed to preach of life and manners, must sufficiently appear from what has gone before. We submit that in no part of the world has the truth been more clearly seen or more faithfully taught that "a twofold world must go to a perfect cosmos—natural things and spiritual."

We have no purpose or desire to institute comparisons; but, if our voice could be heard, we would fain warn certain of our brethren in the North lest they "put asunder what God hath joined together," in their intense effort at the sensational and temporal.

A word seems to be required upon the attitude of the pulpit in the South upon the subject of slavery before the war. We do not know how to set this forth better than by quoting from the action of the South Carolina Conference as early as 1836. They say:

"We regard the question of the abolition of slavery as a *civil* one, belonging to the State, and not at all a religious one, or appropriate to the Church—though we do hold that abuses which may sometimes happen, such as excessive labor, extreme punishment, withholding necessary food and clothing, neglect in sickness or old age, and the like, are immoralities, to be prevented or punished by all proper means, both of Church discipline and civil law, each in its place."

In this regard, we submit that the Southern clergy stood just where the early Church and the Church throughout the world stood through so many ages. The canons of council after council could be quoted to this end, if space and the occasion warranted. We are amazed that there can be any difference of opinion upon this point. It was the position of St. Paul in sending Onesimus—a Christian, but a white slave—back from Rome to his Christian

master at Colosse. Let us take the words of one of the greatest modern authorities in England, Bishop Wordsworth, speaking upon this point. He says: "The Divine Founder did not tempt the vast multitude of slaves, with which the Roman Empire then swarmed, to receive the gospel by promising them liberty. He canceled no existing rights, but Christianized them all. He broke no bonds of service, but he dignified and hallowed them. He addresses the slave by the voice of St. Paul: 'Art thou called, being a slave?' (Art thou baptized into Christ being a bondsman?) 'Care not for it' (let not thy slavery afflict thee). 'Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called. But if thou mayest be free, use it rather'; that is, seize not liberty with force, but embrace it with joy. By the mouth of St. Paul, our Lord reproved those false teachers who excited the passions of slaves, and drew them to themselves, by promising them freedom. 'Let slaves count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed, and they that have Christian masters let them not despise them because they are brethren; but rather do them service because they are brethren beloved.' Thus he dignified the service of the slave."

And now are the Southern clergy to be accused and contemned because they did not violate the teachings of the apostles and the Primitive church, as well as the example of the Divine Master?

But it is all over, and we say again, we are thankful. All we ask is, that our brethren of the North may try to understand us better. If Mr. Swing would only come and live among the Southern people, he would learn how impossible such things as he thinks really were. The Southern people believe in—have the liveliest interest in—the General Government. They have no dream or hope in any possible prosperity but through the Union wisely administered. The South, of all other sections, believes in it with all her soul and strength—wrought in her, let it be granted, by a bitter experience. But we think it sound theology that there can be no repentance when there has been no consciousness of sin. The South may have been wrong in the war, as she certainly was unfortunate; but it was not a conscious wrong, and why, therefore, should she be called to repentance? No, she may regret, but she can never have a feeling of remorse; nor, while she thankfully recognizes that the Almighty had in store for her better things than she knew, she does not feel called upon to forsake the memory of her glorious dead, nor contemn that sad story of disappointed

hopes. Integrity of action can have no fellowship with shame and confusion of face.

Glorious things are in store for our Southern land. The harvest is not yet; but if the seed so plentifully sown—the dearest blood of a people—be any augury of future yield, there shall be a mighty ingathering in the end. What generous heart can blame her, even now, if she look back into the past with proud satisfaction? Already Time begins to throw his mellow tints upon past terrors. The tramp of many feet, the hearty cheers, the rattle of musketry, the impetuous charge, the dull booming of far-off guns, the groans of dying men—all come back blended and shadowy, like the scenes in an old romance. Ah! who does not still behold those glorious legions, silent and shadowy, as they march forth in "war's magnificently stern array"? Has any ever charged that they fought not as men who believed their quarrel just, or that they threw down their arms ere the day was lost? But, having failed, they yielded in good faith, saving honor always. Yes, they failed, and yet failed never that brilliant heroism—that patient endurance—that pure devotion, which elevates and expands humanity. None may yet measure the reward of the heroic dead, nor balance the pain of a mother's heart, riven with anguish for her fair-faced boy who came not home again. Deep has been the suffering; but it is the inexorable law of progress. There is a mighty Hand which gathers the little and the great. Never do the actors at any stage of the world's progress know the results to be attained through their trials or triumphs. What great ends in government, in chivalry, in religion, shall be wrought out for our united land through the glory and the suffering of the late war, none may yet presume to say; but let us not doubt that in time to come the philosopher and historian shall point to those terrific scenes and cry, "Behold the fruit!" And then, when mercy and truth have met together, then shall the glorious story of the heroic deeds of the soldier in gray, as well as in blue, cause the hearts of the brave and good in all lands to thrill with generous admiration and applause.

F. A. Shoup.

CASTE AT WEST POINT.

One of the strangest phenomena of modern times is the fact that *character*, whether of individuals or institutions, offers no barrier to the immediate assaults of a free press. If the worst aspect is not at once accepted, at least the evil suspicion lingers and grows by constant reiteration; and, were it not for the sober second thought, guided and controlled by reason, trust and confidence in all things might readily be destroyed by unscrupulous partisans.

We have had a remarkable instance of this irresponsible power of the press, in its ability for a time to strike down to the dust an institution that has for eighty years contributed so largely to the glory of our country. An institution, like an individual, has a character and a personality. Affections emanate from the individual which are manifested in acts, and modify the aggregate good or evil of the community. From an institution individual actors go out, each typical of the good or evil influence exerted by it.

If the public press be correct in its interpretation, then is West Point no longer an institution of thorough education, manly qualities, or devoted duty, but a hot-bed of aristocracy, of caste, of outrage, and insurrection. Is it possible that this change in its nature should be so sudden, so complete, so radical, and yet not be apparent to those who are charged with its administration?

General Scott, although not a graduate, has said: "I give it as my fixed opinion that, but for our graduated cadets, the war between the United States and Mexico might, and probably would, have lasted some four or five years, with, in its first half, more defeats than victories falling to our share; whereas, in less than two campaigns, we conquered a great peace without the loss of a single battle or skirmish."

The records of both sides of the civil war attest the continuance of this professional ability. Millions of the public money are yearly appropriated, to be disbursed under the direction of the graduates of the Military Academy, by distinct Congressional enactment.

Besides the 829 officers in the service, many more are engaged in the various professions of civil life, of whom it may truly be said that every quality that guarantees to men the admiration of their fellows and the respect and gratitude of the community, has adorned their public and private lives.

The wisdom of Washington led to the foundation of the Academy. Nature and art have united in making this favored spot perfect in its scenery, its surroundings, and appointments. But neither buildings nor surroundings are the essentials of an institution of learning. The inherent qualities of truth and justice must mold its character, shape its actions, and define its destiny. Previous to 1819 the Academy was but a simple school of practice and of learning. Subsequently General Thayer, with a far-reaching purpose, a strong will, and a comprehensive understanding of its necessities, gave it the vitality which has enabled it to pass from healthy childhood to vigorous manhood.

This nation is preëminently a people of peaceful pursuits. With the highest possible belief in our destiny, and with an indifference to the lessons of history, we trust to Providence for the future, believing that in our emergency the God of battles will see us safely through. A few far-seeing statesmen have, however, advocated the establishment by law of this Military Academy, and the maintenance of a small regular army, in order to keep active the study of the military art, and to have something at least to rely upon in time of war. The appropriation of the necessary funds for the education of the fifty cadets (one to each million inhabitants) annually sent out from the Academy, is attended by vigorous debates in Congress, a masterly conflict of personal animosities, and much greater legislative efforts than when vastly greater sums are appropriated for the improvement of a few small creeks. But the results of the Academy and the deeds of the army are a sufficient answer to any question of the value of either.

How are the young men, who are gathered here from all parts of the country, trained and made competent to perform their duties as officers in the army of the United States?

Congress has enacted that candidates for admission into the Military Academy shall be selected from each Congressional district; shall be between seventeen and twenty-two years of age, of healthy *physique*, and have sufficient mental capacity to pass an examination in United States history, geography, English grammar, reading, writing and orthography, and arithmetic. In these days

of universal education no class of people, nor any section of the country, can be barred by these simple requirements from its benefits. Congress has not pretended heretofore to determine either the social status or the religious belief of the eligible candidates. The latter, having reached the age of young manhood, are presumed to reflect the social feelings, sentiments, and beliefs of the communities which they represent. Statistics show that at present about 39 per cent. appointed fail to pass the preliminary examination, and among these are found many who give vent to their disappointment by abusing the Academy in its extremity, whose requirements are *so severe* as to prevent their admission.

The method of instruction can be characterized by a single word —*thoroughness* in every branch, whether drill, discipline, or study. The work is laborious, systematic, ceaseless. The scope of instruction is limited to the few branches of study that are presumed to give the best possible education for the end in view. Efficiency is attained in drill by constant practice. The times allotted for this part of the training are so arranged as to make the drill act as recreation to body and mind after the latter has been employed in the severest mental labor. A healthy body, with a vigorous constitution and fine physical development, is thus attained and becomes the abiding-place of a strong and progressive intellect. Not to every one are these gifts given in the same measure; but to each his own, determined by his natural talents, capacity, and special peculiarity.

Statistics show that 61 per cent. of those who enter, or 38 per cent. of those appointed, succeed now in graduating—a larger proportion than ever before.

I believe that the system of education here employed is the best that can be devised for the purpose. In what does education consist? Certainly, not wholly in the acquisition of knowledge during the formative period of youth. Of what intrinsic value are the facts of knowledge obtained while in college or academy? Education is essentially mental and moral discipline, continued consistently and consecutively during a reasonably definite period of time when the rational and emotional faculties have their most rapid development. Now, we get this discipline at the Military Academy by the *culture and practice of truth*, and by *requiring and obtaining* a definite number of hours of *hard study* on each specified task. We are assured that this mental labor has been expended by a close and thorough examination of each cadet at every recitation.

It is my pleasure to make yearly visits to some of the more prominent colleges of the country, and I have never heard recitations that will even fairly compare with those that are daily made here. My personal experience and conclusions based upon it have been confirmed by many eminent professors, who have expressed to me their gratification at the thorough work done by our cadets.

The course of studies comprises briefly :

1. *Pure mathematics*, embracing algebra, geometry, trigonometry, analytical and descriptive geometry and the calculus. These are designed to develop the reasoning powers and to lay a foundation for the sciences which form a large part of the military art.

2. *Physics*, comprising analytical mechanics, principles of molecular science, heat, sound, light, astronomy, chemistry, mineralogy, and geology. These are to some extent supplemented by practical applications, and are the natural sequence of the mathematical studies.

3. *Languages*, embodying English grammar, rhetoric, and composition, French, and Spanish. These are studied during the first two years (except Spanish, which comes during the last year of the course), in order to enable the cadet to understand the structure of his own language, to express his thoughts and observations with clearness and brevity, and to place within his reach literature largely connected with his profession. Spanish is deemed a necessary acquisition, because of the near presence of Spanish-speaking people, on the Mexican frontier, in the West Indies, and South America.

4. *Professional studies*, which comprise the minor tactics of the three arms of the service, ordnance and gunnery, topographical and free-hand drawing, international, constitutional, and military law, strategy, grand tactics, the art of war, civil and military engineering.

The resident faculty of the Academy are but eight in number, but they have had, with few exceptions, not only varied experience in the art of instruction, but have been themselves actors in the great war through which this country has but recently passed, and their united judgment as to the utility and proper relations of such a course is entitled to respect and confidence.

This is, however, but a part of a cadet's education. Intellectually, our graduates have been able to hold a respectable place in the nation. What is their reputation as men of probity and general morality? Well, fortunately we have history to speak for us. General George W. Cullum has, in the midst of professional duties of no little magnitude, compiled the record of *every* graduate of the

Academy. In three large volumes will be found the name, the services, the fate, of every one of its graduated pupils, from 1802 to July 1, 1878. The total number to July 1, 1879, is 2,826. Of this number, but thirty-eight have been finally dismissed for cause (exclusive of sympathy with the rebellion), or but little more than one per cent. of the whole, as follows :

For drunkenness	10
For causes not specified	10
For neglect of duty and conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman	8
For having failed to render accounts	6
For misapplication of public funds	3
For cowardice	1

This record and these cases extend over a period of nearly eighty years ; and, while it would be a matter of just pride to ourselves and the country to have the above a blank, it is, as it stands, a most gratifying record. Can any profession, even the ministry, whose members are so far removed from temptation, exemplify in so striking a manner the existence and real presence of the qualities that ennoble mankind ?

Now, an institution that lays bare its inmost nature to so close a public inspection can demand a suspension of judgment when assailed even in the Senate of the United States. There is no warrant for its immediate condemnation; and we, who know the nature of its teachings and the moral growth of its pupils, are in duty bound to express our trust, confidence, and steadfast belief in its good name and honor, and shall, while these remain, be its defenders.

Even in a Christian sect, which has established its code of morals and of conduct, by the violation of which sympathy and companionship cease, there are certain minor departures from the standard which do not necessarily involve complete or even partial severance of the ties of brotherhood. Men join the church, and still continue in active competitive business. Some still edit newspapers, others watch the rise and fall of stocks ; yet all are in good church standing. But there are other acts and other business which, being done, shut the door.

The one sure, strong safeguard of the Military Academy is the degree in which its pupils hold sacred their word of honor. *They will not lie nor steal.* He who is guilty of either of these violations of the moral code is for ever an outcast. Now, history teaches that, when in a community the vital principle of truth can reach down into and lay hold of the springs of human action, that community will

do right and grow in power and wisdom. Especially is this true of an army that may in times of trouble hold in its hands the liberties of a people. Without truth and honor, the army is a festering sore, a spreading corruption. The graduates of West Point can point with just pride to their individual and united histories and await the severest inspection.

How have they behaved in time of war? Two hundred and forty-seven killed in battle is the answer. Many more stricken down with disease or wounds received in the line of duty. With scarcely ten years of war in the aggregate, this roll intensifies the well-merited approbation of General Scott. How have they performed their duties in times of so-called peace? The stories of arduous campaigns against hostile tribes in the intensest heat of summer, and terrible storms of winter; the survey of vast domains, the construction of public works, the improvement of rivers and harbors, the faithful expenditure of the public money, without a dollar sticking to their fingers, attest both their ability and their conscientious devotion to duty, to honor, and to the highest morality.

Can it be possible that these facts are unknown to our people? Has it come to this, that so faithful a body of men, of whom the country should be proud, must, at the intemperate outcry of a partisan press, be compelled to speak of their character and deeds in self-defense?

Having briefly touched upon the main characteristics of the Academy, I now come to the question of caste. There are many people who delight in prescribing rules of life and conduct for their neighbors, but who take good care to follow their own inclinations for themselves. I have had an intimate acquaintance with the Academy for seventeen years in my relations as cadet, officer, and professor. I therefore speak from personal knowledge, and say that there is neither caste nor aristocracy now, and never has been, among the cadets. Men arrange themselves here, as elsewhere, by sympathy, by similarity of tastes, by ability, intelligence, and aptitude in their profession. I have known the son of a poor Irish laborer take and keep the head of his class, gain the love and friendship of his comrades, and, when he fell at the head of his regiment at Gettysburg, his death was mourned with as sincere sorrow as that felt among brothers of one family. The sons of the poor and the rich, of the influential and the obscure, of the educated and the uncultured, mingle together and take a rank due alone to their mental and moral natures, irrespective of their antecedent accidents of birth, wealth, or social condition.

But, in 1870, a representative of the people, as was his right, sent to the Academy a young colored man to enter as a cadet. Whether it was wise to endeavor to solve the problem of the social equality of the races at that time and at this place was not a question for the authorities of West Point to discuss. They were the servants of the people, and the letter of appointment of new Cadet Smith was as valid a document as that of any other appointee, and entitled him to equally respectful treatment. But, in the light of events, if this problem was to be solved in the completest manner, a decent representative of the colored race, who united in himself at least average ability with agreeable manners, should have been selected. The young man in question was in disposition irascible, easily provoked, and vindictive. From certain facts I believe that these qualities were developed by other influences exterior to the Academy. His ability was not sufficient for his successful passing the requirements of the Academy. As he was for the last year of his stay under my personal supervision and instruction, I speak from personal knowledge. I was anxious for his success, and did all that was possible to make his success assured. I have now before me a complete record of his daily work. Briefly I may state that on the 25th of October, 1873, his class rank was forty-one out of forty-six, and at the close of the January examination became forty-five. During the next session his deficiencies became so apparent that, even with the greatest allowances in his favor, he fell with two of his white classmates below the line of proficiency, and all were accordingly dropped. One of these was the son of a distinguished officer of the army, still in the service, and, if even sympathy for the heroic deeds of a veteran could have influenced the Academic board, his son would have passed. But the records of that board show that its decisions are rendered with a judicial fairness and impartiality as perfect as human nature usually dictates.

As regards the personal relations of Cadet Smith with his comrades, a perusal of the record of his violation of regulations shows that he came prepared to make trouble. He was not slow to take offense even where none was intended. His conduct and manners were such that the isolation that was his lot would have been the fate of any white cadet under similar circumstances. But because of the peculiar status of Cadet Smith his grievances were largely magnified, were reported by him to the authorities, and resulted in severer punishment to those of his comrades who were so unfortunate as to be brought into relations with him.

As a natural sequence, every possibility of annoyance was carefully avoided, and his isolation during release from duty was complete.

Since 1870 at least ten colored cadets have been appointed to West Point, of which number seven succeeded in passing the preliminary examination. Of these only four remained one year, three till the close of the third year, and one has graduated. They have all displayed a marked deficiency in deductive reasoning, and have taken very low rank in mathematical subjects, but generally possess excellent memories.

Having indicated the origin, in part, of colored Cadet Smith's isolation, I may add the statement that this lack of personal association was extended to all of his color who succeeded him; and while there were and are now many cadets who have no pronounced prejudice on the question of color, *the fact* that, in any altercation where a colored cadet was a party, punishment of the white cadet was more certain, more severe and speedy, was the real origin of this separation of the races. Other cadets often settled their personal difficulties in the old-fashioned way, and the authorities never officially heard of them. The isolation, which, however, had nothing of hatred in it, had really commenced to decline, as is clearly shown in the late investigation, where the human sympathy existing in the hearts of Cadets Peck, Catlin, and others had been expressed to colored Cadet Whittaker.

Now, it ought to be remembered, to the credit of the corps of cadets, that in no case has there ever been the slightest indignity ever offered to their colored companions. They have neither been "hazed" nor "deviled." Being without the pale of social recognition, they have likewise been exempt from all possible annoyance. No man of right feeling can commend any conduct that is not in accord with the golden rule ; but we have no right to expect in this transition period any higher standard of conduct, with respect to an almost *universal prejudice*, among the young than is exhibited and inculcated by their parents, relations, and friends. There is a vast difference between a moral precept in the abstract and its practical operation in the daily life, and generally we find that those who complain the most loudly are apt to be the farthest in the rear with respect to the question at issue. Let the authorities send here some young colored men who in ability are at least equal to the average white cadet, and possessed of manly qualities, and no matter how dark be the color of the skin, they will settle the question here as it

must be settled in the country at large, on the basis of human intelligence and human sympathy.

Cadet Whittaker is the third of his race that has advanced to the close of the third year of the course. Competing with his classmates, he was transferred on the 13th of March to the last section of his class, in the most important of his present studies. On the 6th of April the country was startled by a tale of outrage upon him, which, if true, should have awakened the just indignation of the people, and be followed by the speedy condemnation of the Academy. But the story was far from the truth; and, while it would be wrong to express any decided opinion on the merits of the case while the court of inquiry is engaged in its thorough investigation, it seems to me proper to correct the erroneous views which have been derived from the current sensational stories of the day.

1. *His wounds.* They are now entirely healed, and are not noticeable except upon close inspection. When fresh they were five in number. *First*, in order of magnitude, was a *flesh* cut on the lobe of the right ear below the gristle, one eighth of an inch deep at the deepest part; it is neither a notch nor a slit, but a cut. *Second*, the *slightest* portion of the *extreme* edge of the *lower tip* was cut off of the left ear. *Third*, the most superficial cut (not deeper than a pin-scratch), on the back of the left hand, that it is possible to make with the point of a knife or sharp cutting instrument. *Fourth* and *fifth*, two very superficial parallel cuts, about five eighths of an inch in length, on the top of the little toe of his left foot.

2. *His condition when found.* His pulse, respiration, and temperature were normal. He readily returned to wakefulness and was fit for his accustomed academic duty shortly after breakfast the same morning. He had no contusion, abrasion, or evidence of a blow upon his person; no blood below his nostril, to indicate bleeding of the nose, and none of the symptoms indicated in medical works which accompany restoration from unconsciousness.

3. *His previous treatment.* On the part of the Superintendent, professors, instructors, and officers at the Academy, and by the authorities at Washington, he had received, because of his color, marked advantages, beyond those usually extended to his white comrades, and to which he now owes his position as a cadet. His comrades have in a very few instances spoken words of encouragement to him, one has visited him in a friendly way in his room, but the large majority of his class have not sought nor invited social intercourse with him. (Social intimacies are usually confined to

classes, rarely until the last year going outside of them.) All cadets (with two exceptions) have refrained, in the most scrupulous manner, from even the slightest insult, indignity, hazing, or objectionable conduct toward him. One of the exceptions occurred nearly four years ago, when the offending cadet under some provocation struck him a blow, but was by sentence of court-martial promptly dismissed. Nothing in his daily recitations indicated any gloom or despondency. He has been attentive, unassuming, and irreproachable in his conduct.

Every cadet, in the most solemn manner, and under oath, has testified to absolute ignorance in regard to the alleged assault or note of warning; and, while it is barely possible that, among a body of two hundred and eighty young men gathered from all parts of the country, there might be three such inhuman wretches who, if guilty of such an outrage, would perjure themselves, it is not possible, from the intimate relations they bear to each other in their pursuits and habits of life, to keep such a secret so closely guarded from at least the suspicion of one honorable man. I personally believe them to be truthful men and that they have neither lied, prevaricated, nor concealed anything connected with this affair.

The court is composed of officers of experience, of honor, of integrity and probity, and the country can afford to await the result of its findings. Cadet Whittaker is represented by his counsel, an officer whose judgment, ability, and perfect belief in his innocence are unquestioned, while he himself is left free to attend to his academic duties, the performance of which is absolutely necessary for his complete success at the coming examination.

The bodily injury to Cadet Whittaker is practically nothing, but the Academy has received wounds which are still fresh and bleeding. All are fully agreed that it is absolutely necessary, for the honor of the Academy, that the authors of this outrage should be discovered and summarily dealt with. Whatever may be the result, I believe that the Academy has not received justice. It has been condemned unheard. Its past history, its glorious record, its sturdy uprightness, have availed nothing against the fury of popular passion, unduly excited by the dissemination of glaring falsehoods. But we, who know its true character and believe in its noble mission, can not doubt that the institution which has never yet failed to meet the utmost demands of the people, in times of real trial and danger, will again assert the value of established character and of devotion to the truth.

PETER S. MICHIE.

SOME INTERESTING PUBLICATIONS.

I. Italy and her Invaders.
II. Romances of the Middle Ages.
III. Chaldean Legends of Genesis.
IV. Explorations in Cambodia.

I.

THERE is, at least, one part of Gibbon's "History" which, thanks to the labors of German and French students, may profitably be rewritten, and that is the chapters which portray the transformation of Western Europe by the settlement and interfusion of the Teutonic races. With one exception, which requires distinct and careful treatment, the miscalled barbarians, who successively occupied the provinces of the Western Roman Empire, performed a colonizing and conservative rather than a destructive and disintegrating function. Just what they found in the Roman land, what they brought thither, and how much remained upstanding, after their permanent lodgment in the soil — these are all questions about which much more information is now accessible than was forthcoming a century ago. An effort to sum up for English readers the latest results of critical and archæological investigation in this interesting field of inquiry has been made by Mr. Thomas Hodgkin,* of University College, London, in a work of which the first two volumes are now published. The first of these deals with the circumstances and consequences of the Visigothic irruption, the second with the Hunnish and Vandal invasions; and the author proposes in subsequent volumes to treat with equal completeness the movements of the Franks, Burgundians, Ostrogoths, and Lombards, bringing down his survey of the mutilated and remodeled but by no means extinguished Roman world to the threshold of the Carlovingian epoch. The writer does not profess to have prosecuted independent research in any direction; but he evinces, on the

* Italy and her Invaders, by Thomas Hodgkin, B. A. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

whole, a thorough acquaintance with what has been accomplished by German specialists and by such French historians as Thierry, Guizot, Sismondi, and Henri Martin, who have given much attention to the condition of Western Europe in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era.

We have been particularly impressed by the clearness with which Mr. Hodgkin discriminates the peril to which civilization was exposed by the assaults of the Huns from the relatively slight and transient harm inflicted by German invaders. We do not concur with him in thinking the battle between Aetius and Attila one of the decisive battles of the world; for the empire of the Hunnish chief, like that of Napoleon, to which it offers a rude parallel, had no elements of cohesion, and must in any case have been broken up upon the death of its creator. The army which fought for Attila near Troyes, like that which followed Napoleon to Russia, was largely made up of auxiliaries, and the number of Mongol warriors seems to have been relatively inconsiderable. The real danger was, not that the Mongol marauders might, under any circumstances, maintain themselves as a permanent incubus on a civilization which they, unlike the Visigoths, could never assimilate ; but that Attila might push his work of destruction so far that scarcely anything would be left to be assimilated. From his later treatment of Aquileia, Padua, and other cities of northeast Italy, and from the havoc he had wrought on the left bank of the Rhine before his encounter with Aetius, we can see that his defeat was a question of life or death for the Roman provincials of southern Gaul, which at this time was as truly a focus of culture and refinement as was any part of the Italian Peninsula. It was not, however, the so-called battle of Chalons, but the premature death of the Hunnish chief, which saved the whole fabric of Roman society, as is sufficiently attested by his success in the following campaign. Had Attila lived a quarter of a century longer, as but for his drunken habits there is little reason to doubt he would have done, he would probably have swept away the accumulated treasures of Latin thought and law by the simple process of leveling their repositories, the great cities, to the ground. His death, however, as we have said, owing to the nature of his empire and the numerical weakness of the Mongol emigration, would have been followed, however, by much the same parcellation of the West among the Teutonic nations as did in fact occur, with this difference, that there would have been incomparably less material of value to be divided.

Mr. Hodgkin points out a number of errors and fables regarding the Hunnish invasion, which are still popularly current though they have been long rejected by scholars. Among these may be mentioned the story that Attila was murdered by a concubine, the truth being that he was subject to profuse bleeding at the nose, and that, one of these attacks occurring while he lay on his back in a drunken sleep, he was simply choked to death. A geographical misconception, which has been thoroughly exploded, is involved in the popular appellation of the great fight between the Roman provincials and their Visigothic allies, on the one hand, and the composite host of Attila on the other. What is known as the battle of Chalons might much more aptly be termed the battle of Troyes, since the contest took place some fifty miles from the former town, and at no great distance from the latter. According to the most nearly contemporary authority which offers any definite information at all, the battle was fought at the fifth milestone from Troyes, at a place called Maurica, in Champagne. The conclusion that the famous conflict must be referred to a point two days' march from the modern Chalons-sur-Marne, is reached by an examination of the language of the chroniclers, and is wholly independent of the curious discoveries made at Méry-sur-Seine, in which some eminent French antiquaries have recognized the remains of the Visigothic king, Theodoric, who fell in the battle. Among other current mistakes noticed by Mr. Hodgkin, is the story that Venice was founded by fugitives from Aquileia and other Roman cities destroyed during Attila's invasion. He shows that this story rests on mere tradition, and that other legends cited in popular histories, like Daru's for example, and which assign an even earlier date to that event, are equally apocryphal. After a careful scrutiny of the existing testimony on the subject, Mr. Hodgkin reaches the conclusion that the oldest authentic monument of the history of Venice carries us no further back than the early part of the sixth century.

We observe that Mr. Hodgkin accepts the hypothesis put forth by Deguignes more than a century ago, and which has been rather fortified than weakened by the researches of later sinologues. In other words, he identifies the Huns who appear in Dacia, toward the close of the fourth century, and who virtually vanish from the history of Europe after the death of Attila, with the Hiong-Nu, or inhabitants of what we now call Mongolia. The identification seems to be sufficiently made out by the statements of trustworthy

Chinese historians, but the author has overlooked the cumulative testimony recently supplied by Colonel Prejevalski, whose account of the physical aspect, character, social institutions, usages, and manners of the Mongols of our day, presents the most extraordinary series of correspondences to the description of the Huns contained in the text of Priscus and Jornandes. There is no doubt that the Hiong-Nu, or Mongols, had been most dangerous neighbors to China during the loosely organized feudal rule of the Kau or Chow dynasty, and that the Great Wall was built at an epoch roughly corresponding with the epoch of Hannibal, to check their inroads. The tide turned, however, after the consolidation of the Middle Kingdom under the Tsin and the Han dynasties, and the Mongol confederacy was first ruptured and then crushed by the armies of the centralized empire. The process, however, was a long one, and was not concluded until the close of the first century of our era, when the Chinese forces, assisted by Mantchoo auxiliaries, overflowed Mongolia like a torrent. Great multitudes of the Hiong-Nu consented to pass under the yoke and to change their name, but the rest fled westward, precisely as another Tartar tribe was to do sixteen centuries later, and settled by the Ural River near the modern Russian government of Orenburg. It was not till some three hundred years afterward that the Huns, during the reign of Valens, crossed the Volga and fell upon the Goths in Dacia. This long interval of quiescence and of obscurity is the weak place in the identification of the Hiong-Nu and the Huns; but, by scattered allusions in the Chinese historians, we are enabled dimly, and at long intervals, to trace the continued existence of a Hiong-Nu people along the line of the Volga and the northern shores of the Caspian. For a long time, doubtless, the eyes of the exiles would be turned eastward, and this lingering hope of regaining their old seats, and the reality of Alan resistance on the west, which long presented a formidable barrier, were probably two reasons for the long tarrying of the Hiong-Nu eastward of the Volga. A third was the utterly broken and dispirited state of the Hiong-Nu emigrants, whose political unity and organization were temporarily destroyed; and a fourth cause unquestionably was the prestige, slowly and with difficulty impaired, of that great state, known to the Chinese and their neighbors as Ta-Tsin (Great as China), of that Roman Empire which Marcus Aurelius and his immediate predecessors had ruled so wisely and made so strong. At all events, it was not until half a century after the irruption of the

Huns into Dacia that they began to exercise much direct influence on the course of Roman history. Indeed, the creation of their empire was the work of one man, whose organizing capacity amounted to positive genius. Mr. Hodgkin thinks that the extent of Attila's power has been under-estimated by modern historians, and he adduces considerable evidence for the belief that he had mastered Denmark and the coast of the Scandinavian Peninsula before assailing the Roman dominions. It is certainly a suggestive fact that Attila's movements in the north should have coincided with the wholesale migration to Britain of the Jutes, who had previously confined themselves to piratical excursions. Moreover, in the great army massed against Attila in the Catalaunian plains, figures a contingent of Saxons who seem to have been settled about the mouths of the Seine, whither they had lately migrated from the mouths of the Weser and the Elbe. But the explanation of their identification with the Neustrian seacoast by the contemparary chroniclers is involved in much obscurity.

As regards the causes assigned for the ruin of the Western Roman Empire, Mr. Hodgkin concurs with Gibbon in ranking Christianity among the potent solvents of the political fabric. He sees an incurable opposition between the Christian teaching and the root idea of the Roman commonwealth, and he thinks the wisest emperors were impelled to the most strenuous persecution by an intuitive perception that here was a religion which would have all or nothing, and which must be hunted into the Catacombs if they would bar it from the throne. To the question whether the Rome of the Fabii and the Scipios, the Rome which worshiped and believed in Jupiter and Quirinus, Mavors, Ops, and Saturnus, would have fallen as the Christian Rome fell before the hordes of Alaric, the author considers himself bound in his historical conscience to answer "No."

II.

THE deeds of Attila, whose precise historical outline is traced in the volumes above noticed, made an indelible mark on the imagination of three races of men—the Latin, the German, and the Scandinavian peoples—and in the ages of darkness, which were to follow, a new and strangely altered Attila, if we should not rather say three Attilas, gathered around themselves all kinds of weird traditions, and hovered ghost-like before the eyes of the middle ages. Some of these legends may be read in the compilation of mediæval

myths and romances prepared by Sir George W. Cox,* whose studies of comparative mythology we had occasion recently to notice. In the Etzel, for instance, of the "Nibelungenlied," we have a Teutonic reminiscence of the great Turanian chieftain; but here all that is distinctive in Attila's character disappears. The German seems to have forgotten almost everything about his mighty lord and foe, except that he dwelt by the Danube, that there was glorious feasting in his palace, and that he had relations, both in peace and war, with the Burgundians and Franks. Good nature and hospitality are Etzel's chief characteristics, and he is emphatically the commonplace personage of the story. On the other hand, the Scandinavian Atli, the husband of Gudruna in the saga of the Niblungs, is a much better copy of the original Hun. Atli is himself the cause of the death of the Niblung heroes; he plots, and diplomatizes, and kills, in order to recover the buried treasure of Sigurd, just as the real Attila moved heaven and earth for the recovery of Honoria's dowry. Moreover, the final scene in which Atli, with a certain grand calmness, discusses with the wife who has murdered him the motive for her crime, and appeals to her generosity to secure him a noble funeral, is not at all unlike what Attila might have said to his concubine Ildico, if the suspicion of the Byzantine courtiers had been correct, that he had met his death at her hand. Of course, all the details introduced in the Scandinavian or the Teutonic legends to expand and embellish the half-faded lineaments of the veritable man reflect no more light on the history of Attila than is thrown by the "Morte d'Arthur" on the thoughts and sentiments of British minds in the sixth century of our era. The version, by the way, of the Arthurian legend given by Sir George Cox is that of Sir Thomas Malory, but the interminable repetitions and tiresome descriptions of the original romance have been weeded out, and the narrative has thus been signally shortened and enlivened. It contains, however, in its present form, many important episodes which have not been treated by Tennyson or other modern poets. The reader of the "Morte d'Arthur" will obtain a very different conception of the character of King Arthur, and of the relation between Launcelot and Guinevere, than is derived from the "Idyls of the King." There is no authority here for the meeting of Arthur and his queen after the former's return from making war on Launcelot, nor is there any sign of forgiveness on his part. On the con-

* Romances of the Middle Ages, by Sir George W. Cox. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

trary, he had ordered her to be burned alive, and, according to the mediæval romance, she was rescued by Launcelot from the midst of the burning fagots. Neither would Tennyson's version of Elaine's story have been the exquisite thing it is, had he kept faithfully within the lines of the original, according to which Sir Galahad was Elaine's child by Launcelot. On the other hand, Matthew Arnold's treatment of the Tristram romance is reasonably faithful to the main features of the tale which was so popular in the middle ages. Among other legends which will be read with delight in their present dress are the lay of Beowulf, the song of Roland, the myth of Olger, or Ogier, the Dane, and the less familiar tales of Havelok, Bevis of Hamtoun, and Guy of Warwick. Nearly one half of the volume is devoted to reproductions in crisp, lively prose of the Norse sagas, the process of compression and excision being followed in each case with manifest advantage to the popular effect of the story. Most of the last-named tales, however, have been told in verse by William Morris, in "The Earthly Paradise"; and there, it is probable, most persons will prefer to read them.

III.

THE recent investigations of Mr. Oppert have directed renewed attention to the fragments of an alleged Chaldean Genesis, discovered by the late George Smith.* It will be remembered that Mr. Smith interpreted some of the records inscribed upon the cylinders and bas-reliefs which he unearthed, as relating to the fall of the first man, and affirmed that they contained the curse pronounced by the God Ea upon the Chaldean Adam after his transgression. He conceded, however, with frankness, that there were so many blanks in the evidence that positive conclusions on several points were impossible; yet, on the whole, he expressed a conviction that they would ultimately prove invaluable for the light they would throw on the Pentateuch. It was in the course of excavations at Konyunjik that the explorer came on the remarkable cuneiform tablet which was presented to the British Museum, and which, as he thought, set forth the story of man's original innocence, of the temptation, and of the fall. He subsequently found other fragments comprising nine or ten tablets at least, which he undertook to decipher, and from which he extracted a series of legends on primitive history, including the story of the

* The Chaldean Account of Genesis, by George Smith. New York: Scribners.

building of the Tower of Babel, and of the confusion of tongues. We need not say that the interest excited by these discoveries was world-wide, and that the text of the inscriptions, as they are graven on the original stones, or as they were presented in carefully executed photographs, was made the subject of intense and prolonged study on the part of the most thoroughly trained archæologists in Europe. The result has not been favorable to the discoverer's interpretation, or to the importance of the cuneiform tablets regarded as pertaining to the apparatus of Biblical criticism. Mr. Smith's translation, which was confessedly a hurried one, and in parts unintelligible, turns out to have been based on a wrong key, and to be, in consequence of that fundamental blunder, entirely erroneous. The wholly different version of the text supplied by Mr. Oppert is pronounced by competent authority to bear the marks of a scientific performance, and it is certain that the general meaning is much clearer. According to M. Lenormant, whose voice carries much weight in these matters, whatever sense may hereafter be assigned to certain obscure passages in the Babylonian inscriptions, it is now held to be established that the Smith fragments contain no reference to the original sin and the curse of man, and are quite valueless considered as a commentary on the Bible. On the other hand, there is but little doubt touching the validity of the proofs of Chaldean myths relating to a terrestrial paradise. It appears, too, that the association of a legend resembling the Biblical narrative of the temptation was associated with the cosmogonic traditions of the Chaldeans respecting the tree of life, and the paradisaical fruit. This is indicated, as distinctly as may be in the absence of written texts, by two stone cylinders of Babylonish workmanship, one of which was engraved for Mr. Smith's volume. On both of these was depicted a tree from whose spreading branches hang large fruits which, in one case, are guarded by attendant cherubim, while in the other we see a man and woman, the former wearing on his head a Babylonish turban, seated on opposite sides of the tree, and extending their hands to pluck the fruit. Behind the woman is a serpent which, as many figured monuments indicate, played the same part of tempter in Chaldaic and Phœnician legends as it assumes in Bible story. In estimating the probable significance of this image of the tree found on Chaldaic monuments, it may be well to bear in mind that the well-known Assyriologist, the Rev. A. H. Sayce, pronounces the earliest religion of Accad a species of nature-worship, which, according to his analysis, would

seem to have been developed out of ghost-worship. The presence of the snake on the Babylonish cylinder should probably be recognized as proving the persistence of serpent-worship among the Accadian people. That serpent-worship arises by identification of house-haunting snakes with returned ancestors is a theory now sanctioned by weighty scientific opinion, and confirmed by facts observed among savage races of our own time. For example, the Zulus say "The Amatongo are snakes," Amatongo being their name for ancestral ghosts. It is certain that ophiolatry prevails especially in hot countries, where certain kinds of harmless ophidia secrete themselves in dark corners of rooms, and even in beds. It is probably a mistake, however, to group together confusedly all the instances of serpent-worship into one ophiological system, as Mr. Fergusson has done, and to explain the whole upon a single principle. By the side of serpents essentially protective and benign in character, which might not unreasonably be identified with ancestors, we do unquestionably find in many mythologies a gigantic serpent, griffin, or python, who personifies a hostile and evil-working power. It is difficult, for instance, to see how the dragon in the myth of Phœnician origin which was supposed to guard the golden fruit of the Hesperides, and which was slain by Hercules, could be explained on the theory which makes the snake-cult merely a form of ancestral worship.

IV.

The rumored visit of the King of Siam to the United States will naturally awaken some demand for books of travel relating to Farther India. One of the fullest and most readable accounts of Siam and Cambodia will be found in Mr. Thompson's narrative of a somewhat prolonged residence in those countries.* The popular and attractive form of the book might leave, at the first glance, an erroneous impression of its contents. It is enlivened here and there with the fluent, superficial gossip which forms the staple of so many tourists' journals, but even with these light strokes the author contrives to paint in a clear, effective way the outward aspect of the country, and the salient features of the Siamese character and manners. Of more substantial value is the information collected touching the history and actual situation of the Buddhist religion, which, we need not say, has kept much more of its original purity and beauty in Indo-China than elsewhere. Indeed, the father and uncle

* Malacca, Indo-China, and China, by J. Thompson. New York: Harper & Brothers.

of the reigning King were scholars of wide acquirements, being able to read the sacred writings of their faith in the original texts, and were exemplary patterns of Buddhist morality in their public and private lives. So, too, the predecessor of the crazy Prince Theebaw, who reigns, or lately reigned, in Burmah, was a noble embodiment of the typical Indian sovereign—at once priest, sage, and king. Some striking comparisons will be suggested to the reader of this volume between the spiritual qualifications of the Buddhist hierarchy, and their hold upon the popular esteem in these countries, and the different state of things in China and in Corea. In Siam the priests seem to have as much influence over all classes of society as they have in Thibet or Mongolia, but here they are far more worthy of veneration. The incompetence of the average missionary to meet the better class of Buddhist priests of Siam in theological controversy was remarked by Mr. Thompson, as it has been by most other thoroughly educated travelers. The remarkable benignity of the Buddhist faith, as disclosed in the treatment of the poor, and indeed of every living creature, receives, also, due recognition in this volume.

An important feature of Mr. Thompson's work, from an archæological point of view, is the record of his expedition into Cambodia, and investigation of the antiquities which were revealed to Europe by the French naturalist Mouhot, when, in 1861, exploring the kingdom of Siam, he came upon the Khmer ruins of Battambarg, and later upon those of Angcor, the old capital of Cambodia. Not long afterward Dr. Bastian, the German scientist, published an account of these stupendous monuments of Buddhist architecture, which are not unreasonably ascribed to the genius of some Eastern Michael Angelo. The latest properly trained explorer who has examined these remains was, we believe, Lieutenant Delaporte, whose narrative was published two years ago in the "Revue des Deux Mondes," but has not been translated into English. The most satisfactory description of the Cambodian ruins accessible to English readers will be found in Mr. Thompson's pages, which are illustrated with engravings from the author's photographs taken on the spot. The dimensions of the ruined temple known as Nakhon Wat were measured by Mr. Thompson, and they amply justify the enthusiastic expressions of M. Mouhot and other travelers. It may be rudely described as a sculptured giant pyramid rising out of dense forests and jungle-clad plains, with all the grandeur which magnitude of proportions can bestow. The temple rests upon a

stone platform, and is carried upward from its base in three quadrangular tiers with a huge central tower above all, having an elevation of one hundred and eighty feet. The outer boundary wall incloses a square space measuring nearly three fourths of a mile each way, and is surrounded by a ditch two hundred and thirty feet across. This moat is spanned on the west by a causeway of freestone, having sculptured flights of stone steps, guarded by colossal stone lions, and leading down to the water. Facing the cardinal points of the compass, and in the center of each side of the boundary wall, there are long, cloistered galleries with arched roofs and monolithic pillars. Entering the main gateway and passing up a broad inner causeway, paved like the outer one with blocks of polished freestone, you approach the western front of the temple proper. The façade on this side is more than six hundred feet in length, and is walled in for a distance of some two hundred feet, the unwalled portion consisting of open colonnades. The walled space is lighted by windows, whose stone bars are elaborately sculptured with floral ornaments. The symbolism of this temple is obscure, but Mr. Thompson concurs with the majority of archæologists in affirming Nakhon Wat to be a Buddhist edifice. Its precise purpose and date, as well as the true history of the race which reared it, will doubtless be ascertained when the inscriptions carved upon this and similar monuments shall have been made out. Mr. Thompson took impressions of some of these, but his efforts to obtain translations have hitherto been unsuccessful. He does not think it would be easy to exaggerate the magnitude and resources of the empire over which the ancient Cambodian dynasty must have reigned, or the degree of technical perfection which its artists and artisans had attained. He agrees with M. Mouhot in pronouncing Nakhon Wat grander than anything left to us by Greece or Rome. Considering that Mr. Thompson's judgment is confirmed in every point by the still later investigations of Delaporte, we must believe that a richer field for research has never been laid open than that revealed by the discovery of the magnificent remains which a vanished and nameless race have left behind them in the heart of the Cambodian wilderness.

MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

INDEX

TO THE

HUNDRED AND THIRTIETH VOLUME

OF THE

North American Review.

ALLEN, NATHAN. Divorces in New England, 547.
America, Now and Then in, 147.
AMMEN, D. M. de Lesseps and his Canal, 130.
ANONYMOUS. The Monroe Doctrine and the Isthmian Canal, 499.
ARNOLD, E. His *Light of Asia*, 92.
BELLOWS, H. W. Civil-Service Reform, 247.
Biography, Recent, 300.
BLACK, J. S. The Third Term, 197.
BLACK, J. S. General Grant and Strong Government, 417.
Blanid. By R. D. Joyce. Notice of, 97.
Bolles, A. S. His *Financial History of the United States*, 413.
BOUTWELL, GEORGE S. General Grant and a Third Term, 370.
Canada, Relations of, with the United States, 338.
Canal, The Interoceanic, 1.
Canal, Isthmian, The Monroe Doctrine and the, 499.
CARY, EDWARD. Recent Works on Trade and Finance, 407.
Caste at West Point, 604.
Catholic Church, The, and Modern Society, 101.
Chaldean Account of Genesis. By George Smith. Notice of, 620.
Civil-Service Reform, 247.
Communism of a Discriminating Income-Tax, 236.
COX, Sir G. W. His *Romances of the Middle Ages*, 619.
CURTIS, G. T. McClellan's Last Service to the Republic, 309, 462, 565.
DIDIER, E. L. Recent Biography, 300.
Divorces in New England, 547.
Emancipation Proclamation, The, 163.
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 479.
Failure of the Southern Pulpit, 356.
Financial History of the United States. By A. S. Bolles. Notice of, 413.
Free Trade and English Commerce. By A. Mongredien. Notice of, 411.
Freeman, E. A. His *History of the Norman Conquest*, 512.
FROUDE, J. A. Romanism and the Irish Race in the United States, 31.
Froude's Historical Method, 280.
Grant and a Third Term, 370.
Grant, General, and Strong Government, 417.
GUSTAFSON, AXEL. Recent History and Biography, 512.
Has the Southern Pulpit failed? 585.
HAZELTINE, M. W. Recent English Books, 186.
HAZELTINE, M. W. Some Interesting Publications, 614.
HINCKS, F. Relations of Canada with the United States, 338.
History of the Norman Conquest. By E. A. Freeman. Notice of, 512.
Hodgkin, T. His *Italy and her Invaders*, 614.
Home of the Eddas. By C. G. W. Lock. Notice of, 194.
HOWE, T. O. The Third Term, 116.
Income-Tax, a Discriminating, the Communism of, 236.
Interoceanic Canal, 1.
Irish Land Question, The, 388.
Italy and her Invaders. By T. Hodgkin. Notice of, 614.
JAMES, HENRY, Jr. Sainte-Beuve, 51.
Joyce, R. D. His *Blanid*, 97.
Lamartine and his Friends. By H. de Lacretelle. Notice of, 516.
LESSEPS, F. de. The Interoceanic Canal, 1.
Lesseps, M. de, and his Canal, 130.

Letters of Charles Dickens. Notice of, 302.
Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart. Notice of, 300.
Life of Gladstone. By G. B. Smith. Notice of, 514.
Light of Asia. By E. Arnold. Notice of, 92.
Literary Notices, 92, 186, 300, 407, 512, 614.
Lock, C. G. W. His *Home of the Eddas*, 194.
McClellan's Last Service to the Republic, 309, 462, 565.
Malacca, Indo-China, and China, by J. Thompson. Notice of, 622.
Manning, H. E. The Catholic Church and Modern Society, 101.
Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat. Notice of, 306.
Metaphysics of Science, 69.
Michie, Peter S. Caste at West Point, 604.
Mills, Cuthbert. The Permanence of Political Forces, II., 85.
Mongredien, A. His *Free Trade and English Commerce*, 411.
Monroe Doctrine and the Isthmian Canal, 499.
Müller, Max. His *Sacred Books of the East*, 186.
Newcomb, S. Our Political Dangers, 261.
Niccolò Machiavelli and his Times. By P. Villari. Notice of, 193.
Now and Then in America, 147.
Our Political Dangers, 261.
Parkman, Francis. The Woman Question again, 16.
Parnell, C. S. The Irish Land Question, 388.
Permanence of Political Forces, II., 85.
Poetical Works of Bayard Taylor. Notice of, 98.
Poetry, Recent, 92.
Political Dangers, Our, 261.
Popular Fallacies about Russia, 523.
Recent Poetry, 92.
Recent English Books, 186.
Recent Biography, 300.
Recent History and Biography, 512.
Recent Works on Trade and Finance, 407, *Reciprocity, Bi-metallism, and Land-Tenure Reform.* By A. J. Wilson. Notice of, 407.
Relations of Canada with the United States, 338.
Religion of All Sensible Men, 438.
Romances of the Middle Ages. By Sir G. W. Cox. Notice of, 619.
Romanism and the Irish Race in the United States, 31.
Russia, Popular Fallacies about, 523.
Sacred Books of the East. Edited by Max Müller. Notice of, 186.
Sainte-Beuve, 51.
Sala, G. A., Now and Then in America, 147.
Science, the Metaphysics of, 69.
Shoup, F. A. Has the Southern Pulpit failed? 585.
Smith, G. B. *His Life of Gladstone*, 514.
Smith, George. His *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, 620.
Some Interesting Publications, 614.
Southern Pulpit, Failure of the, 356.
Southern Pulpit, The, has it failed? 585.
Spalding, J. L. Mr. Froude's Historical Method, 280.
Stephen, Leslie. The Religion of All Sensible Men, 438.
Stoddard, R. H. Recent Poetry, 92.
Stoughton, E. W. The Third Term, 224.
Stoughton, E. W. Popular Fallacies about Russia, 523.
Swing, D. Failure of the Southern Pulpit, 356.
Taylor, Bayard. His *Poetical Works*, 98.
Third Term, The, 116, 197, 224, 370, 417.
Thompson, J. His *Malacca, Indo-China, and China*, 622.
Underwood, F. H. Ralph Waldo Emerson, 479.
Villari, P. His *Niccolò Machiavelli and his Times*, 193.
Welling, J. C. The Emancipation Proclamation, 163.
Wells, D. A. Communism of a Discriminating Income-Tax, 236.
Wilson, A. J. His *Reciprocity, Bi-metallism and Land-Tenure Reform*, 407.
Winchell, Alexander. The Metaphysics of Science, 69.
Woman Question, The, again, 16.

All applications for or information in reference to Advertising in "THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW" must be addressed to HENRY W. QUIN, Advertising Department, D. Appleton & Co., 1, 3, & 5 Bond St., New York.

Thayer Academy, Braintree, Mass. —Designed to furnish instruction of the highest order in English, Modern Languages, and the Classics; fitting boys for the best colleges, and girls for the Harvard examinations and colleges for women. Address J. B. SEWALL, Head-Master, South Braintree, Mass.

BRAIN AND NERVE FOOD.

VITALIZED PHOSPHATES,

COMPOSED OF THE NERVE-GIVING PRINCIPLES OF THE OX-BRAIN AND WHEAT-GERM.

Physicians have prescribed 193,420 packages with the best results in all forms of impaired vitality, mental exhaustion, or weakened digestion. It is the best preventive of Consumption and all diseases of debility. It gives strength, rest, and sleep, by feeding the brain and nerves. It acts by feeding the brain with its necessary food, not as a medicine. For sale by Druggists.

F. CROSBY, 666 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

CLASSICAL WRITERS.

Edited by JOHN RICHARD GREEN.

16mo. Flexible cloth. Price, 60 cents each.

"For a still higher order of students, we have a series of 'Classical Writers.' This we can not praise too much."—*Westminster Review.*

MILTON. By STOPFORD A. BROOKE.

"The life is accompanied by careful synopses of Milton's prose and poetical works, and by scholarly estimates and criticisms of them. Arranged in brief paragraphs, and clothed in a simple and perspicuous style, the volume introduces the pupil directly to the author it describes, and not only familiarizes him with his method of composition, but with his exquisite fancies and lofty conceptions, and enables him to see practically and intelligently what an expressive and sonorous instrument our tongue is in the hands of one of its mightiest masters."—*Harper's Magazine.*

EURIPIDES. By Professor MAHAFFY.

"A better book on the subject than has previously been written in English. He is scholarly and not pedantic, appreciative and yet just."—*London Academy.*

SOPHOCLES. By Professor L. CAMPBELL.

"We can not close without again recommending the little book to all lovers of Sophocles, as an able and eloquent picture of the life and work of one of the greatest dramatic writers the world has ever seen."—*London Athenæum.*

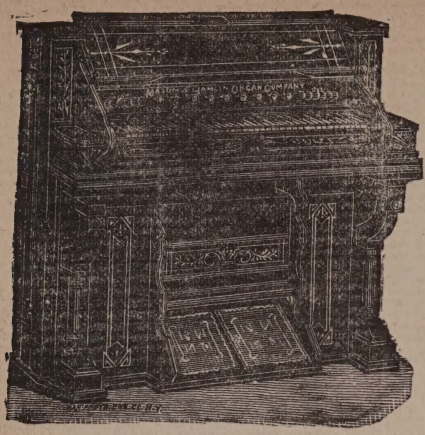
VERGIL. By Professor NETTLESHIP.

"The information is all sound and good, and no such hand-book has before been within the reach of the young student. Any one who wishes to read 'Vergil' intelligently, and not merely to cram so many books of the Æneid for an examination, should buy Professor Nettleship's scholarly monograph."—*London Athenæum.*

*** Others to follow.

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, 1, 3, & 5 Bond Street, New York.

MASON & HAMLIN ORGANS



EBONIZED CASES.

Several New Styles of these celebrated Organs are now offered in this very fashionable style of elegant furniture. The cases are of **solid Cherry,** permeated with intense black, highly finished, and exactly imitating **Ebony.** Some with ornamentation in **Gold Bronze.** Cash prices **$123** and upwards.

FOUR TIMES in the last THIRTEEN YEARS principal nations have collected in **Grand International Industrial Exhibitions** and **Competitions,** the best productions of the world in art and manufactures. So important have these occasions, that the best manufacturers of all nations have competed in them. At each one the **MASON & HAMLIN CO.** have been awarded the **FIRST MEDAL or other Highest Distinction. No other American Maker has taken such at any.** It would be impossible to institute more important and competent tribunals, or make more thorough and reliable tests and comparisons than these. To have taken highest honors at **every one** is nothing less than **DEMONSTRATION** of the superiority of the MASON & HAMLIN ORGANS.

MORE THAN SIXTY STYLES are regularly made, in plain and elegant cases, of Black Walnut, Mahogany or Ebonized, adapted to all uses, at net prices from **$51** to **$500** and upwards. Also for easy payments—**$5** a month, or **$6.38** a quarter, and upwards. **Illustrated Catalogues** and Price-List free. MASON & HAMLIN ORGAN CO., 154 Tremont St., Boston; 46 East 14th St., New York; or 149 Wabash Ave., Chicago.

KIDNEY-WORT

PERMANENTLY CURES KIDNEY DISEASES, LIVER COMPLAINTS, Constipation and Piles.

Dr. R. H. Clark, South Hero, Vt., says, "In cases of Kidney Troubles it has acted like a charm. It has cured many very bad cases of Piles, and has never failed to act efficiently."

Nelson Fairchild, of St. Albans, Vt., says, "It is of priceless value. After sixteen years of great suffering from Piles and Costiveness it completely cured me."

C. S. Hogabon, of Berkshire, says, "One package has done wonders for me in completely curing a severe Liver and Kidney Complaint."

IT HAS WONDERFUL POWER. WHY?

Because it Acts on the LIVER, the BOWELS and the KIDNEYS at the same time.

Because it cleanses the system of the poisonous humors that develope in Kidney and Urinary diseases, Biliousness, Jaundice, Constipation, Piles, or in Rheumatism, Neuralgia and nervous disorders.

KIDNEY-WORT is a dry vegetable compound and can be sent by mail prepaid.

One package will make six qts of medicine.

TRY IT NOW!

☞**Buy it at the Druggists. Price, $1.00.**

WELLS, RICHARDSON & CO., Proprietors,

12 (Will send post paid.) **Burlington, Vt.**

RIDGE'S FOOD

FOR INFANTS AND INVALIDS. Used in Hospitals, by Matrons, Physicians and Mothers everywhere for 30 yrs. in England & America. A steam-cooked food, and therefore suited to the weakest stomach. Take no other. Sold by druggists. 4 sizes, 35c., 65c., 1.25, and 1.75. WOOLRICH & CO. on every label.

FAMILIES and ALL who seek **"THE BEST"** and MOST ECONOMICAL, fin

COLTON'S SELECT FLAVORS.

Pure, Rich *Flavoring Extracts of* Choicest Fruits Unequaled in Delicious Purity and Great Strength.

A KEY THAT WILL WIND ANY WATCH **AND NOT WEAR OUT**

SOLD by Watchmakers. By mail, 30 cts. Circula FREE. J. S. BIRCH & CO., 38 Dey St., N.

1880 Edition.

Specimen Book of 100 Architectural Designs.

This work shows a gre variety of Plans, Elevation and Views of Cottages, Far Houses, Details, etc., a is a *very desirable* book f *builders* and all who *conte plate building.* One 8vo v ume, handsomely bound cloth, mailed to any addre **on receipt of On Dollar.**

Illustrated catalogue sen three 3c. stamps.

BICKNELL & COMSTOC Architectural Book Publishe 194 Broadway, New York.

CONSUMPTION

I have a positive remedy for the above disease: by use in my practice I have cured thousands of cases of t worst kind and of long standing. Indeed, so strong is faith in its efficacy, that I will send TWO BOTTLE FREE, together with a VALUABLE TREATISE this disease, to any sufferer giving their Express or P. address. **Dr. T. A. SLOCUM 181 Pearl St., New York.**

Beatty's Latest Offer.

Beatty's best Parlor Organ, for the Home of the Millionaire.

BEATTY ORGAN. *Style No. 3000.* This beautiful organ like cut opposite, contains **fourteen (14) Stops, three sets of Golden Tongue Reeds, Beatty's Patent Stop Action,** found in no other makes, **five octaves, Height, 70 in.: Depth, 24.: Width, 49,: Weight** when boxed about 360 lbs. "Beatty's Best" is conceded by good judges of musical instruments, to be the most perfect organ manufactured. It not only contains all the latest improvements, but for style, finish and durability, it has no equal. The action or musical part is fitted up with **Golden Tongue Reeds,** which have, by years of trial, proved to be the most durable as well as the most musical. It also contains "Beatty's Patent Stop Action," the latest and most improved stop action in the world. It is attached to no other instrument except Beatty's, and is the greatest improvement yet made to an organ. The case is of solid black walnut, firmly constructed, ornamented with French veneered pannels, and finished up in **Grand Style.** It has a sliding lid, ornamented **lamp stands,** and conveniently arranged handles for moving. Its bellows, which are of the upright pattern, are of great power, and are fitted up with **steel springs** and the best quality of pedal straps. The **pedals, instead of** being covered with carpet, are made of metal and are of neat design, and never get out of repair or foot worn, like carpet. **Other Manufacturers' price, about $400.00**

☞ **My price in any new locality, in order to have this Style introduced, boxed and shipped with Stool & Book, ONLY $125.00**

RE-ELECTED MAYOR. On expiration of my first term as Mayor of Washington, the high honor of a re-election to the position of its **Chief Magistrate** of my thriving city by an increased majority, was again conferred upon me. To my many friends who have suggested my name for **Congressional Honors,** I will say, that my **immense business interests** will compel me to decline. The name of "Beatty" is known wherever civilization exists, as the man who first brought the prices of Pianos and Organs within the reach of the masses. He it is who has received more abuse from rival manufacturers and Agents than any other man on the face of the earth. Having shrunk from no labor, relaxed no energy, spared no expense, I am still determined that my fellow countrymen shall not pay the Monopolists' prices. My record in behalf of my fellow men at home, the poor, the church, the sabbath school, let others speak. Not alone in my own land, have I enjoyed distinguished honors, but also in the Palaces of Kings and Emperors in the old world. (See "Beatty's Tour in Europe.") Only a few years ago I left my father's plow, without a dollar. To-day I own one of the largest Piano and Organ factories in the World, Cor. Railroad Avenue and Beatty Street, Washington, New Jersey. Why? Because I sell first class goods at low prices. Quick sales and small profits, honest and fair dealing to all men, is the secret of my **great success.** Beware of Agents, I have no agencies in large Cities but sell directly from the factory.

BEATTY PIANO *Style, No. 2020,* 7 Octaves, Agraffe Trible, fine rosewood, all latest improvements. The price of this piano boxed, and shipped with **Stool, Cover and Book,** only **$210.** "The Pride of the Parlor" a magnificent 3 string instrument only **$297.50.** Beatty's best Chapel Organs, only **$130.**

Always remit by Post office Money Order Draft, on New York or Express. Money refunded if unsatisfied, and freight charges paid by me both ways. **Labor and material are advancing.** Now is your time to order. Be sure to read my Latest Illustrated Newspaper & **Catalogue** before you purchase elsewhere **Sent Free.**

If you do not want an instrument for your own home, advice your Friend to buy one. Every instrument when introduced, sells another. **It becomes a standing Advertisement.** Please show this Advertisem't to your neighbors who are talking of buying an instrum't

Address all orders to DANIEL F. BEATTY, Washington, New Jersey.

---

100 SPECIAL PREMIUMS.

A selected list of over 100 modern works in all branches of Science offered *free* with new subscriptions to

THE POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY.

Send postal card for full particulars to

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, 1, 3, & 5 Bond Street, New York.

HISTORY OF NEW YORK

DURING THE

REVOLUTIONARY WAR,

AND OF

The Leading Events in the other Colonies at that Period.

By THOMAS JONES,

JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE PROVINCE.

Edited by EDWARD FLOYD DE LANCEY.

With Notes, Contemporary Documents, Maps, and Portraits. In two vols., 8vo, 748 pp., 713 pp. Cloth, gilt top, price, $15.00.

Printed for the New York Historical Society, in "The John D. Jones Fund Series of Histories and Memoirs."

"Certainly no one historical work has been issued in the United States during the last twenty years of equal importance with this, unless it be the 'Colonial History' and 'Documentary History of the Colonies,' published by order and at the expense of the State. The publication of this history, so long and jealously withheld from the public, offers the unlooked-for chance of seeing the men of the Revolution through the eyes of a vigilant enemy, who knew them more or less exactly, not only as to their characters, but their private lives and family antecedents. It will cause more than one descendant of ancient and honorable families of New York to wince, and to wince all the more because they are in a poor plight to refute the statements of Judge Jones. It may be confidently said that there is no history of the Revolution extant which will not demand remodeling in consequence of the publication of this. Whether we like the book or not, the world is better for this able presentment of the other side of the question of our Revolution."—*New York Times.*

"A rich contribution to the literature of our Revolutionary history. As a history it is unique, being neither an American nor an English account, but that of a New York loyalist whose point of view was neither that of the Americans nor that of the British. The work can scarcely be too highly valued, because it furnishes us with a clear view of the most memorable period in our history, as it appeared to those Americans who lost everything by their loyalty to the British cause."—*New York Evening Post.*

"This work is the only contemporary history of New York in the American Revolution by one who was living there at the time; and it is hence as unique as it is valuable. Judge Jones witnessed the commencement, the progress, and the final result of the American Revolution as it affected New York, and he has given us the observations and comments of an intelligent eye-witness who was in a position, official and social, to interpret the events, the parties, and the persons he described. Here is an account of the causes and incidents of the contest, by one who was neither an alien nor a patriot, but belonged to that large and influential class of colonists stigmatized as Tories, but known among themselves by the honorable name of loyalists."—*New York Sun.*

"The book contains a full, vigorous, and well-stated libel on every person of any note in the history of the war, whether patriot, Tory, or soldier, and is worth a whole library of rigmarole history in the spirit and effect with which it puts before the reader a lively impression of the period it treats."—*New York Herald.*

"In the exhaustive character of the illustrative matter, in the rarity and extent of the information which has been collected with such studious labor, and in the care that has been bestowed upon the typographical accuracy, Mr. De Lancey has exhibited a degree of literary ability and conscientiousness which will give him a noticeable rank as a scholarly writer."—*New York Tribune.*

"The pains and research bestowed upon the notes deserve hearty praise, as do the form and dress of the volumes. Very likely they will provoke controversy, but whether accepted or contested they are a valuable and in some respects unique addition to the literature of the subject they illustrate."—*The Nation.*

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers,

1, 3, & 5 Bond Street, New York.

APPLETONS' GUIDE-BOOKS.

Appletons' European Guide-book.

Containing Maps of the Various Political Divisions, and Plans of the Principal Cities. Being a Complete Guide to the Continent of Europe, Egypt, Algeria, and the Holy Land. To which are appended a Vocabulary of Travel-talk—in English, German, French, and Italian—an Hotel Appendix, and Specialties of European Cities. *Completely revised and corrected up to date.* Handsomely bound in two volumes, in red morocco, gilt edges. Price, $5.00.

Appletons' General Guide

TO THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. An entirely new work. With a Railroad Map of the United States and Canada, and Thirteen Sectional Maps, including "The Adirondacks," "Yosemite Valley," and "Yellowstone Park"; and Plans (with References) of Fourteen of the Principal Cities—especially prepared for the work. Illustrated. This work is compiled on the plan of the famous BAEDEKER HAND-BOOKS of Europe. COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME. 500 pages, 16mo, pocket form, bound in roan, price, $2.50; or separately:

THE NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE STATES AND CANADA. One vol., 264 pages, 16mo, bound in cloth, $1.25.

THE WESTERN AND SOUTHERN STATES. One vol., 234 pages, bound in cloth, $1.25.

Appletons' Hand-book of Summer Resorts.

Revised to the latest date. Illustrated. Large 12mo. Paper cover, 50 cents; cloth, 75 cents.

Appletons' Railway Guide.

Paper cover, 25 cents. Published monthly. Revised and corrected to date.

Appletons' Dictionary of New York and Vicinity.

A Guide on a New Plan; being an alphabetically arranged Index to all Places, Societies, Institutions, Amusements, and innumerable matters upon which information is daily needed. With Maps of New York and Vicinity. Square 12mo. Paper, 30 cents; cloth, 50 cents.

New York Illustrated.

With 102 Illustrations and a Map of the City. The illustrations and text fully delineating the Elevated Railway system, Post-Office, and other Public Buildings, Churches, Street Scenes, Suburbs, etc., etc. 4to. Paper cover, price, 60 cents.

Scenery of the Pacific Railways and Colorado.

With Maps, and 71 Illustrations. Paper cover, 75 cents; cloth, $1.25.

Appletons' Hand-book of American Cities.

Large 12mo. Illustrated. Paper cover, 50 cents; cloth, 75 cents.

Appletons' Hand-book of Winter Resorts.

For Tourists and Invalids. With 47 Illustrations. Paper cover, 50 cents; cloth, 75 cents.

*** *Either of the above sent by mail, post-paid, to any address in the United States, on receipt of the price.*

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers, 1, 3, & 5 Bond St., New York.

D. APPLETON & CO.'S

New Publications.

Memoirs of Napoleon, his Court and Family.

By the Duchess D'ABRANTES (Madame Junot). New edition. In two vols., 12mo. Cloth. Price, $3.00.

The interest in the first Napoleon and his court, which has recently been so stimulated by the "Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat," has induced the publishers to reissue the famous "Memoirs of the Duchess d'Abrantes." These memoirs, which hitherto have appeared in costly 8vo volumes, are now published at a much lower price, to correspond with the De Rémusat 12mo volume. The work at the present juncture will be read with profound attention, especially as it presents a much more favorable portrait of the great Corsican than that limned by Madame de Rémusat.

A Short Life of Charles Dickens,

WITH SELECTIONS FROM HIS LETTERS. By CHARLES H. JONES, author of "Macaulay: his Life, his Writings." "Handy-Volume Series." Paper, 35 cents; cloth, 60 cents.

The work is an attempt to give, in a compact form, such an account of the life of Dickens as will meet the requirements of the general reader. Liberal extracts are made from the letters of Dickens, in order that, so far as possible, he may depict himself and tell his own story.

The Longer Epistles of Paul.

Viz.: Romans, I. Corinthians, II. Corinthians. By the Rev. HENRY COWLES, D. D. One vol., 12mo. Cloth. Price, $2.00.

The Elementary Principles of Scientific Agriculture.

By N. T. LUPTON, LL. D., Professor of Chemistry in Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 12mo. Cloth. Price, 45 cents.

Memoirs of Madame de Remusat.

1802–1808. Edited by her Grandson, PAUL DE RÉMUSAT, Senator. In three vols., paper covers, 8vo, price, $1.50; also, in one vol., cloth, 12mo. price, $2.00.

"Notwithstanding the enormous library of works relating to Napoleon, we know of none which cover precisely the ground of these Memoirs. Madame de Rémusat was not only lady-in-waiting to Josephine during the eventful years 1802-1808, but was her intimate friend and trusted confidant. Thus we get a view of the daily life of Bonaparte and his wife and the terms on which they lived not elsewhere to be found."—*New York Mail.*

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers,

1, 3, & 5 BOND STREET, NEW YORK.

D. APPLETON & CO.'S

Recent Publications.

Rodman the Keeper:

SOUTHERN SKETCHES. By CONSTANCE FENIMORE WOOLSON. 1 vol., 12mo. Cloth. Price, $1.25.

"The pathos of the stories is wonderful, but is wholesome, natural pathos, not pathos manufactured by the literary emotion-monger."—*New York Evening Post.*

Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer.

By PETER H. BURNETT, the First Governor of the State of California. 1 vol., 12mo, 468 pages. Cloth. Price, $1.75.

Mr. Burnett's life has been full of varied experience, and the record takes the reader back prior to the discovery of gold in California, and leads him through many adventures and incidents to the time of the beginning of the late war. The volume is replete with interest.

The Life and Words of Christ.

By CUNNINGHAM GEIKIE, D. D. A new and cheap edition, printed from the same stereotype plates as the fine illustrated edition. Complete in one volume, octavo, 1,258 pages. Cloth. Price, $1.50.

This is the only cheap edition of Geikie's Life of Christ that contains the copious notes of the author; it has also the marginal references, and an index.

Elihu Burritt.

A Memorial Volume, containing a Sketch of his Life and Labors, with Selections from his Writings and Lectures, and Extracts from his Private Journals in Europe and America. Edited by CHARLES NORTHEND, A. M. 12mo. Cloth. Price, $1.75.

Fifteen Sermons,

By WILLIAM ROLLINSON WHITTINGHAM, Fourth Bishop of Maryland. 1 vol., 12mo. Cloth. Price, $1.50.

New Handy-Volumes:

THE RETURN OF THE PRINCESS, from the French of JACQUES VINCENT; paper, 25 cents. A STROKE OF DIPLOMACY, from the French of VICTOR CHERBULIEZ; paper, 20 cents.

For sale by all booksellers; or any volume sent by mail, post-paid, on receipt of price.

D. APPLETON & CO., Publishers,
1, 3, & 5 BOND STREET, NEW YORK.

Under the form of a jelly called Vaseline, petroleum is given to medicine and pharmacy in an absolutily pure, highly concentrated, and unobjectionable shape. All acids, odors, taste, color, and other impurities, which have hitherto prevented the use of petroleum in medicine, are entirely eliminated, and the Vaseline is as harmless and delightful to use as cream.

The most valuable family remedy known for the treatment of wounds, burns, sores, cuts, skin-diseases, rheumatism, chilblains, catarrh, hæmorrhoids, etc. Also for coughs, colds, sore-throat, croup, and diphtheria, etc.

It has received the unanimous endorsement of the Medical Press and Profession, Scientists and Journals of all characters throughout the world, as being the Best Remedy known.

Four Sizes: in Bottles, 15, 25, and 50 cents; in 1 lb. Tins, $1.

As an emollient, Vaseline is superior to any other substance yet discovered. Its marvelous healing and restoring qualities excel everything else, and it is rapidly taking the place on the toilet-table, to the exclusion of the various complexion-powders, pomades, cosmetics, and other compounds. It will keep the skin clearer, softer, and smoother than any cosmetic ever invented, and will preserve the youthful beauty and freshness of the healthy complexion.

POMADE VASELINE.—WILL CURE DANDRUFF AND MAKE THE HAIR GROW WHEN NOTHING ELSE WILL. 25, 50 CENTS, AND $1.00.

VASELINE COLD CREAM.—FOR IRRITATIONS OF THE SKIN, CHAFING OF INFANTS, FOR THE COMPLEXION, CHAPPED HANDS, Etc., Etc., Etc. 25 AND 50 CENTS.

VASELINE CAMPHOR ICE.—FOR PIMPLES, BLOTCHES, Etc. 25 CENTS.

VASELINE TOILET SOAP.—EMOLLIENT, BLAND, ANTISEPTIC (EXCELS ALL TOILET SOAPS).

Pamphlets, with Medical Editorials and Recommendations, Post Free.

BEWARE of Imitations and Adulterations trading upon the Popularity of VASELINE.

COLGATE & Co. will supply these articles, if you can not obtain them of your Druggist. None genuine except in original packages.

Grand Medals at Philadelphia and Paris Expositions. Medal of Progress by American Institute.

A NEW TREATMENT for **Consumption, Asthma, Bronchitis, Catarrh, Dyspepsia, Headache, Debility, Neuralgia, Rheumatism,** *and all Chronic and Nervous Disorders,*

ACTS DIRECTLY upon the great nervous and organic centres, and *cures by a natural process of revitalization.*

HAS EFFECTED REMARKABLE CURES, which are attracting wide attention.

HAS BEEN USED BY Rt. Rev. John J. Keane, Bishop of Richmond, Va., Hon. Wm. D. Kelley, T. S. Arthur, and others, who have been largely benefited, and to whom we refer *by permission.*

IS STRONGLY ENDORSED: "We have the most unequivocal testimony to its curative power from many persons of high character and intelligence."—*Lutheran Observer.* "The cures which have been obtained by this new treatment seem more like miracles than cases of natural healing."—*Arthur's Home Magazine.* "There is no doubt as to the genuineness and positive results of this treatment."—*Boston Journal of Commerce.*

THE OXYGEN HOME TREATMENT contains two months' supply, with inhaling apparatus and full directions for use.

SENT FREE: a Treatise on Compound Oxygen, giving the history of this new discovery and a large record of most remarkable cures. Write for it. Address

ADMINISTERED BY INHALATION. **Drs. STARKEY & PALEN,** 1109 and 1111 Girard St., Philadelphia, Pa.

THE FAMOUS SELTZER SPRING

OF GERMANY

IN EVERY HOME!!

TARRANT'S SELTZER APERIENT

Is based upon a scientific analysis of the celebrated German Spring whose name it bears, and whose virtues it so eminently contains.

Each Bottle representing from Thirty to Forty Glasses of Sparkling, Foaming Seltzer.

It is Worth Remembering

That TARRANT'S SELTZER APERIENT represents in each bottle thirty to forty glasses of Sparkling Seltzer Water, containing all the virtues of the celebrated German Spring.

It is always Fresh! Always Ready!

One of the advantages that TARRANT'S SELTZER APERIENT—being a dry white powder—has over many natural mineral waters, is the fact that it never becomes vapid or stale. It is, therefore, the most admirable preparation not only for travelers on land and sea, but for all who need a bright, fresh, sparkling alterative and corrective, and it is always ready.

TARRANT'S SELTZER APERIENT thus stands at the very front of all, and is admitted to be the best remedy known for constipation, biliousness, and all disorders of the stomach and bowels.

MANUFACTURED ONLY BY

TARRANT & COMPANY,

NEW YORK.

SOLD BY ALL DRUGGISTS.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS'

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Poetical Works of Richard Henry Stoddard. With Portrait. 1 vol., 8vo, extra cloth, pp. 512. $4.00.

The Science of English Verse. By SIDNEY LANIER. 1 vol., crown 8vo. $2.00.

Loiterings in Pleasant Paths. By MARION HARLAND, author of "Common Sense in the Household." 1 vol., 12mo. $1.75.

Louisiana. By FRANCES HODGSON BURNETT, author of "That Lass O'Lowrie's," "Haworth's," etc. 1 vol., 12mo. With a frontispiece. $1.25.

Hesperus and Other Poems. By CHARLES DE KAY. 1 vol., 12mo. $1.50.

The Life and Writings of St. John. By Rev. JAMES M. MACDONALD, D. D. Edited with an Introduction by DEAN HOWSON. Illustrated. 1 vol., 8vo. A new edition. Price reduced to $3.00.

Hand-book of Drawing. By WILLIAM WALKER. With upward of 200 Woodcuts and Diagrams. 1 vol., 12mo. $1.75.

The Origin and Growth of the Psalms. By Professor T. C. MURRAY. 1 vol., 12mo. $1.50.

Natural Science and Religion. By Professor ASA GRAY, LL. D. 1 vol., crown 8vo. $1.00.

Discussions in History and Theology. By Professor GEORGE P. FISHER, D. D. 1 vol., 8vo. $3.00.

Gleanings of Past Years, 1843–'79. By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M. P. 7 vols., 16mo, each, $1.00. *Sold separately.*

Lord Beaconsfield; A CRITICAL STUDY. By GEORG BRANDES. Translated by Mrs. GEORGE STURGE. 1 vol., 12mo. $1.50.

The Theatres of Paris. By J. BRANDER MATTHEWS. Illustrated. 1 vol., 16mo. $1.25.

*** *These books are for sale by all booksellers, or will be sent, prepaid, upon receipt of price, by*

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, Publishers,

NOS. 743 AND 745 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

FEB 3 1919